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THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

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I

THE HYMNS of JOHN BUNYAN

by

Louis F. Benson, D.D.

THE HYMN SOCIETY
New York City
1930

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Third Printing

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The Hymns of John Bunyan

It hardly occurs to us to think of Bunyan as a poet. But there is reason to believe that he so thought of himself, and that in saying, "Man's heart is apt in metre to delight," he described his own. Readers of *The Pilgrim's Progress* are aware that each part has a poetical introduction and the first a poetical conclusion also, and that the narrative has a way of breaking out into verse. Very few of its readers know of the considerable body of his writings in verse. His *A Book for Boys and Girls*, for instance, has some eighty pages of "Rhimes," and among his separate poems is one of fourteen hundred and another of two thousand lines. Bunyan's verse is often characterized as doggerel—which is hardly fair—and by one of his biographers as "respectable." It is best described as being didactic rather than poetic in motive and accomplishment, with here and there a strain justifying Bunyan's own estimate of his gift:

> "I could, were I so pleas'd, use higher Strains.
> And for Applause, on Tenters stretch my Brains."

Until very lately even less thought has been given to Bunyan as a hymn writer, either in fact or *in posse*. And there is no reason to suppose that he so thought of himself, although two lyrics in *A Book for Boys and Girls* are provided with appropriate melodies. In his day the Particular Baptists were in the thick of the bitter "Controversie as to Singing," with its special cases of conscience; 1st. Should there be any singing in God's House? 2d. If so, who should sing? and, 3rd. What should they sing? Bunyan thought singing in worship a divine ordinance, but that it should be confined to professed members of the church. Or so I interpret the 54th chapter of his *Solomon's Temple Spiritualized.* Whether, with Benjamin Keach, he favored the introduction of humanly composed evangelical hymns or, with Keach's opponents, stood by the metrical psalms, I am less clear.

We may safely say that Bunyan wrote no church hymns by intent, and that for two centuries the consideration of the availability of anything he wrote for use as a hymn was confined to some of his coreligionists, and in the church at large had no existence at all.

The best proof of this is the notice taken of Bunyan in the very inclusive *Dictionary of Hymnology*, by Dr. John Julian, published in 1892. Of its 1521 double-columned pages only eight lines are given to Bunyan, which read: "This great allegorist cannot be included amongst hymn writers, except that his piece, 'He that is down needs fear no fall,' from pt. ii of his *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1684, is given in a limited number of hymnals. The son of a mechanic, he was b. at Elstow, 1628; was a Baptist minister at Bedford; and d. in London, Aug. 1688."

Indeed, the hymnals here referred to were so few and so obscure that Doctor Julian's notice may be regarded as a waiver rather than a recognition of Bunyan's claim to be included there. Fifteen years later, in his second edition of 1907, Doctor Julian notes that the hymn, "Who would true valour see," was included in E. Paxton Hood's *Our Hymn Book*, 1873,[1] and more recently in *The English Hymnal* of 1906. *Our Hymn Book* and *The English Hymnal* were the most unconventional hymn books of their respective periods. Each in its turn sought to widen the horizon of an acceptable hymnody and each came freshly upon Bunyan's hymn in the search for unfamiliar material. *Our Hymn Book* included also Bunyan's "He that is down needs fear no fall." The only other piece of his to appear in later church hymnals is "Let the most blessed be my guide."

All three of these are from the lyrics mingled with the narrative of the Second Part of *The Pilgrim's Progress;* and it may be said with some confidence that they comprise all of Bunyan's verse available for use as church hymns. For school use the *Council School Hymn Book* (London, 1905) adopted his paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, beginning "Our Father which in Heaven art," from *A Book for Boys and Girls* (1686, p. 8); just why is not very apparent. And if I were making an anthology of child-songs I should certainly wish to include the charming lyric, set to music on page 40 of the same book, beginning

"My little Bird, how can'st thou sit
And sing amidst so many Thorns!"

---

[1] Doctor Julian was evidently not aware that the hymn appeared in the first edition of *Our Hymn Book*, Brighton, 1862.

I

MERCIE'S SONG

(The Second Part, 1684: p. 20)

Christiana and her children have now begun the pilgrim life. Of her neighbors some would dissuade her, but young Mercie ("for she was but young") sympathized and would walk with her a little way this Sun-shine Morning, and is persuaded by her to accompany her to the Wicket Gate. Very soon Mercie falls aweeping as she thinks of her poor relations yet lingering in the sinful town. Whereat Christiana reminds Mercie that he that goeth forth and weepeth bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.

"Then" said *Mercie*,
"*Let the most blessed be my guide,*
If't be his blessed Will,
Unto *his Gate*, into *his fould*[2]
Up to *his Holy Hill.*
And let him never suffer me
To swarve, or turn aside
From his free grace, and Holy ways,
Whate're shall me betide.
And let him gather them of mine,
That I have left behind.
Lord, make them pray they may be thine,
With all their heart and mind."

A quaint and simple little lyric, and graceful, both in the spiritual and the artistic sense.

Dr. Joseph Belcher, in what *The Christian Examiner* (November, 1859) called his "superficial, feeble, inadequate, incorrect, and bigoted" *Historical Sketches of Hymns* (Philadelphia, 1859), is authority for the statement that this hymn "has very long been used in some of the Baptist churches in England at the admission of members, sometimes with very happy effect."[3] I do not know the source of Doctor Belcher's knowledge of the fact of its use, or his opportunity of estimating the happy effect. I do not happen to have found it in such Baptist hymn books, new or old, as I have examined, nor, indeed, in any hymn book except my own *Christian Song*. But I should agree that such an use of these verses as Doctor Belcher suggests, might have a very happy effect. It seems to me one of the sweetest of pilgrim songs, in its phrasing and cadences, its simplicity of spiritual forelooking and its turn backward toward those left behind with a yearning that modulates indirect prayer into direct intercession.

---

[2] "his fold," 1687.

[3] Dr. Henry S. Burrage, in his *Baptist Hymn Writers and their Hymns* (Portland, Maine, n. d.) p. 27, repeats this statement, but entirely upon Belcher's authority.

II

THE SHEPHERD BOY'S SONG

(The Second Part, 1684: p. 100)

Christiana and her party have come to the Valley of Humiliation, in whose low-lying meadows many laboring men had found fruitful estates, for God who resisteth the proud, assisteth the humble. As they are going along they espy a boy "in very mean cloaths," feeding his father's sheep. And where he sat by himself he sang. And this is what the Shepherd boy sang in the Meadows of Humiliation:

"*He that is down, needs fear no fall,*
Philip. 4. *He that is low, no Pride:*
12, 13. *He that is humble, ever shall*
Have God to be his Guide.
I am content with what I have,
Little be it, or much:
And Lord, contentment still I crave,
Because thou savest such.
Heb. *Fullness to such a burden is*
13, 5. *That go on Pilgrimage:*
Here little, and hereafter Bliss,
Is best from Age to Age."

A winsome lyric of the submerged grace of doing without, that almost persuadeth one to be a Pilgrim. It is quite in line with Saint Paul's suggestion that a runner encumbers himself by carrying luggage, but it will neither appeal to the patrons of wealth nor become the favored song even of zealous book collectors. None the less it was the first of Bunyan's hymns to find a place in the hymn books: a place that is being recovered in some of the most significant of current hymnals. From the epochal *The English Hymnal* of 1906, where we should anticipate finding it, it is missing, but it is included in *The Oxford Hymn Book* of 1908, *Songs of Praise* (1925), and the revised edition of *The Church Hymnary* (1927). And this hymn is the only one of Bunyan's versifyings to find a place as poetry in *The Oxford Book of English Verse* of Quiller-Couch.

The opening line has (presumably by intention) the force and familiarity of a proverb. It is pretty nearly identical with a line in Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*—

> "I am not now in Fortune's Power,
> *He that is down can fall no lower.*"[4]

And Butler's annotator[5] quotes from the Latin, "*Qui jacet in terram, non habet unde cadat*," and, from a Cavalier Song, "He that lies on the Ground, cannot fall." But it is interesting to note that Bunyan transforms a physical fact into an inward experience, and that what in Butler's poem was no more than Hudibras' ironical consolation of himself at escaping further downthrusts of fortune by reaching the bottom becomes at Bunyan's hand the parable of a spiritual grace.

III

VALIANT'S SONG

(The Second Part, 1684: p. 181)

Mr. Valiant-for-Truth, at "*the, enchanted—Ground*," has been explaining how he happened to come a pilgriming and how he overcame varied obstacles and the dissuasions of the prudent by keeping his eyes upon the goal:

"*Greath. Then this was your Victory, even your Faith.*

"*Valiant.* It was so, I believed, and therefore came out, got into the Way, fought all that set themselves against me, and by believing am come to this Place.

> "*Who would true Valour see,*
> *Let him come hither;*
> *One here will Constant be,*
> *Come Wind, come Weather.*
> *There's no Discouragement,*
> *Shall make him once Relent,*
> *His first avow'd Intent,*
> *To be a Pilgrim.*

---

[4] Part I, canto iii, lines 877-8. Here and elsewhere the italics indicate a free quotation.

[5] *Hudibras:* ed. by Zachary Grey. Cambridge, 1744.

Who so beset him round,
With dismal Storys,
Do but themselves confound;
His strength the more is,
No Lyon can him fright,
He'l with a Gyant Fight,
But he will have a right,
To be a Pilgrim
Hobgoblin, *nor foul* Fiend,
Can daunt *his Spirit:*
He knows, he at the end,
Shall Life Inherit.
Then Fancies fly away,
He'l fear not what men say,
He'l labor Night and Day,
To be a Pilgrim."

This dramatically virile song makes a great contrast with the two other hymns in technique, but in spirit is characteristic enough. For to Bunyan bravery is the root virtue of Christian character and the only possible equipment for the pilgrim life. But how far the song is an independent inspiration or how far suggested from outside has been questioned.

Perhaps Mr. Froude was the first to call attention to its likeness to one of Shakespeare's songs:

"Though the Globe Theatre was in the opinion of Nonconformists, 'the heart of Satan's empire,' Bunyan must yet have known something of Shakespeare. . . . The resemblance to the song in *As You Like It* is too near to be accidental."[6]

The song in the First Folio (Act ii, scene v) reads as follows:

SCENA QUINTA

Enter, Amyens, Iaques, & others

Song

Under the greene wood tree,
who loues to lye with mee
And turne his merrie Note,
vnto the sweet Birds throte:
Come hither, come hither, come hither:
Heere shall he see no enemie,
But Winter and rough Weather.

---

[6] Bunyan in *English Men of Letters:* ed. New York, 1880, p. 93.

Iaq. More, more, I pre'thee more [followed by 27 lines of dialogue ending with Jaques "Come, warble, come"].

Song. Altogether heere
Who doth ambition shunne,
and loues to liue i'th Sunne:
Seeking the food he eates,
and pleas'd with what he gets:
Come hither, come hither, come hither,
Heere shall he see. &c.

The two sections appear to be one song in two stanzas, having a common refrain, but have been also regarded by musical composers as separate songs.

Froude further suggested that "Bunyan may perhaps have heard the lines, and the rhymes may have clung to him without his knowing whence they came"—a suggestion hardly in line with the earlier remark that "Bunyan must have known something of Shakespeare."

Dr. John Brown, most careful of the biographers who succeeded Froude, shares his confidence in the connection of the two songs, saying (in a footnote), "Bunyan had surely read Shakespeare's *As you like it*, and there met with this song:"[7]—and proceeds to quote (as Froude had done) the second part only of Amyens' song.

But when and where did Bunyan "surely read" *As You Like It?* One may say that in his youth he could not and that in his maturity he would not. Was ever youth more completely cut off from the world of books? "I never went to school, to Aristotle and Plato, but was brought up at my father's house, in a very mean condition, among a company of poor countrymen."[8] And was ever a mature writer so indifferent to the world of letters? "He does not seem," as Vice-Chancellor Baillie puts it, "to have read more than about half a dozen books in his life."[9]

There were the two books his bride brought (apparently her whole patrimony) to a cottage that had neither forks nor spoons —Dent's *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* and Bayly's *The Practice of Piety*. "In these I should sometime read with her."

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[7] *John Bunyan: His Life Times and Work*, Ed. Boston, 1888, p. 281.
[8] "Epistle to the Reader" in *Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded.*
[9] "The Mind of John Bunyan" in *The Hibbert Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 387.

These books led him not only to the parish church but to a deeper interest in the Bible that was to become his inseparable companion. The Authorized Version became the model of his style, but he must have had access also to a copy of the Genevan version, from which he often quotes. And with one or the other, very likely, the "Singing Psalms" of Sternhold and Hopkins were bound in: may be *The Book of Common Prayer* also. Then there was the ancient copy of Luther's *Commentary on the Galatians* he "happed upon" and valued highly, "so old that it was ready to fall to pieces in his hand if he did but turn it over."[10] Lastly, there was a copy of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, which he took to jail and which with the Bible constituted his library during the long period of captivity in which *The Pilgrim's Progress* was written. And this seems to fill out Bunyan's connection with books, unless we hold with some that *The Holy War* was influenced by *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*.

"One may indeed wish," the Vice-Chancellor goes on to say, "that Bunyan had had the first folio of Shakespeare with him during his long years in Bedford gaol." And the apparition, called up by this very odd wish, of the figure of Bunyan in his cell bending over a copy of the First Folio is so comical as to cast a ghostly light upon Doctor Brown's assurance that Bunyan had been reading *As You Like It* before composing Valiant's Song.

The Vice-Chancellor himself regards Froude's conclusion that Valiant's Song owed its origin to Shakespeare as "a very doubtful suggestion." A recent biographer of Bunyan, Professor Speight of Dartmouth, admits that he "*may have heard* Shakespeare's 'who doth ambition shun,' but the indebtedness was limited to a word here and there."[11] This disclaimer, or even this limitation, of Bunyan's indebtedness to Shakespeare is somewhat surprising. I should have supposed that any student or practicioner of verse would feel instinctively that Bunyan's song is not an independent creation but is related to the earlier one in its manner of approach, its opening line, its movement and lilt, and its imitative phrasing.

But Professor Speight's suggestion (reminiscent of Froude's alternative explanation) that Bunyan "may have heard" rather than read the song in *As You Like It* is altogether likely; and that he heard it often and himself joined in singing it, in his unregenerate days, is also likely enough. The rising tide of Puritanism had not quenched the English love of singing and of the dance.[12] And it is quite clear that as a youth Bunyan loved to join the singing in the village alehouse and without, and in the dancing on the village green. Among the more popular and often printed of the tunes then used both as song and dance, was a melody entitled "Under the Greenwood Tree," but the natural inference that this tune was to Bunyan the familiar setting of Shakespeare's lyric seems to be open to some question.[13]

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[10] There was a number of editions in English, beginning with 1575.

[11] *The Life and Writings of John Bunyan*, by Harold E. B. Speight: New York, 1928, p. 171. The italics are mine.

However that may be, the time soon came when Bunyan regarded the songs and dances of the alehouse and the green as carnal indulgences to be foregone, and he has himself told us of the real distress he felt in abandoning them for conscience sake. And I would suggest that if we set Bunyan's hymn against this background of his familiarity with the current "carnal songs" and his experience of their delight, we have the probable explanation of its motive and origin.

What seems to me most likely is that Bunyan knew Amyens' call to "come hither and lie in the sun," shunning all ambition to forge ahead and freed of all enemies except winter weather—knew its popularity and charm, and disapproved of it very heartily; and that he essayed to rebut it with a call to come hither and be a pilgrim and fight the foes of the pilgrim life, that should not be literally a parody of the "carnal song" but should suggest it by vivid contrasts of matter presented through intended likeness of manner.

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[12] Many English folk songs date from Bunyan's time.

[13] Mr. Louis C. Elson in his popular *Shakespeare in Music* (Boston, v.d., pp. 60-63) prints the tune "Under the Greenwood Tree" as the oldest setting of Amyens' Song (the words of which he runs through the braces), "very popular in the seventeenth century and very probably used by Shakespeare." But Mr. Elson has, as he says, copied the song from *A Collection of National English Airs*, edited by W. Chappell, and published in London in 1838 and 1840. Chappell, it is true, prints the tune "Under the Greenwood Tree" as No. LXI in his 1840 volume, with the words of Amyens' song set to it, but in the 1838 volume, which contains his "Remarks on the Tunes," he says (page 21) that owing to the great vogue of the tune and to the similarity of the titles he was led to suppose it to be that to which Shakespeare's words were sung, but he now thinks that a song in D'Urfey's *Pills to purge Melancholy*, called "The Countryman's Delight," "appears to be the original." This raises difficulties. Did Chappell still think so when he printed Shakespeare's words to this tune in his second volume, apparently two years later? And if, as he says, he made no changes in the air of any tune, how could this air be used with "The Countryman's Delight," which is in a different metre,—

("In Summertime, when Flowers do Spring,
And birds sit on a Tree,")

and has its own proper tune in D'Urfey? The song, however, does contain the line, "Under the Greenwood Tree."

I have read Chappell's note many time without resolving these difficulties.

If this be so, Bunyan's motive was at one with that of the writers and compilers of the collection of metrical versions of Psalms bound up with current Bibles and Prayer Books, that were offered (as the title page of *The Whole booke of Psalmes* read) "for godly solace and comfort, laying apart all ungodly songs and ballads, which tend onely to the nourishing of vice and corrupting of youth."

But in method Valiant's Song was nearest akin not to the current Psalm versions, but to the earlier ballads of the Scottish Reformation, as gathered in *The Gude and Godlie Ballates* of the Wedderburne brothers, which spiritualized current "fleshly songs," while retaining much of their phrasing, such as

"Quho is at my windo, quho, quho?
    Go from my windo, go, go.
    Quha callis thair, sa like a straingair?
        Go from my windo, go!" . . . .

"With huntis vp, with huntis vp,
    It is now perfite day,
Jesus, our King, is gane in hunting,
    Quha lykis to speid thay may." . . .

"Hay now, the day dallis,
Now Christ on vs callis,
Now welth on our wallis,
    Apperis anone:
Now the word of God regnis,
Quhilk is King of all kingis
Now Christis flock singis,
    The nicht is neir gone." . . .

It remains to consider the text of Bunyan's song from the point of view simply of its acceptability for use as a church hymn.

Its discoverer, Paxton Hood, in 1862, made only two slight changes (other than the inevitable amelioration of the punctuation), which are no improvement and read as though they might be slips of a copyist's pen. Its restorer, *The English Hymnal* of 1906, made so many that they almost amount to a reconstruction:

"He who would valiant be
'Gainst all disaster
Let him in constancy
Follow the Master.
There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avowed intent
To be a pilgrim.

"Who so beset him round
With dismal stories,
Do but themselves confound—
His strength the more is.
No foes shall stay his might,
Though he with giants fight;
He will make good his right
To be a pilgrim.

"Since, Lord, Thou dost defend
Us with Thy Spirit,
We know we at the end
Shall life inherit.
Then fancies flee away!
I'll fear not what men say,
I'll labour night and day
To be a pilgrim."

No doubt it was a little daring to propose for Anglican use so unconventional a hymn as Bunyan's, but when you have stripped it of its rude vigor and quaint charm, was the dare worth while? And yet this conventionalized text was followed in that least conventional of hymnals, *Songs of Praise* (London, 1925).

On the other hand, Bunyan's text is followed literally in *The Oxford Hymn Book* (1908), *The University* (of Toronto) *Hymn Book* (1912), *The Congregational Hymnary* (London, 1916), *School Worship* (London, 1926), and *The Church Hymn-*

ary (Revised edition, London, 1927). *A Students' Hymnal* (London, 1927) prints Bunyan's first stanza across the page, followed by the original and the English Hymnal text of stanzas two and three in double columns for alternative use.

To my mind the crux of the original text is the line "Hobgoblin, nor foul Fiend." It is so stuttery in the mouth and perhaps calculated to raise a laugh from many of those in our congregations. In *Christian Song* (wisely or unwisely) I changed it to read, "No goblin nor foul fiend." Personally I prefer the original.

The list of hymnals above given shows how rapidly Valiant's Song has found a place in the outstanding English hymnals appearing in the last quarter century, and preferably in the original text. Our American hymnals are as a rule less hospitable, and perhaps reflect the reluctance to learn anything new that has fallen upon so many of our respectable congregations. But the song is found in *The Riverdale Hymnal* (1912), *The New Hymnal* of the Protestant Episcopal Church (1916), Mrs. Date's *Hymns for Worship* (1927), and Augustine Smith's spicy *The American Student Hymnal* (1928). All four books have used the conventionalized text of *The English Hymnal* instead of Bunyan's own. This, it seems to me, is a great pity. It is easy to understand why these changes of text were proposed. The original is not a song of praise or a hymn of edification but a spiritual challenge delivered dramatically: and like most challenges it carries an implication of boastfulness. *The English Hymnal* text does get rid of that effectively, but it does so at the cost of turning the dramatic monologue of Valiant into a descriptive eulogy of valour, much after the manner of the first Psalm.

It is at all events not worth while to go into the matter of a suitable tune for Bunyan's hymn until we have made up our minds whether we want a setting of a dramatic challenge or of a descriptive eulogy.

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II

THE RELIGIOUS VALUE of HYMNS

by

WILLIAM P. MERRILL, D.D.

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Second Printing

The Religious Value of Hymns

This service is in loving and grateful memory of a good servant of God, who faithfully fulfilled the beautiful ideal of the text.

It is doubtful if many here, outside of the membership of the Hymn Society, know anything of Doctor Louis F. Benson. But most of us are richer for the work he did in the interests of beauty and dignity in worship, particularly in the use of hymns. During the last three or four decades there has come a vast improvement in the quality and value of the hymns and tunes used in the worship of the church. While new hymnals come from the press in bewildering numbers, there is slowly emerging a standard by which all may be judged. We find less of individual caprice, and more steady approval of the best, in the preparation of these aids to worship. In the development of this higher and better standard Doctor Benson had a large influence. He was really a pioneer in this work of providing better hymnals for our American churches.

It was my privilege to know him, and, in a very small way, to be associated with him, when he was preparing the Presbyterian *Hymnal*, which has been of large and continuing service to the churches. I know what pains he bestowed upon that work, and what eager and constant enthusiasm he felt for it. He was as keen in hunting hymns, their sources, history and uses, as any Englishman in hunting tigers, or as Livingstone in exploring Africa. And he was as careful as he was keen. Nor did he make the mistake, into which so many compilers fall, of issuing a hymnal technically sound, but over the heads, and beyond the practical uses, of ordinary congregations. He was mindful of that sound bit of exegesis, "The Lord said, 'Feed my lambs,' not 'Feed my giraffes.'" Yet he never tolerated the cheap or unworthy. The book he prepared was one of the first and best of the new order of standard and reliable Christian song-books.

He wrote hymns of beauty and worth. We are singing some of them at this service. He was too modest to make very much use of them in the hymnals he edited. But we may be sure that some of them will live in the growing affection of Christian people.

Our *Book of Common Worship* also has upon it the touch of Doctor Benson's fine taste and judgment. Some of its best parts are from his hand and mind and soul. Many of us ministers know more about hymns, and lead public worship more helpfully, because of the enlightenment and inspiration caught from the writings and the personal influence of this lover of the praise of God. It is very certain that music is to have an ever-increasing place in the worship and life of the Church of Christ. We are glad to honor in this simple way a leader in that cause, and to welcome to this service the fellowship of lovers of good songs known as the Hymn Society, which, in quiet but effective ways, is doing much to further the study and love of good hymns and tunes in the worship of the church.

But we are here for something more than to honor this good servant of the God of beauty and harmony, and to welcome his companions in the service of better praise. We are here for an object that blends readily with the thought of Doctor Benson and his life-work. For we are to give a thought to the value of hymns as a means of *keeping fit religiously*.

On the last two Sunday afternoons we have thought about the Bible and Prayer, as two of the indispensable means of keeping up a true and strong religious experience. It is not an easy matter just now to maintain a wholesome, strong, vigorous personal religion. We cannot afford to neglect any good means to that end. Here in sacred songs, in the knowledge and use of good and true hymns, we have a wonderful help to that end.

A good Scotch elder whom I knew and loved many years ago once came to me with a troubled heart and conscience. He told me he had a confession to make. It was this,—that he found more comfort in hymns than in the reading of the Bible: that it helped his soul more, comforted him more in sorrow, gave him greater strength to resist temptation, brought him more vividly the sense of communion with God, to read or repeat some great hymn, than to read his Bible. Was he wrong? Was it a sin? It was a joy to relieve that Scotch conscience of his with a clear and strong judgment that he was right in the matter. Some people, I remember saying to him, find a loveliness and appeal in the moonlight which they never find in the full blaze of the sun. "Fair is the sunshine, fairer still the moonlight." Even if we look on the Bible as the unique Word of God, its beauty may be more wonderful and appealing to us when reflected from the souls and in the words of sensitive poets. I reminded him how practically every helpful hymn is based on thoughts or images from the Bible. Jacob's experience at Bethel takes hold of us more powerfully in "Nearer, my God, to Thee," than in the story of Genesis. Habakkuk is a sealed book to many who love to sing its message in the last stanza of Cowper's "Sometimes a light surprises the Christian while he sings." The "Sanctus" that Isaiah heard takes on a new glory when Gounod sets it to music, or when Heber gives it lyrical form in the hymn, "Holy, holy, holy." What is the hymnal but a poetic and musical commentary on the Bible?

There are many of us who are quite one with the Scotch elder in finding in the hymns something more appealing and more immediately helpful than much of what we find in the Bible itself. For one thing, the form helps greatly. It is a comfort and a joy to sing our thoughts of God. The lyric stays in the memory as the noblest prose cannot.

Amid all the changes that have come and are coming in the outward forms of religion, one wonders whether the use of hymns in private and personal religion is diminishing. Do the young people know the hymns as former generations did? Such evidence as I find makes me hopeful. Yet I am very sure that there might well be far larger use of the hymnal than now obtains.

In almost any church there would come a real and marked revival of spiritual life and of interest in worship, if every family connected with the church should secure a copy of the hymnal there used for home and personal uses; and if all who come there for worship should read and study and sing the hymns at home. Out of that familiarity would come a far more satisfactory offering of praise to God in the sanctuary.

And something more would come from it. For such private and family use of the hymnal would give to all in the home an inward treasure that would last through the years, and prove an invaluable help to the living of a faithful Christian life. Few things are better than to have a mind and heart stored with the best hymns. Out of such a treasure-house come unexpected aids in times of need.

There is much for which I give thanks as I remember the home of my childhood in New England. But one of the most vivid and loved memories is of the Sunday evenings when we would sit and sing as the daylight died away. We sang some strange hymns, crude, quite out of touch with modern taste and feeling. Yet the memory even of those is sweet. I never read or think of David's combat with Goliath, without recalling how my father loved the stirring song which began, "Strike the cymbal," and went on to describe how

"From the river,
Rejected quiver,
Judah's hero takes the stone;
Spread your banners,
Shout hosannas;
The battle is the Lord's alone."

Probably nowhere but in New England would "banners" be set to rhyme with "hosannas"; but there it did not seem incongruous. And I can recall the thrill that came as we sang of that conflict in which right won against might through the power of the Unseen God.

But, while some of the hymns we sang were thus uncouth and unworthy, and have rightly passed to oblivion, more of them were gems that are still of undiminished value. I can never come upon that beautiful prayer, "Father, whate'er of earthly bliss," without seeing our room with all the family gathered together and singing together. For that was one of the few hymns we sang every Sunday evening. I recall how the first gospel hymns caught us and excited us. I remember vividly the first time we came upon the hymn, "Holy, holy, holy," to Dykes's tune. I can still feel the thrill of joy its beauty roused. I remember the first time I ever heard "Now the day is over," to Barnby's setting. It seemed as if heaven itself could hold nothing more lovely.

I wonder how many homes are thus using sacred song as a simple and potent means of grace. Those that are not are missing a rare privilege and help. I was glad to hear, only a few days ago, from a friend who ministers to a church which broadcasts its services, that the bookseller in the town told him that he has sold 1800 copies of the hymnal in use in that church, for people to use in their homes in connection with the radio services. I am very sure, from facts known to me, that young people still love to sing hymns; and any home will be the richer and purer for keeping up that simple practice.

But that is not all. The hymns are of great and effective value in one's private and personal life. I know, from statements made to me by men and women who have come to me for confession and counsel, how potent may be the influence for goodness, for purity, for godliness, of a hymn kept in mind, ready for instant use. One of the best men I have ever known told me once of the struggle he had had for many years with the surging up of unclean thoughts and images in his soul. They would rise without warning and overwhelm him. He said that the greatest help he found was to start singing, and keep singing over and over, the old hymn, "The Lord is my Shepherd; no want shall I know," to the tune of the folk song, "Forsaken." He said, "If ever I get to heaven, and am free from sin, I shall number that hymn among my eternal treasures." Another, who was troubled with sleepless hours, when worries of the day and thoughts of all kinds would surge through his mind and keep him awake and restless, said that he had found far more effective than counting sheep, or any other familiar device, the slow repetition over and over of the stanza,

"Drop Thy still dews of quietness,
  Till all our strivings cease.
Take from our souls the strain and stress,
And let our ordered lives confess
  The beauty of Thy peace."

I know that others would say with truth that, at times of stress and anxiety, no relief or help has meant quite so much as to get into the company of the great hymns, to play them over, to repeat them, to read them.

Friends, here is a real means of grace. You can do your inner life no better service than to know the hymns, and to use them right along with the Bible and prayer. Most of the hymns are prayers; and the rest are meditations, if they are true hymns. Great souls have voiced their deepest and highest emotions and thoughts in these hymns. A hymnal is a distillation of the precious essence of the souls of the saints.

It was in part because Doctor Benson realized the value of this use of the hymnal, in the religious experience of the individual and the home, that he stood so consistently and so strongly for the printing of the hymns apart from the music, rather than between the clefs of the tune. He wanted the hymnal to be a treasury of devotion. He was right. The hymnal should be not merely an aid to public worship, but also a help to private devotion and life.

If you are not making full use of the hymns to that end, I commend the practice to you as one you cannot afford to neglect. There are hymns of such power and grace that, once they get into your soul and are really known there, they will lift you over hard places, carry you safely past temptations, give wings to your praying, bring comfort and joy in hours of sorrow, and open the doors of your heart that Christ may come in and dwell there. Unless you are far above the average Christian in your spiritual sensitiveness and attainments, naturally pure and good, unselfish and godly, you need all the help you can find to live the life you know God wants you to live. Here at your hand is a precious aid, through which the souls of the saints lay hold on your soul to help you climb and keep you climbing. Thank God for such a gift! Let it have its full power and do its full work in your soul.

This sermon was delivered by Doctor Merrill at the service, held in memory of the late Louis Fitzgerald Benson, D.D., under the auspices of the Hymn Society in the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York city, on Sunday afternoon, January 18, 1931. His text was:

Colossians 3,16 (Moffatt translation):
"Teach and train one another with the music of psalms, with hymns, and songs of the spiritual life; praise God with thankful heart."

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THE PRAISE OF THE VIRGIN IN EARLY LATIN HYMNS

by

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1944

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The Praise of the Virgin in Early Latin Hymns

There never was a time in the history of the Christian Church when the hearts of the people were not raised to heaven in song. At first in Palestine, then in Greek-speaking lands, might have been heard the never-ceasing pæans, which day by day gave expression to the loyalty and religious fervor of primitive Christianity. Attractive as the study of the Eastern hymns may be, the main stream of Christian hymnology did not flow in that direction but was diverted to western channels as the center of Christian thought and influence shifted to the Latin-speaking world. Here in Italy, Spain and Gaul, the first writers of the great Latin hymns appeared. Originating in the fourth century, the collections increased in number, variety and usage, until the ninth century possessed the full cycle of hymns which had been made a part of the formal services of the Church, a cycle which was destined to survive for centuries as the nucleus of Catholic hymnals up to the present day.

One of the most convenient printed collections of this group of hymns which is available to-day is that of the late A. S. Walpole, an English hymnologist. It contains 129 hymns which appear in the service books of the early mediæval monasteries, since monastic rites established in the sixth century were the means by which the early hymns in general use were selected, conserved and augmented for the future benefit of the Church. The Walpole edition of *Early Latin Hymns* has, therefore, been chosen to provide the hymns which are now to be considered.[1]

When the early fathers of Christianity contemplated the life and mission of our Lord, their thoughts were naturally centered upon his nativity, crucifixion and resurrection. In hymns the narrative element became prominent, the desire to tell a story in simple and objective form. To-day our Christian hymns are characterized by a subjective element and by the expression of social ideals which a modern age has exalted.

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[1] A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (Cambridge, 1922).

In the early centuries, however, the three immortal themes of the nativity, crucifixion and resurrection were paramount in hymnology. The first of these called to mind the Virgin Mother. Every hymn, therefore, which recounts the chief events in the life of Jesus, or more particularly the incidents connected with his birth, is redolent with her praise. The poems of Saint Ambrose, the great bishop of Milan, offer an excellent illustration of her veneration in fourth century hymns. "Come, Thou Redeemer of the world, show forth the virgin birth. Every age marvels; such a birth befits our God." Continuing, Saint Ambrose proclaims that the word of God is made flesh by the power of the Holy Spirit, and that the inviolate purity of the Virgin is the sign of the presence of God within her, just as a flag over some royal palace might signify the presence of the prince.[2] A second hymn by the same writer, which commemorates the crucifixion of Jesus, includes mention of that incident where the Son commends his mother to the care of Saint John. Saint Ambrose thinks of her simply as the Virgin Mother, with no hint of that later theme which was destined to grow out of the same scene and develop into the praises of the *Mater Dolorosa* standing by the cross.[3]

In a third hymn, upon the Epiphany theme, Saint Ambrose says that "the star, shining in the heavens, pointed out the virgin birth."[4] Here and in the preceding citation we have but a passing reference. Saint Ambrose has another treasure to offer, "Jesus, Thou crown of virgins, whom that mother brought forth, who was the only Virgin thus to bear a child, mercifully receive these vows." The hymn is a counterpart in poetical form of his *De Virginibus*, a prose work addressed to his sister Marcellina. Dedication to the ascetic life on the part of holy virgins was becoming a common practice in his day. He, therefore, advocated it for his sister, exalting both in essay and hymn the Virgin Mother as the inspiration to the virgin life.[5]

There are at least two implications in the use made by Saint Ambrose of the Virgin theme, which are intensely interesting to the student of early Christian thought. The former is the direct reflection of the veneration of the Virgin Mary which began to be so prominent in the fourth century, in the exact forms which it took in expressions of devotion outside of hymnology. The personages of the New Testament narrative, who surrounded our Lord during his lifetime, were for the most part honored with a martyr's crown. Not so the Virgin Mother. Consequently the veneration, offered by the early Church to the great martyr founders, overshadowed the honors given to those saints of whom such a sacrifice was not demanded. Slowly the claims to virtue displayed in a consecrated life, as well as a consecrated death, began to be recognized by the Church, which added to the martyr group the ascetic group, as objects of veneration. With the latter, the Virgin came into her inheritance of devotion. It was during the fourth century, also, that the Nicene Creed crystallized orthodox belief. The definition by the Council of Nicæa, 325 A.D., of the Godhead of the Son was to a degree paralleled by a corresponding recognition of his mother. This was achieved, 431 A.D., at the Council of Ephesus, when the Nestorian controversy resulted in the official sanction of the term "Mother of God," as applied to the Virgin. In fact, those who denied her the appellation were declared heretical.[6] No wonder that orthodox hymn writers tried to express their idea of the purity requisite to such a mother, and at the same time endeavored to uphold her as the inspiration of the ascetic life.[7]

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[2] *Intende qui regis Israel*, stanzas 2, 3, 4.
[3] *Iam surgit hora tertia*, stanzas 5, 6.
[4] *Inluminans altissimus*, stanza 3.
[5] *Jesu, corona virginum*, especially stanza 1.

The second characteristic of the Ambrosian hymns, which calls for notice, is the absence of pagan ideas in references to the Virgin. There are those who would seek for the origin of many elements of Christian belief and worship in aspects of Greek, Roman and oriental cults. Saint Ambrose, of course, shared the thought of his time. Indeed, he was a leading agent in assimilating the best of the ethical ideals of paganism to Christian theology. Other hymns of his are reminiscent of pre-Christian ideas. Aurora, for instance, is still the dawn.[8]

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[6] For the Council of Ephesus, *vide* Article *Ephesus, IV, Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd Ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931); G. Krüger, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (Tübingen, 1923), I, p. 171; F. J. Foakes Jackson, *History of the Christian Church from the Earliest Times to 461* (Cambridge, 1914), p. 458 *et seq.*

The Abbé Duchesne has explained the precise meaning of the expression, "Mother of God," thus: "*L'expression 'Mère de Dieu' n'est orthodoxe que si on l'entend de Dieu-personne; entendue de Dieu-nature elle est plus qu'heretique, elle est absurde. Marie, selon la tradition orthodoxe, est mère de quelqu'un qui est Dieu; elle est sa mère, non qu'il lui doive sa divinité, mais parce qu'il a pris d'elle son humanitè.*" L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, III (Paris, 1910), p. 325.

[7] *Vide* J. P. Kirsch, *Doctrine of the Communion of Saints* (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 236 *et seq.*

A throng of demon powers infest the night time and are dispersed by the crowing cock.[9] But all that is said by Saint Ambrose about the Virgin is strictly biblical in its derivation.

Other writers of the fourth century are no less ardent than he in their expression of the Virgin's supremacy. One tells of Gabriel's message (perhaps it was Hilary of Poitiers), and adds, "We are taught to believe a new marvel, not seen before, a Virgin Mother."[10] Prudentius, the noted Christian poet of Spain, enters into the full spirit of the theme. He produced two important works, the *Cathemerinon*, a collection of twelve sacred poems for daily private devotion, and the *Peristephanon*, containing fourteen poems honoring certain martyrs, for a similar purpose. In the former work, as he narrates the story of the life of Jesus, he declares that the Virgin "has given birth to our salvation" and reminds the worshiper that her Son is the "Redeemer of the world."[11] In true harmony with all Christians of his day he must needs exalt the mother with the Son. Again, he says, "O Nazarene, light of Bethlehem, word of the Father, born of a Virgin," choosing his phrases with the same significance.[12]

A Nativity hymn by Sedulius, however, is perhaps the best known of all fourth-century verses on this subject. "From the place of sunrise" was sometimes divided into two parts, the first seven stanzas being used at Nativity. Translated and retranslated, it has served the Church for centuries. The first stanza contains the phrase, "born of the Virgin Mary," the third portrays her as the recipient of celestial grace, while the fourth declares that "the dwelling-place of her pure breast is suddenly made the temple of God."[13]

Virgin hymns suggest the Virgin feasts. For information regarding the festivals of this early period we must once more turn our thoughts to the east, where in Jerusalem the Feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple is first noted in the second half of the fourth century. Later the name, Purification of the Blessed Virgin, was used for the same feast in the west. We first hear of the Feast of the Annunciation early in the seventh century and, at the same period, that of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin and the *Dormitio* or *Falling Asleep*, in commemoration of her death. The name *Transitus Mariae* is also used for the same feast to which legend in the fourth century, probably from Syria, had added the story of her translation to heaven. Up to the fifteenth century these names were still in use, but in modern times the name Assumption has been exclusively employed.[14] All the above festivals were unknown in Rome before the seventh century, although, as in the case of the *Dormitio*, they had flourished earlier in the Byzantine Church. At the beginning of the eighth century they are recorded in the Gelasian Sacramentary, showing that they had found meanwhile a place in the favor of the Western Church. Indeed, they were destined to be included among her choice possessions.[15]

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[8] *Splendor paternae gloriae*, stanza 8.

[9] *Aeterne rerum conditor*, stanza 3.

[10] *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*, lines 11–13.

[11] *Corde natus ex parentis*, stanza 4.

[12] *O Nazarene, lux Bethlem*, lines 1, 2.

For an account of Prudentius, *vide* F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1927).

[13] *A solis ortus cardine.*

One reason for the increased interest in the Virgin feasts, from the fourth century on, was undoubtedly the New Testament apocryphal literature which narrated the story of the Virgin's life, filling in many gaps left by the canonical accounts.[16] It is now easier to understand why the Latin hymns of the fourth century, which were written before the new influences had had time to be felt, tell only the simple narrative of the life of Jesus and contain merely the reflection of the Virgin's praise in its earliest form.

The hymns of Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, are the next great compositions to be considered, appearing in the sixth century in Gaul. His magnificent hymn for the Holy Cross, "Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle," is so well known that one has only to remind the reader that the ancient themes of the virgin birth and the Virgin Mother occur in its fourth and fifth stanzas.[17] Fortunatus wrote a Christmas hymn also.

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[14] G. Krüger, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, III, pp. 221, 238. F. Cabrol, "Assomption (Fête de l')" in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie.*

[15] *Vide* L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (London, 1904), pp. 271–273.

[16] P. E. Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults* (Tübingen, 1904), p. 422.

[17] *Pange lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis.*

Phrases rendered familiar by later usage are gathered here. The prophecy of Isaiah, the annunciation, the work of the Spirit, a mighty power filling all the universe yet submitting to the restrictions of an infant's life, the rod of Jesse and the concept of One who with his Father created the heavens, wearing swaddling clothes under a mother's care, all appear. The final stanza brings the virgin theme to a climax: "Now is light and salvation born. Night has been driven away and death has been conquered. Come, ye tribes, believe! Mary has brought forth God."[18]

One of the first Latin hymns to be devoted to the exclusive praise of the Virgin is also attributed to Fortunatus. The poet has permitted himself a wider range of tributes than in any previous hymn. Terms such as *beata*, *benedicta* and *gloriosa* are found. The contrast between the parts played by Eve and Mary in the drama of man's salvation, a favorite idea with later mediæval writers, is made clear. The Virgin is, moreover, called "the window of heaven," "the doorway for the king," "the gate of light."[19] It seems remarkable that a hymn of the sixth century should reveal so complete an assimilation of the ideas of Eastern Christianity, even before the Virgin feasts had reached Rome. If, however, Fortunatus is in reality the author, it may illustrate the Gallic tendency toward earlier adoption of ideas prevailing in those lands in which our Christian religion arose. Much has yet to be revealed in the history of Gallic Latin hymns; but whatever stands out from the general obscurity, which surrounds their development, points to an earlier and more varied use of song in the services of worship, and an interest in devotional poetry which surpassed that of Italy, with the possible exception of Milan.

Like the fourth century, the sixth and later the ninth centuries were notable periods in the growth of Latin hymnology. In the great hymn cycles, which were used chiefly in the services of the canonical hours, those terms are met continually which have become familiar in the praises of the mother of the Lord. The greater number of references are to the virgin birth, and the purity and fame of the Virgin Mother. Yet the praises of the Son which glorify the mother are present also, and that metaphor by which she is termed "the gate accessible to Christ."[20]

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[18] *Agnoscat omne saeculum.* Fortunatus, one of the most interesting literary figures of the sixth century, is the author of secular as well as religious verse. In addition to Raby's account in his *History of Christian Latin Poetry*, a very suggestive and stimulating criticism of the man and his work is available in P. S. Allen, *Romanesque Lyric* (Un. of N. Carolina Press, 1928).

[19] *Quem terra, pontus, aethera.*

The ninth century cycle of monastic hymns did not include a well-loved poem which undoubtedly dates from that century, "Hail, Star of the Sea." It forms the link which connects the group of earlier hymns with those of a later period when the praises of the Virgin reached their climax in Latin song.

Ave, maris stella,
Dei mater alma
Atque semper virgo,
Felix coeli porta.

Sumens illud Ave
Gabrielis ore,
Funda nos in pace,
Mutans nomen Evae.

Solve vincla reis,
Profer lumen caecis,
Mala nostra pelle,
Bona cuncta posce.

Monstra te esse matrem,
Sumat per te precem,
Qui pro nobis natus
Tulit esse tuus.

Virgo singularis,
Inter omnes mitis,
Nos culpis solutos
Mites fac et castos.

Vitam praesta puram,
Iter para tutum,
Ut videntes Iesum
Semper collaetemur.

Sit laus Deo patri,
Summum Christo decus,
Spiritui sancto,
Honor, tribus unus.[21]

The literary beauty and devotional spirit of this hymn are accessible to all in many translations. The following is one of two, recently selected by Father Britt for his *Hymns of the Breviary and Missal.*[22] It is here printed by the courtesy of the author, Rev. George R. Woodward, M.A.

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[20] *Aeterna caeli gloria,* stanza 1; *Conditor alme siderum,* line 12; *Christe redemptor omnium,* line 11; *Inluxit orbi iam dies,* line 22; *O redemptor sume carmen,* line 14; *Optatus votis omnibus,* line 18; *Hymnum canamus gloriae,* line 11; *Fit porta Christi pervia,* stanza 1.

[21] Text from *Anal. Hymn.*, LI, p. 140.

[22] M. Britt, *Hymns of the Breviary and Missal* (New York, 1924), p. 317 *et seq.*

Hail! Sea-star we name thee,
Ever-maid acclaim thee,
Godès Mother, portal
Up to bliss immortal.

Ave was the token
By the Angel spoken:
Peace on earth it telleth,
Eva's name re-spelleth.

Free the worldly-minded:
Luminate the blinded:
Every ill repressing,
Win us every blessing,

Plead, and play the mother:
He will, and none other,
Born for our salvation,
Heed thy supplication.

Maiden, meek and lowly,
Singularly holy,
Loose the sins that chain us;
Sanctify, constrain us.

Rule our life in pureness;
Smooth our way with sureness.
Jesus: O to eye him,
Like thee, alway nigh him!

Father, Son, we bless thee,
Likewise we confess thee,
Holy Spirit, trinal,
Onely, first and final.[23]

This beautiful hymn is typical of the early centuries, in that familiar words are present, such as "Mother of God," "gate of heaven," and "*Ave*," the reversed spelling of which reads "*Eva*." Moreover, the Virgin is thought of as the inspiration to a life of purity. A new note, characteristic of the future, is also heard. The mother is implored to use for mortals her great influence with the Son.

One of the striking features of this hymn is the direct address sustained from beginning to end. Fortunatus, it is true, appealed directly to the Virgin in the second part of his hymn in her honor, beginning with the line, *O gloriosa femina*, but this is a single instance from all the poems considered. The direct and personal approach in later hymns is almost universal.

It is difficult to overstate the charm and distinction of *Ave maris stella*. Its opening words suggest that atmosphere of unearthly beauty in which the evening star is seen against the blue depth of its luminous background. As early as the fourth century the name *stella maris* was used as the equivalent of *Mary*, but never had it been employed in hymns until this time.[24] Herein is another consideration linking past with future, for no term thereafter applied to the Virgin has been received with great favor.

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[23] G. R. Woodward, *The Mother of My Lord* (London, 1923), p. 11.

[24] O. Bardenhewer, *Der Name Maria* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1895), p. 88. For a discussion of similarities between epithets for Astarte and the term, *stella maris*, as applied to Mary, consult p. 36 of the above work.

Although this paper is, strictly speaking, concerned with hymns which belonged to services other than the mass, the hymnology of the latter cannot be altogether ignored. Toward the close of the period which ended in the ninth century, the mass was enriched by a new form of hymn, called the "sequence." The exact date of its appearance cannot be determined, nor do scholars now agree as to the authorship of important compositions once claimed as the work of individual poets, such as Notker of St. Gall. Setting these vexed questions aside we are, however, face to face with the same type of evidence seen in the office hymns. During the period of origin of the sequence, extant manuscript collections bear witness to the same ways of thinking, so prominent in the older established forms and now transferred to a new medium of religious verse.[25]

In terms like the above, Christian hymn writers from the fourth to the ninth centuries of our era were wont to think of the Virgin Mother. The period of the founding and expansion of Christianity had created a heritage everywhere familiar throughout the Roman Empire. Barbarian conquerors and Roman inhabitants had been merged into a new race which, in turn, assimilated the old ideas and expressions. Its creative powers had not yet fully matured, but here and there a leader appeared like Alcuin and his colleagues, precursors of that new day which was at hand. In the ninth century men stood like watchers before the dawn.

In spite of the simplicity and dignity of those terms of praise which were applied to the Virgin, some may regard them as meager, in the light of later hymns upon the same subject. If so, it should be recalled that the warmer and richer colors of daybreak had not yet flooded the sky. Saint Bernard had not yet been born. The Cistercian and other orders, whose delight it was to celebrate the glories of the Virgin, had not yet appeared. The later feasts had not yet been established. The Little Hours had not yet been observed. The more elaborate sequences for the Virgin masses had not yet been composed. We miss the exuberant piety which the veneration of the Virgin was yet to call forth. True of hymns, it is equally true of art. Émile Mâle, whose fascinating accounts of mediæval art captivate every reader, has called attention to the change which takes place in the representation of the Virgin in sculpture at the time when other forms of her praise were undergoing the development referred to above. He describes the Virgin sculptures before the twelfth century as "so serious" (*si grave*).[26] No better word could be found to express the essential quality and character of those praises penned by the early Latin poets. They are restrained, perhaps inarticulate, but intensely devotional. We have found them true to the thought of their times, but offering in the poetic medium a fresher and more direct expression of religious feeling than may be found in other forms of religious literature. The great Christian hymns of all ages have this characteristic. It is inherent in their very nature to reveal the common heritage of thought and devotion, like the face of waters which reflect what they behold in forms of more perfect beauty.

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[25] *Vide Anal. Hymn.*, LIII, for sequences from manuscripts of the tenth century, especially Nos. 12, 15, 18, 22, 25, 26, 27.

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[26] *L'Art religieux du xii^e Siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), p. 426.

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IV

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OLD FRENCH PSALTER

Begun by CLÉMENT MAROT *in 1532*

An Address before the Hymn Society at its
Decennial Celebration at Union Theological
Seminary, New York, November 12, 1932

by

PROFESSOR WALDO SELDEN PRATT, L.H.D., MUS. D.
Hartford Seminary Foundation

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The Significance of the Old French Psalter

Begun by Clément Marot *in 1532*

My appearing before you to-night is in a sense accidental. It so happens that this tenth-year celebration of our Hymn Society coincides with the four-hundredth anniversary of an event which made such a society both possible and even inevitable. And it so happens that this far-off event and its many implications have long seemed to me of peculiar interest. The special field of this society is naturally the present picture or drama of hymnody as it lies close before us. But in every picture and drama the near foreground gains in depth and meaning as we also regard the backgrounds that lie behind. It is one of these almost forgotten backgrounds that is our topic to-night.

Happily, the subject is not unfamiliar here. Within but a few months you have had an address upon it from one who could speak out of a special intimacy with it.[1] But it spreads before us somewhat like a great forest. It has many aspects and wide expansions, with diverse paths that wind through it. So it will do no harm if to-night we try another entrance and pursue another course.

Toward the end of the year 1532—four hundred years ago—a popular and gifted poet attached to the royal court at Paris set himself to a project unlike any he had tried before, a project which he did not live to finish and one the results of which he did not at all foresee. What he then began and wrought upon for some ten years had sundry partial publications, and at length, being completed by another hand, reached its full and final form in 1562—just three hundred and seventy years ago.

The poet was Clément Marot, a bright star in the galaxy of wits and geniuses then clustered about the ambitious and energetic Francis I. The book that finally emerged was the complete metrical Psalter in French, richly supplied with tunes—a book that at once for Huguenots and later for hosts of others took rank in reverence as second only to the Bible itself. One third of this book came from Marot's own pen, while upon the whole lay the golden light of his fervor and inspiration.[2]

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[1] By the Rev. M. J. Brun, assistant pastor of L'Église du Saint Esprit, New York City, on May 28, 1932.

I

My main object to-night is to dwell on what this Psalter is within itself. But we can hardly avoid making first a sketch-plan of the situation into which it was born, together with some mention of the enormous range of its ultimate influence.

There was hardly a year in the amazing sixteenth century that might not well be commemorated now. It was packed with momentous events and movements—social, political, artistic, intellectual, religious. The rise of Protestantism was but one among a dozen convulsions that marked the transition from mediæval to modern times.

We cannot survey the whole scene. But we need to recall that the Protestantism of Western Europe started and continued notably separate from that of Central Europe. Its focus was long in Switzerland, where alone it was safe from hostile antipathy and violence. Its first leader was the ardent Zwingli, to whom succeeded in 1534 the still more powerful Calvin. Under the latter there gradually came into being the large circle of churches called Reformed or Calvinistic in distinction from those called Lutheran.

The story of the French Huguenots is at once romantic and tragic. Long before they acquired their party name various scattered inquirers and dreamers were searching after a new faith and a new life. As they became united under Calvin's lead, their number and prestige steadily increased, so that they won some toleration and even power, though never for long or in full. Even when their ranks were counted by hundreds of thousands and included many noble and masterful names, they remained always a minority in the nation. Just before 1600 Henry IV, who had fought with them during a long period of civil war, signed the famous Edict that granted large freedom to the new religion. But this Edict was often disregarded, and in 1685 Louis XIV took the fatal step of revoking it. So, after one hundred and fifty years of activity and growth, the Huguenot population then had to choose between flight, recantation or death. Perhaps as many as 400,000 of the choicest spirits in France fled to other countries.

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[2] Two curious, and very dissimilar, observations may be added as to these dates 1532 and 1562:

First, regarding 1532. In that year there was in Paris also a young theological student named John Calvin—not yet a declared Protestant, as Marot certainly was not. During that year he may have preached his first sermon. He surely then published his first book. It was still four years before he and Marot were to meet in Italy, and ten years before they were to work hand in hand at Geneva over the growing Psalter.

And, regarding 1562. The completed Psalter was then issued by the royal printers under license from the king, who just then was Charles IX, a mere boy of twelve, so that the license actually came from his mother as regent, that same Catherine de' Medici who, after playing fast and loose with the Huguenots for ten years, became the instigator of the infamous Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572.

My chief reason for recalling these points is to emphasize the size and quality of the original public for which the French Psalter was designed and by which, through five generations before the Expulsion, it was held precious. The magnitude of this French circulation is otherwise attested. While still incomplete, nearly a hundred issues of parts of the Psalter are recorded. In the one year 1562 the completed work came out in about twenty-five editions in different cities. And before the Expulsion there were two hundred and fifty more. We can only guess how many copies these nearly four hundred printings imply. Whatever the total number, its meaning grows when we reflect that in those days only the few could use books at all. While some had the Psalter in their hands, many more held it simply in their heads and hearts.

Quite aside from this imposing French usage, much more is to be said. The contagion of Geneva spread far and wide. To the north it crept down the Rhine till it struck deep root in Holland, where presently Calvinism became the state or national religion. To the east it pushed steadily into many parts of Germany, where even lately its adherents were counted by millions. Across the Channel, about the time when Marot died, a valet at the court of England imitated his example by putting sundry psalms into English verse, thus taking the first steps toward the English Psalter. During the bloody reign of Mary (1553-58) hosts of English Protestants took refuge at Frankfort or Geneva. At their return under Elizabeth they brought back new convictions and new practices, which helped to shape the then plastic Anglican Church and took control of the virile Church of Scotland. Thus to the west Geneva laid its hand on early Presbyterianism and Puritanism.

The point for us here is that everywhere the French Psalter flew like a flag at the head of aggressive Calvinism. In Holland Datheen's full translation, with all the tunes, became the official manual of the Dutch Reformed Church. In Germany Lobwasser's translation, again with the tunes, entered upon a popularity that ran strong for two centuries or more. In England, also, translations were promptly made, but were overshadowed by the English Psalter. But in this latter, as in the first Scottish Psalter, almost thirty per cent of the tunes were borrowed from the French, while in the later Psalter of Ainsworth—the one brought to Plymouth by the Pilgrims—one-half of the tunes were French.

But even this is not all. This French book of praise was in demand and use much beyond the three countries already named. The list of translations in full is almost unbelievable—into two dialects of Old French, into Swiss and Italian, into Danish, into Spanish and Portuguese, into Polish, Bohemian and Hungarian, even into Persian, Malay and two other tongues in the Far East, besides into Latin and Hebrew. Verily thus both verse and music may be said to have early gone to the ends of the earth.

Here in the early settlement of America every single band of pioneers, except the Spaniards in the south and the Jesuits in Canada, brought in print or in memory the whole of the French Psalter or parts of it. Indeed, even prior to St. Augustine (commonly called the first permanent settlement in America), a transient French colony in South Carolina sang Marot's Psalms so lustily that the Indians caught them up and kept them sounding long after the remnants of the colony were wiped out.[8]

In view of all this, my first point is that the significance of the French Psalter lies largely in the extraordinary range of its use and influence.

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[8] See Charles W. Baird's *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, i. 68.

II

Everyone knows that until after 1700 the substance of song in all the great circle of Reformed Churches was almost exclusively psalmody. Upon this and out of it was evolved the later hymnody that we know to-day. The French Psalter broke the first path into this unknown domain of song, its practice being adopted in full for French, Dutch and many German singers and followed in part by Scottish and English singers as well. Traces of its direct impress lingered in England and America as late as about 1800.[4] And, in the wonderful expansion of English hymn-writing in recent times, one of the notable features has been an instinctive return to many of the models and methods that were first set forth by French psalmodists in the sixteenth century. Verily, then, it was a sturdy and prolific seedling that Marot was moved to plant in 1532!

We turn back now to Marot, the creator of this remarkable historic sequence, whose career was more full of incident and color than we can here record.

His family was Norman, but he was born in 1495 or '97 at Cahors (sixty miles north of Toulouse).[5] His father, both a man of affairs and a poet, was long attached to the train of the famous Anne of Brittany, who was twice queen of France, and then to that of the king who succeeded in 1515, Francis I. The boy was naturally trained to be a courtier, then almost the only career open to a man of letters. He had discipline in various languages, in the rudiments of law, in the amenities and accomplishments of high society, and, incidentally, in some military service. His shining gift for poetry was early manifest and found incessant exercise. When he came of age, Francis had the wit to put him under the patronage of his sister, Marguerite of Alençon, who became his staunch and lifelong friend. But he was also much at Paris, a favorite with the whole court circle and at least a witness of its varied play of frivolity and intrigue. In this way he became an experienced man of the world.

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[4] Of course, many or all of the old psalms and tunes are in constant use now in French and Dutch Protestant churches everywhere. In a small circle of Dutch Reformed congregations in Michigan I believe that the revised edition of Datheen's translation is still the manual of praise.

[5] The family is traced back to the neighborhood of Caen under forms like Mares, Marais, Des Mares, Desmarets, etc. The spelling Marot was adopted by Clément's father. In America the derivation is shown by various well-known holders of the names Marot, Marais and Demarest. Two or three suppose themselves directly descended from Clément Marot through his son Michael, probably born in 1527. See Douen.

But to have won and held his place implies a personality many-sided and strong. He was certainly keen and alert, vivacious and companionable, spirited and even audacious, but withal increasingly thoughtful within himself. His poetic writing was profuse and constant, ranging from light skits and pieces of occasion to veiled allegories and sharp satires on men and things, as well as long works of imagination and of sustained argument or polemic. His sympathies ran vigorously with all that made for progress—in knowledge, in culture, in justice, in liberty. He lost patience over the folly and moral laxness of the court and over the greed and tyranny of the Church. The clerical party came to fear and hate him for his daring sarcasm and his exposure of hypocrisy. I forget how often they schemed to silence him or put him in prison. But he always came back in a sort of triumph, until at last the Sorbonne branded him a heretic and forced him to flee for his life to Geneva. Even there his liberty-loving spirit soon set him adrift again. He betook himself to Italy and died suddenly at Turin in 1544, less than fifty years old—as some think, the victim of poison.

His turning from witty and diverting lyrics and from paraphrases of Greek and Latin odes and dithyrambs was not a mere freak or vagary. He had studied the New Testament before it was translated into French. Through all his mature writing, however light and impulsive, can be traced an evident groping after something deeper and more true. The goal toward which he was working is shown by his famous retort when accused of heresy,

> I am no Lutheran or Zwinglian, much less an Anabaptist or Papist. I never was, nor am, nor will be, anything but as Christian, I pass my days, God willing, in the service of His Son, Jesus Christ.[6]

In the annals of French lyric poetry Marot is sometimes counted as the natural successor of the erratic Villon, a half-century earlier. But his genius had a quality of reverence that

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[6] In this quotation I take the liberty of combining Marot's two versions. At first he wrote only "Anabaptist," later only "Papist." His evident intention was to disengage himself from all sects and parties, while declaring himself essentially Christian.

Villon never knew. He came at a time when the poetry of the Bible was just beginning to dawn upon the apprehension of the few. In 1532 he took up Hebrew that he might make the vision of the Eternal and Almighty in the psalms the inspiration and solace of the many.[7]

One would like to see a special study of the peculiar influence on Marot's development of three noble and gifted women who saw the potencies within him. These were Anne of Britanny (1476-1514), who watched him in his youth, Marguerite of Alençon (1492-1549), who for twenty-five years was his patroness and protector in his maturity, and Renée, Duchess of Ferrara (1510-74?), at whose court he first met Calvin and to whom he was probably going when struck down at Turin, this last being the only one of the three who openly espoused the new faith. These ladies, all of royal blood, lived in an age of extraordinary violence, luxury and profligacy. Yet, in the midst of it all, they stood out conspicuous for intellectual force, for broad and progressive sympathies, for some degree of moral and spiritual earnestness. Together they supplied both restraint and incitation as the impetuous Marot was evolving from the status of a mere court poet into that of the psalmist of the rising Reformed Church.

In all, Marot wrought out forty-nine psalms in meter, besides versions of the Ten Commandments and the Nunc Dimittis. He began with the first of the Penitentials (Psalm vi), which he appended to a letter to Marguerite. At first he published nothing, but circulated his new poems among friends at court. Thus arose a most curious situation. These psalms at once sprang into favor with the king and the whole gay circle about him (all professed Catholics, though not all paragons of virtue), actually driving out the ditties that had been the fashion. The melodies used were doubtless adapted or invented by Marot, who was expert in music. But at the same time these new songs crept outside and were caught up by humble groups of Protestants as songs of worship. Thus it was that, without Marot's connivance, thirteen of them came into print at Strassburg in 1539. It was not till 1542 that he himself published his first thirty psalms, carefully revised and bearing the royal license or *privilège*. It was this book which, though explicitly endorsed by Francis I as king and Charles V as emperor, aroused the wrath of the Sorbonne and finally put its author under sentence of death. Marot escaped to Geneva and there, with Calvin's approval, completed nineteen more psalms, the whole list appearing in 1543 as the official basis of a complete Psalter for the Reformed Churches.

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[7] At least seven editions of Marot's *Œuvres* are listed in Saintsbury's article upon him in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

But Marot's speedy death forced Calvin to find a new translator. He wisely turned to Théodore de Bèze (or Beza), twenty years younger than Marot, but a trained poet and theologian. Though Beza was no such genius as Marot, he excelled him in scholarship. He had a difficult task to supply the hundred psalms still lacking. But he deserves more honor than has always been accorded him for the fidelity and loyalty with which he completed the work in harmony with the spirit and method of the founder.

In sketching these facts you will see that I am suggesting my second point as to the significance of the French Psalter. This lies in the exceptional quality of its poetic text. No other official psalter matches it in variety, verve or sheer virtuosity. The English Psalter is tame and rude beside it. Even the Scottish, which aimed to follow it in part, is not its equal. Some of its renderings are open to question and sundry verbal expressions have needed alteration. But the massive warmth and dignity of the whole remain a marvel. I have not the skill nor is this the place to go into details.

But I must refer rapidly to certain features in the versification. Some of these are in contrast with early English usage, and all of them bear directly on the music.

All early Protestant verse was derived from popular models of song. The usual rhythm was iambic, the lines grouped into uniform stanzas by means of rhyme. The French Psalter is peculiar in its proportion of trochaic rhythms—over fourteen per cent—and its fondness for feminine endings everywhere.[8]

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[8] In both French and English usage masculine and feminine rhymes are usually contrasted within the couplets, the one closing with a single accent, the other with a double accent (really on the penult, but made double by the melodic close of the line). Examples are

(Iambic) The King of love my Shepherd is,
Whose goodness faileth *never,*

(Trochaic) Glorious things of thee are *spoken,*
Zion, city of our God.

In English popular manuals neither of these found place until fully two hundred years later.

At first in all countries long stanzas were the rule, with correspondingly long melodies. In England and Scotland, the eight-line stanza was at first the favorite. But there the lazy seventeenth century lapsed into the so-called "short" stanza of four lines, while at the same time French and Dutch singers were ranging freely over every length from four lines to twelve.

Still more striking are the contrasts in stanza-plan or "meter." Early English verse centered almost wholly on Common Meter Double, with some variants.[9] But the French book has no less than one hundred and ten meters, each requiring its own type of tune. This richness of form, no doubt, traces back to Provençal or Troubadour originals. English official usage turned its back for long on all such devices as unpractical. Yet English poesy was not at all unable to match the French models, as was brilliantly shown by the Psalter of Philip Sidney and his sister, based upon Marot and Beza and completed by about 1590 (though not put in print till 1823). It remained for Charles Wesley in the eighteenth century and various poets of the early nineteenth to restore to English hymnody some of its lost features of metrical liberty, variety and vitality.

III

We come now to the tunes. These were the wings that bore the verses fast and far. While the text appealed only to those who knew French and was not readily translatable, the melodies could pass instantly anywhere. By their tunes all early psalms and hymns were not only spread abroad, but stamped upon the heart for generations. By their tunes ye shall *know* them!

The sixteenth century for music was a time of profound transformation. Its texture and method were being readjusted to secure effects and values that were novel. Historians do not always note how quickly Protestant song boldly leaped to that which scholastic artists reached more slowly and timidly. The first German hymn-book came out in 1524, the first French in 1539, the first effective English in 1551 (though not in England). In the tunes of all, interwoven with lingering traces of old ways, ran a sure sense of new ideas of rhythm and form, of melodic figure and balance, of tonality and harmony, that bring them close to our modern feeling. The key to it all was the discovery that in the song and dance of common people lay valid and vital artistic principles. Just these principles Protestantism was prompt to utilize.

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[9] The syllable-plan for Common Meter is 8686 (the old "ballad meter"), for Long Meter 8888, for Short Meter 6686 (all these being often doubled to make eight lines) and for the so-called Hallelujah Meter 6666 4444. All were iambic. When French psalms were taken into English or Scottish usage the text and music were regularly modified in meter so as to avoid the feminine endings. A few French forms in ten-syllable lines were, however, accepted. Stanzas with such lines have been notably prominent in nineteenth century writing.

In France, as elsewhere, the gathering of accepted melodies was gradual. What was used by Marot at first is not clear. In 1539 Calvin put in 29 tunes, of which only 11 became permanent. Half of the 25 added in 1542-3 were later dropped. More stable additions in the next twenty years brought the total to 125—a figure that is impressive in comparison with the 25 original in the English Psalter and the 50 or so in the Scottish.

We can do little here with the vexed question as to who adapted or composed these tunes. In 1541 two musicians came from Paris to Geneva, Guillaume Franc to open a singing school and Louis Bourgeois on invitation from the City Council. In 1545 Franc moved to Lausanne. Bourgeois remained until 1557, in close association with Calvin. Both men were busy over psalm-tunes. But Franc's work seems to have had little effect outside of Lausanne. So on the whole it is easier to call Bourgeois the probable designer of the style as a whole, the style to which the unknown final editor plainly sought to conform. By this word "style" I would not imply that the tunes are mechanically alike—which is far from true. But I mean that various details indicate a strong unifying purpose and plan. As a style, it stands apart from the German style on the one hand and from the English on the other.

Behind this French style, as with the others, lay a background of both Plain-song and Folk-song. Many melodies were doubtless borrowed or imitated, but some were freshly composed. All seem to have gone through some sort of editorial shaping. The style is not so much a creation as a genetic development. Its prompt success implies a skillful fitting to the public of its day —a public certainly much more expert in unaccompanied song than is common now.

The great authority Douen (1878) divides the tunes into 52 modal, 35 imperfect minor and 38 major. Assuming that the minors can be assimilated to our present minor, this makes the ratio between antique and modern scales about 5:7. A few of his assignments seem to me open to debate. But everywhere we run up against the baffling problem of how far the practice of *musica ficta* is to be reckoned with. In most early music-printing no accidentals are marked. Yet we are practically sure that singers used tones not expressly given. This process of instinctive modification tended always toward the major and minor modes as we now have them, toward modern harmonic drifts and toward more or less modulation. As to the tendency in general there is little doubt. But particular cases can be wrangled over all night.

It is easy to see that these 125 tunes, with over 860 lines and about 7200 notes, present a critical problem of some magnitude. Of course, technical analysis cannot get at their full flavor. But study and comparison bring to light much that casual reading overlooks. Most of the detail is not at all suited to an address like this. But let me give but a single example.

Luther's *Ein' feste Burg* opens with a peculiar melodic device of three reiterated tones. In the French tunes this same device occurs over sixty times, though never built into Luther's phrase. It is commoner in modal or minor tunes, but in several of the majors the effect is notably fine. In the English tunes there are only eight cases and in the Scottish only eleven. In the French it is most telling when opening the second section of the tune and preceded by an octave leap.

Observing points like this leads, among other things, to what seems to be the most salient characteristic of these French melodies. This inheres in the metric pattern of the phrases or lines, that is, their framing out of long and short tones. With almost no exception, the lines are never made up of tones of equal value. Rather is there a constant and studied interplay of longs and shorts, amounting in all to nearly a hundred different patterns. Here is where we feel the vital heritage of folk-songs and dances, with their elasticity, dash and spirit. This is the more impressive because so different from the English tradition as we know it. Just this it was that was derided by opponents at the start, but just that which a later taste finds choice. It was not only a fruit of the vivacious Gallic spirit. It was also so handled as to give utterance to the exuberant elevation of the ancient praise-book of Israel.

This metric feature is more than a rescript of popular song. It has been moulded into a system at once consistent and flexible. Fifteen to twenty patterns are the most frequent, fitted to every number of syllables from five to thirteen. It is astonishing how few of these patterns are found in current hymnals. About sixty or seventy years ago English tune-writing began to recover a little of the wealth of sixteenth century meters and patterns, as evidenced, for example, in Monk's "Abide with me" and Smart's setting of "Hark, hark my soul," which are in French form throughout.[10] We may hope that the twentieth century will go still further.

Associated with this matter of line-pattern there are two effects that seem unusual to us.

One is the occasional mingling within the phrase of duple and triple feet. Most of these hybrid phrases are not only very singable, but effective, though rare in modern tunes. It is amusing to note the efforts of certain editors to recast these phrases so to fit into some rigid formula that they think more normal.

More curious is the use to some extent of syncopated or upset accents in forming cadences. There are over forty cases of this effect, two-thirds of them with double syncopation. The device serves to emphasize the final note, and often suggests modulation. The noble tune "Toulon" in our modern hymnals, which, like "Old Hundredth," comes straight from the French Psalter, appears now as a four-line tune. Originally it had five lines, but the middle one was dropped because of its syncopated ending.

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[10] The first really skillful tune-writer in America was Lowell Mason, who had made diligent study of European models as far as then accessible. He was sensitive to this feature of line-pattern and experimented with many forms. It is curious that his rather favorite pattern (as shown, for example, in his "Rockingham") is identical with that found altogether about a hundred times in the French Psalter. Whether or not this striking innovation upon traditional English usage was based on a knowledge of its French source I do not know.

I wish that I could make due reference to the great dexterity with which different line-patterns are combined in the same stanza. A single pattern is never used for all the lines. Indeed, the style restricts itself to only two patterns in but seventeen cases. In eleven cases each line has a different pattern. The extent of variety in at least a hundred melodies can hardly be matched, I think, in modern hymnals.

In the manuals originally used the tunes are given in melody only, intended for tenor voices. But most of the melodies imply a harmonic basis, as shown by the formation of the phrases. This is made sure by the fact that in Germany, France and England harmonized versions appeared in print almost at once, and multiplied as time went on. In France the well-known Goudimel was one of the first in the field, his version being often republished. Not long after, the foremost organist in Holland, Jan Sweelinck, wrought out a full set of more elaborate treatments, in a way prefiguring the chorale works of Bach a century later. These are but two examples of the way in which professional musicians sought to disclose the harmonic substance behind the melodic profile or outline.

We may safely imagine, also, that among large groups of singers more or less improved part-singing developed spontaneously as in secular song. This is what we suspect as we read of 4000 people singing in the streets of Augsburg in 1551 or of 6000 around St. Paul's Cross in London in 1560, or of the Leyden congregation gathered to say farewell to the Pilgrims in 1620, and in many other cases. Early hymnody and psalmody was not simply melodic, but potentially and actually harmonic as well. This justifies us in various experiments in our own way to-day.

My own study has led me to feel that there is real beauty and worth in many of these old melodies; so much so that one wonders that more is not known of them among us to-day. Those in modal scales appeal to us less than the others, and the minors often raise problems of reading and treatment. But the majors tell their story at once. Only extended illustration and discussion would make clear just what is in my mind. I shall content myself with but a few simple examples on the piano. But I hope that these, meagre and imperfect though they be, will serve to emphasize my third and final point—that the French Psalter is peculiarly significant for its rich and varied store of music.

My total argument, then, is that this Psalter of four hundred years ago has significance for us to-day for three reasons—first, because of its wide-extended influence in the age when a new faith and zeal were flaming fires; second, because of its fresh and virile transcriptions of the poetry of the Hebrew psalmists; and third, because of the noble and appealing vesture of melody that it gave to this poetry. For all these reasons, it seems fully worthy of the honor which our Hymn Society has done it in giving it place on the program of this Anniversary Celebration.

In preparing this address free use has been made of many books and articles, especially

Douen's masterly *Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot*, 2 vols, 1878
Bovet's shorter *Histoire du Psautier des Églises Réformées*, 1872
Livingston's monograph on *The Scottish Psalter*, 1864
Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 1892, 2nd ed. 1907

supplemented by an independent study of French, Dutch, English and Scottish Psalters in search of technical details in both verse and music to which not much attention has usually been paid.

Though differing much in scope and purpose, this address runs parallel at many points with three elaborate papers by the late Dr. Louis F. Benson in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, 1909.

Grateful acknowledgment is made for invaluable assistance from the Case Memorial Library of the Hartford Seminary Foundation and the Sage Library of the Reformed Church in America at New Brunswick, N. J., besides various individuals.

W. S. P.

Mrs. George E. Stickney
438 Beverly Hill Blvd.
Billings, Montana

THEOLOGY
CLAREMONT, CALIF.

THE PAPERS OF THE
HYMN SOCIETY

CARL F. PRICE Editor

V

HYMN FESTIVAL PROGRAMS

THE HYMN SOCIETY
NEW YORK CITY
1934

Forward

The hymn festivals, conducted in New York City during recent years under the auspices of the Hymn Society, have proved to be so inspiring in rendition, so well attended by the public and so fruitful in intellectual interest and spiritual power, that the Society has felt justified in urging that hymn festivals be held in many churches throughout the country. In this movement the Hymn Society has secured the pledge of hearty co-operation from the American Guild of Organists and the National Association of Organists. Special committees from each of these organizations have been meeting together to devise plans for its furtherance. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America through its Committee on Worship and Music has endorsed the movement.

The programs of some of these hymn festivals already held by the Hymn Society are here presented, as illustrations of the type of material which has proved successful. It is hoped, however, that as the festivals are developed, a larger place will be given to the congregational singing of hymns, without detracting from the interest and value that inhere in the rendition of meritorious organ compositions and anthems, based (for the most part) on well-known hymn tunes. An address on the hymns by the pastor or some visiting preacher has usually been made a part of the festival and has crowned the occasion with a helpful interpretation of its significance.

C. F. P.

Second Printing

Riverside Church, New York City

Sunday Afternoon, November 13, 1932

The Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Pastor, officiating
Dr. Harold V. Milliken, Organist and Choirmaster

This hymn festival was held in connection with the Decennial of the Hymn Society.

Organ: Four Choral Preludes .... J. S. Bach
"Dearest Jesus, we are here"
"In dulci jubilo"
"My heart is filled with longing"
"We all believe in one God"

Processional Hymns:
"God of our Fathers" .... *National Hymn*
"Soldiers of Christ, arise" .... *Diademata*

Hymn: "The Church's one Foundation" .... *Aurelia*
(with descant by Grace Leeds Darnell)

Anthem: "Jesus, Joy of man's desiring" .... J. S. Bach

Litany by the Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick with the Choir
(written for this occasion)

Offertory Anthem: Psalm 86, tune from Genevan Psalter, 1543 .... Holst

Hymn: "Where cross the crowded ways of life" ..... *Germany*
(with descant composed for this service by T. Tertius Noble)

Address: "Vital Hymns" by the Rev. Professor James Moffatt

Anthem: "Lord, Thou hast been our refuge"
Vaughan Williams

Vesper Hymn: "O for a closer walk with God" .... *Stracathro*
(Old Scottish Psalm Tune, arranged with Faux Bourdon by Hugh Roberton)

Recessional Hymn: "The land we love is calling"
All Hallows

Benediction by the Rev. Dr. Frank Mason North

St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City

Monday Evening, November 14, 1932

The Rev. Dr. Clifton Macon, Rector in charge, officiating
Dr. David McKay Williams, Organist and Choirmaster

In this festival service the Hymn Society united with the American Guild of Organists and the National Association of Organists.

Organ Prelude: "On the Tune, *Martyrdom*"
C. Hubert Parry

Processional Hymn: "Crown Him with many crowns"
Diademata

Psalm 91 .... Anglican Chant

Magnificat in E .... Clark Whitfield

Hymn: "For all the saints" .... *Sine Nomine*

Anthem: "All people that on earth do dwell" ...... J. S. Bach

Sermon by the Rev. Howard Chandler Robbins, D.D.
"The Function of the Hymn in Modern Worship"

Anthem: "Evening Hymn" .... Balfour Gardiner

Hymn: "Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear" .... *Hursley*

Recessional Hymn: "Saviour, again to Thy dear name"
Ellers

Organ Postlude: "Fantasy on the Tune, *Ton-y-Botel*"
T. Tertius Noble

St. George's Church, New York City

Sunday Afternoon, April 30, 1933

THE REV. DR. KARL REILAND, Rector, officiating
GEORGE W. KEMMER, Organist and Choirmaster

CHORALE: "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier" . . . . Bach

HYMN: "O beautiful for spacious skies" . . . . *Ely Cathedral*

OPENING SENTENCES AND LESSON

HYMN: "O God, our Help in ages past" . . . . *St. Anne*

CHORALE: "O Saviour sweet" . . . . Bach

VIOLIN: "Komm' susser Tod" . . . . Bach-Tortis

CHORALE: "Awake and sing the song" . . . . . . Wagner-Andrews

ANTHEM: "Turn back, O man" . . . . Arranged by Holst
(melody, *Old 124th Psalm,* from Genevan Psalter)

ANTHEM: "Lord of the worlds above" . . . . Mrs. H. H. A. Beech
(introducing melody of *Ein' Feste Burg*)

HYMN: "While Thee I seek, Protecting Power" . . . . *Beatitudo*

ADDRESS by the Rector on "The Spiritual Power of Hymn Singing"

HYMN: "Breathe on me, Breath of God." . . . . *Trentham*

RECESSIONAL HYMN: "Once to every man and nation"
Ton-y-Botel

Postlude musical numbers of violin, theremin and organ; the organ numbers being chorales, arranged by Bach:

Ein' Feste Burg ist unser Gott
Erbarm' dich mein, O Herre Gott
In dir ist Freude
Vater unser im Himmelreich

Thereminist, Mrs. Walter Rosen; Violinist, Edwin Ideler

Riverside Church, New York City

Sunday Afternoon, November 19, 1933

THE REV. DR. EUGENE C. CARDER, Associate Pastor, officiating
DR. HAROLD V. MILLIKEN, Organist and Choirmaster

ORGAN: "Fantasy on the Tune, *Ton-y-Botel*" T. Tertius Noble

PROCESSIONAL HYMNS:
"God of our fathers" . . . . *National Hymn*
"Soldiers of Christ, arise" . . . . *Diademata*

CALL TO WORSHIP

INVOCATION AND GENERAL THANKSGIVING

THE LORD'S PRAYER . . . . Choral Chant

ANTHEM: "Swing low, sweet chariot" . . . . Negro Spiritual
Arranged by Harry Burleigh

LITANY

HYMN: "The Church's one Foundation" . . . . *Aurelia*

OFFERTORY: "Von Himmel Hoch" by Martin Luther
Karg-Elert
with violin obligato by Charles Lichter

HYMN: "Where cross the crowded ways of life" . . . . . . *Gardiner*

CANTATA: "A Stronghold Sure" . . . . J. S. Bach

PRAYER

VESPER HYMN: "O for a closer walk with God" . . . . . *Stracathro*

RECESSIONAL HYMN: "How firm a foundation"
Adeste Fideles

BENEDICTION

St. James' Church, New York City

Sunday Evening, March 11, 1934

THE REV. DR. H. W. B. DONEGAN, Rector, officiating
G. DARLINGTON RICHARDS, Organist and Choirmaster

ORGAN PRELUDE: "Chorale Prelude on *Rockingham*"
C. Hubert H. Parry

PROCESSIONAL HYMN: "Songs of praise the angels sang." Tune composed for this occasion by G. Darlington Richards

VERSICLES AND RESPONSES . . . . Ferial

PSALM 98

NUNC DIMITTIS IN G (for unison singing)
G. Darlington Richards

APOSTLES' CREED

VERSICLES AND RESPONSES . . . . Ferial

HYMN: "O Jesus, Thou art standing" . . . . *St. Hilda*

PERIOD OF INTERCESSION, with choral responses to intercessions, arranged from familiar hymns

OFFERTORY: "Meditation on *Schönster Herr Jesus*"
Philip G. Kreckel

ANTHEM: "When the Lord turned again the captivity"
Eaton Faning

HYMN: "God of grace and God of glory" by Harry Emerson Fosdick . . . . *Regent Square*

SERMON by the Rev. Howard Chandler Robbins, D.D., President of the Hymn Society

RECESSIONAL HYMN: "Our day of praise is done" . . *Garden City*

Organ Postlude: "Psalm Tune Postlude on *London New*"
Harvey Grace

PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

1930-1955

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Louis F. Benson, D.D.

II. **The Religious Value of Hymns**
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III. **The Praise of the Virgin in Early Latin Hymns**
Ruth Ellis Messenger, Ph.D.

IV. **The Significance of the Old French Psalter**
Professor Waldo Selden Pratt, L.H.D., Mus.D.

V. **Hymn Festival Programs**

VI. **What is a Hymn?**
Carl Fowler Price, M.A.

VII. **An Account of the Bay Psalm Book**
Henry Wilder Foote, D.D.

VIII. **Lowell Mason: an Appreciation of His Life and Work**
Henry Lowell Mason

IX. **Christian Hymns of the First Three Centuries**
Ruth Ellis Messenger, Ph.D.

X. **Addresses at the Twentieth Anniversary of the Hymn Society of America**

XI. **Hymns of Christian Patriotism**

XII. **Luther and Congregational Song**
Luther D. Reed, D.D., A.E.D.

XIII. **Isaac Watts and his Contributions to English Hymnody**
Norman Victor Hope, M.A., Ph.D.

XIV. **Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages**
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Henry Wilder Foote, D.D.

XVIII. **Hymnody in the American Indian Missions.**
J. Vincent Higginson, Mus.B., M.A.

XIX. **Louis Fitzgerald Benson**
Morgan Phelps Noyes, D.D.

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THE PAPERS OF THE
HYMN SOCIETY

CARL F. PRICE Editor

BV
301
H9
P3
no.6

VI

WHAT IS A HYMN?

by
CARL F. PRICE

THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA, INC.
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
WITTENBERG UNIVERSITY
SPRINGFIELD, OHIO 45501

1957

SOME PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

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David Hugh Jones

Numbers I to XV 25¢ each; Numbers XVI to XXII 50¢ each; Numbers XXIII to XXVII $1.00; Complete set, Numbers I to XXVII, $10.00. Copies may be obtained from the Hymn Society of America, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027.

(Third Edition, 1972)

What is a Hymn?

The development through the ages of ideas on the nature of a hymn may be illustrated by the general shape of an hour glass, broad at its source in Greek literature, tapering down to the limited confines of Augustine's narrow definition, and then expanding through wider usage to our modern idea of a hymn.

The conception of a hymn developed by the Greek poets, such as Homer and Hesiod, was of a song addressed to some greatly admired personage or quality or object. This conception has its counterpart in English, and even in American, literature, in such poems as Spenser's "Hymne in Honour of Love," Shelley's "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty," Swinburne's "Hymn to Proserpina" and Longfellow's "Hymn to the Night."

From the very beginning of the early Christian Church there is record that hymns were sung. To the Emperor Trajan, Pliny reported that the strange new sect "sang hymns to Christ as God." But if we accept—as most scholars do—the Pauline rhythmical lines, beginning, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead," as a part of one of the early Christian hymns, we must recognize that this hymn was not addressed to God, but to the sleeper who needed to be spiritually aroused.

In spite of Paul's epistolary reference to the use of hymns as distinct from psalms, in "teaching and admonishing one another," the idea of the hymn gradually became so restricted, as the Church developed, that eventually the words of Bishop Ambrose's devout convert, Saint Augustine (in his Commentary on Psalm 148), became accepted as the classical definition of a Christian hymn:

> Do you know what a hymn is? It is singing to the praise of God. If you praise God and do not sing, you utter no hymn. If you sing and praise not God, you utter no hymn. If you praise anything which does not pertain to the praise of God, though in singing you praise, you utter no hymn.

This was in essence adopted as the canonical definition of a hymn by the Council of Toledo, A. D. 633, in the following words:

> Whatever poems, then, are sung in the praise of God are called hymns. A hymn, moreover, is of those who sing and praise, which from the Greek into Latin is interpreted LAUS, because it is a song of joy and praise; but properly hymns are those containing the praise of God.

The three elements in this Augustinian definition are: a song, a song of praise, a song addressed to God. A small group of strict churchmen still insist upon this as the true definition; but the modern hymn has quite outgrown the cramped mold which Saint Augustine set for the ideal Christian hymn. There are in his three elements, however, ideas which are still recognized as profoundly valid and which must be retained in any definition of a genuine hymn.

1. A hymn is a song. A true hymn must be lyrical. This means more than that it *may* be set to music. It *must* be sung. There must be an interaction between the words and the music which is harmonious and reciprocal. Augustine is right when he says, If you do not sing, you utter no hymn.

2. There lies implicit, but not explicit, in Augustine's definition the idea that a hymn is addressed to God. This is in the main true, but not wholly so. In common usage, both ancient and modern, most hymns are thus addressed to Deity, but there are many and notable exceptions. Some of our noblest hymns do not fulfill this condition. The Bishop of Bristol not many years ago interdicted the use of *The English Hymnal* in his diocese because it contained some hymns addressed to the saints, and not to God. He would discard, however, much that is of rich spiritual value, if he enforced his interdiction upon all hymnal editors.[1] Take, for example, one of the finest hymns from the Greek, "The Day of Resurrection." It is addressed to the whole round world and all that is therein. Nobler words of challenge and inspiriting appeal are not often written than those of the second stanza in Neale's version,

> Our hearts be pure from evil,
> That we may see aright
> The Lord in rays eternal
> Of resurrection light;
> And, listening to His accents,
> May hear, so calm and plain,
> His own "All hail," and hearing,
> May raise the victor's strain.

"O day of rest and gladness," "Onward, Christian soldiers" and "Rejoice, ye pure in heart" may also be included among the many noble and worthy hymns, not directly addressed to God.

The *thought,* underlying Augustine's condition of an address to Deity, we regard as essential. The true hymn has a motion toward God. It brings God to mind. It seeks his glory in the lives of his children. All this is true, even if God is not directly addressed. The true hymn must be devotional in spirit, leading to God.

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[1] Pope Damasus (*b.* 306 A. D.) wrote a hymn addressed to the Martyr Agatha, which was the first known rhymed Latin Hymn—*Martyrus ecce die Agathae,* "Fair as the morn in the deep blushing East."

3. It is chiefly in Augustine's second condition, praise, that modern usage has expanded the hymn to a larger office. To praise God is only one of the purposes of singing hymns. The psalms, even in the paraphrases of the churches of the Reformation, contain other elements than praise. In our own day we have boldly come back to Saint Paul's idea that there is room for teaching and admonishing one another in the use of hymns. However secondary these purposes may be, it is legitimate to recognize all the possibilities in true hymns for mutual encouragement and for the exalting of Christian ideals.

Music is one of the most important helps toward worship. The chief purposes of worship are the voicing of the soul's relationship to God and the expression of our attitudes toward him. The attitude of praise is by no means the only attitude toward God which his children express in musical terms in the worship of God. The Christian life in its thought and feeling, its visioning and purposing, and its innermost reality, has ever found its truest expression in song. The attitudes of reverence, penitence, trust, loyalty, aspiration, good will toward our fellow men—all these and more make up the total of religious experience which we voice, and in voicing deepen, through the worship of God in song. Our hymn books were poor indeed, if they did not express the Christian consciousness of the rule of God in the social order and the sharing of the purposes of God for a free, a united and a righteous world. Praise alone can never express these fundamental ideas. The essential element in any definition of a hymn is that it is a prayer, a prayer whose thought is as broad as human needs, as deep as human love, as high as man's loftiest aspirings. So much may be said for the strict definition of a hymn.

4. New ideas regarding both content and form have further entered into the consciousness of the modern Church concerning the true hymn, and these have expanded our conception of what constitutes a *good* hymn.

a. A hymn must be reverent and devotional. It must be marked by a loftiness of tone and style, by liturgical propriety and the absence of triviality.

b. A hymn must be truly poetic in form and substance. A hymn is a lyric poem, not only in its relation to music, as has been noted. It must be lyrical rather than didactic. A rhymed argument is not a hymn. A true poem is usually marked by a touch of mysticism and by spontaneity of feeling, according to Dr. Jeremiah B. Reeves. But let him speak for himself:

> The hymn is a quite definite and distinct type of poetry. Its boundaries as regards both form and content are plainly and narrowly laid down. . . . Merely as a lyric it would of course have narrow limitations; as a religious lyric its limitations are multiplied; but in that it must be the medium of concerted thought and feeling on the gravest matters, and yet simple enough to be sung chorally by an assemblage, . . . it is very much more limited. The hymn must be a lyrical poem, simple of form, easy and smooth of movement; its ideas must be direct, unified, immediately apparent; its manner must have the decorum and gravity befitting public worship.[2]

Before proposing a Hymn Society definition of the Christian hymn, it may prove profitable to consider other definitions constructed by a few of our best hymnologists.

Our own distinguished fellow-member, the late Dr. Louis F. Benson, America's foremost authority on the hymns, had this to say:

> Even modern Christian practice itself shows no agreement as to what makes a hymn. When we speak of the hymns of the Greek Church, most of us have in mind the metrical versions Neale and Brownlie have prepared for congregational use. But the originals are in prose, not verse. They are set into the texts of the various offices, often so interlaced with Psalm or gospel or homily that only an expert can unravel the tangle. And they are not sung by the congregation or put into their hands, but reserved for the officiants alone.
>
> In the Roman Catholic Church, "Hymns" are the versified devotions inserted in the prose Psalms of the Daily Office, as distinguished from the "Sequences" of the Mass. They are not vernacular, but Latin. They are not sung by the people, and outside of monasteries it is enough that the priests read them in silence. Nowadays that communion has also its own popular hymns for certain uses and occasions.
>
> In the Anglican Church the makers of the Prayer Book called the prose "Te Deum" and "Benedictus" hymns, but not so the L.M. and C.M. versions of "Veni Creator." The editors of successive editions seem on the whole to have thought of a hymn as a prose canticle taken from the New Testament in contrast with an Old Testament Psalm.
>
> In early American Presbyterianism "hymn" was a term of adventure or reproach. It covered verses of human manufacture offered to take the place of inspired Psalms. To our separated Presbyterian Brethren that meaning and that reproach still linger in the word.
>
> In fact all these varied applications still linger in the word. And if we are to discuss hymns rationally we must remember them all.

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[2] *The Hymn in History and Literature,* by Jeremiah Bascom Reeves, Ph.D., p. 32. By permission of the D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., owners of the copyright.

The only feature common throughout seems to be the intent of use in worship. A Christian hymn therefore is a form of words appropriate to be sung or chanted in public devotions. Almost every Protestant hymn book contains the prose "Te Deum," ill-adapted as it is to congregational singing, and some prose Psalms and canticles set to chants. At the same time an immense preponderance of metrical compositions, divided into stanzas that a congregation can sing by repeating the tune to each one, shows that such in the main is the present-day Protestant conception of the word "hymn."[3]

Frederick J. Gilman, in a chapter on "Music and Religion,"[4] makes this comment:

> In these pages our studies will again and again be found to conduct us to the borderland dividing the hymn proper from devotional verse. No sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between the two. Schaff's definition of a hymn as "a spiritual meditation in rhythmical prose or verse" has one foot in both territories. But one thing is clear—a hymn must be suitable for congregational singing. Ideally, it must pass a double test—Does it read well, and, Does it sing well? If it does the one and not the other, it is not a good hymn. Yet if it does both and lacks *life,* it profits nothing.

Horder, with his keen sense of literary values, insists that the true hymn must be a poem:

> It is not too much to say, therefore, that we have of late entered on a new era in relation to hymnody, and that the hymnals of the future will be more poetic than those of the past. A hymn should be a lyric poem. Rhymed prose dealing with theological doctrine is not a hymn. There must be that indescribable element we call poetic, proceeding from "the vision and the faculty divine," to render verses, though metrically faultless, a hymn. Wanting this, they want the very life blood of a true hymn. This is the great point of difference between earlier and modern hymns as a whole. There are exceptions. Hymns could be mentioned belonging to every age in which the true poetic note can be heard.[5]

In the chapter on "Carols" in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology,* the Rev. Thomas Helmore, musical editor of *The Hymnal Noted,* classifies many of our hymns as carols:

> There is doubtless a wide border-land on which many a religious song may not inaccurately be classed under the head both of *hymn* and of *carol.* . . . Such songs do not come strictly within Saint Augustine's definition; and it may therefore be suggested that they partake more or less of the nature of religious *carols.* And this applies equally to many modern compositions called *hymns.* It

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[3] *The Hymnody of the Christian Church,* by Louis F. Benson, D.D., pp. 24, 25. By permission of Harper and Brothers, publishers.

[4] *The Evolution of the English Hymn,* by Frederick J. Gilman, pp. 27, 28. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

[5] *The Hymn Lover,* by W. Garrett Horder, p. 493. J. Curwen and Sons.

seems, then, not too much to assert that from the very beginning, the Christian Church has been using sacred lyrics which, whether we range them under the head of *Psalms, Hymns, Spiritual Songs, Odes, Canticles* or simply *Songs,* had among them some at least, if not many, having the special characteristics of the carol.[6]

After a consideration of these and other definitions, and also of the modern usage of the hymn among Christian churches, the following is proposed as the Hymn Society definition: its first sentence treats only of the elements which *must* be found in every hymn, the *sine qua non;* its second sentence, of those which are to be desired in a *good* hymn, the *desiderata:*

A Christian hymn is a lyric poem, reverently and devotionally conceived, which is designed to be sung and which expresses the worshiper's attitude toward God, or God's purposes in human life. It should be simple and metrical in form, genuinely emotional, poetic and literary in style, spiritual in quality, and in its ideas so direct and so immediately apparent as to unify a congregation while singing it.

---

[6] *A Dictionary of Hymnology,* edited by John Julian, D.D. Revised edition with new supplement, p. 207. John Murray, 1908.

Mrs. George
438 Beverly Hill Blvd.
Billings, Montana

THE PAPERS OF THE
HYMN SOCIETY

CARL F. PRICE *Editor*

VII

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BAY PSALM BOOK

by
HENRY WILDER FOOTE, D.D.

THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA
NEW YORK CITY
1940

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The Bay Psalm Book[*]

The publication of *The Bay Psalm Book* at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1640, was an event which well deserves to be commemorated. Rev. Thomas Prince, one of the earliest Massachusetts historians, says, in the preface to his revision of the book which he prepared for The Old South Church in Boston and published in 1758, that it had "the Honour of being the *First Book* printed in *North America,*" but Prince did not know that a printing press had been set up in Mexico City a full century earlier than that in Cambridge. *The Bay Psalm Book* was, however, the first book printed in the English-speaking colonies on this continent, and copies of early editions are for book collectors today among the rarest and most highly valued items of Americana. It is also our earliest literary monument, for it was no reprint of a European book, but was the first to be wholly composed on this soil. For more than a century it was the treasury of worship-song not only for New England but also for many churches in other colonies as far south as Philadelphia. It is an important key to our understanding of the religious life of its day and it marks the first stage in the slow development of American hymnody which flowered in the great outburst of song in the nineteenth century. For all these reasons it commands attention and respect.

It may seem strange that the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony should have set about the preparation of their own book of metrical psalms so soon after their arrival here. The Pilgrims at Plymouth were well served with the psalm-book which Henry Ainsworth had published in 1612 for the English exiles in Holland. Longfellow was quite correct in his picture of Priscilla:

> Open wide on her lap lay the well-worn psalm-book of Ainsworth,
> Printed in Amsterdam, the words and the music together,
> Rough-hewn, angular notes, like stones in the walls of a churchyard,
> Darkened and overhung by the running vine of the verses.

Ainsworth's *Book of Psalmes* contained thirty-nine tunes, about half of them from French and Dutch sources, and the Pilgrims continued to use it until 1692.

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[*] NOTE: This account of *The Bay Psalm Book* has been prepared for the Hymn Society of America by Dr. Henry Wilder Foote, Chairman of the Boston Chapter of the Society, and is based on a chapter in Dr. Foote's *Three Centuries of American Hymnody,* recently published by the Harvard University Press.

The Puritans of the Bay Colony brought with them copies of *The whole Booke of Psalms* of which John Day of London had printed the first complete edition in 1562. It was commonly called "Sternhold and Hopkins," from the two principal authors whose names appeared on the title-page, until the publication in 1696 of Tate and Brady's *New Version of the Psalms* gave rise to the nickname of "The Old Version" for the earlier book. "Sternhold and Hopkins" had already been in use in England for two generations when the first Puritans emigrated to this country and was to be cherished there for several generations to come.

In spite of the associations which all of the Puritans who came hither must have had with "Sternhold and Hopkins" they were dissatisfied with it because of their unquestioning acceptance of Calvin's doctrine of worship song. Calvin held that hymns of "humane composure" were not admissible for use in public worship, and at Geneva would allow only the use of metrical versions of inspired Scripture, sung to grave and noble melodies. Inasmuch as the original Hebrew text was viewed as the literal Word of God it was obviously important that the metrical translations should be as "close-fitting" as possible, that every shade of meaning should be carried over without alteration into the English verse. Fallible human notions must not distort or corrupt the authentic meaning. Therefore accuracy in translating the inspired text was the primary aim; the literary quality of the verse was a quite secondary consideration. Ainsworth had been a good Hebrew scholar, though a poor poet, but Sternhold and Hopkins, though slightly better poets, had known no Hebrew and had simply turned into the popular ballad metres the available prose translations of the psalms. It is difficult enough to translate any poetry into the verse forms of another language and yet preserve its exact shades of meaning; and to translate Hebrew poetry, with its rhythmical parallelism and wholly alien structure, into the English ballad metres without either omitting some of the ideas contained in the Hebrew text or putting in others not to be found there, is a task of well-nigh insuperable difficulty, as many better poets than Sternhold and Hopkins have discovered.

The Puritan divines, well versed in Hebrew, were disturbed by the inaccuracies of translation which they found in the current English metrical psalms. Cotton Mather, writing in his *Magnalia Christi Americana,* 1702, about the origins of *The Bay Psalm Book,* states the situation clearly:

> Tho' they blessed God for the Religious Endeavours of them who translated the Psalms into the Meetre usually Annex'd at the End of the Bible, yet they beheld in the Translation so many Detractions from, Additions to, and Variations of, not only the Text, but the very Sense of the Psalmist, that it was an Offense to them.

Therefore, in 1636, the year in which Harvard College was founded, the work of producing a fresh metrical translation which should faithfully adhere to the Hebrew text was parcelled out among "thirty pious and learned Ministers . . . the chief Divines in the Country [who] took each of them a Portion to be translated." We have no information as to how many of the thirty fulfilled their assignments. Probably most of them either quickly discovered their limitations when it came to writing verse, or found that their parishes demanded so much of their attention that they could do no more than offer suggestions as to disputed readings of the Hebrew text. At any rate it seems clear that the bulk of the work was done by Rev. Richard Mather of Dorchester and Rev. Thomas Welde and Rev. John Eliot of Roxbury. This is indicated by Cotton Mather, who says that they

> were of so different a Genius for their poetry that Mr. Shepard of Cambridge, on the Occasion addressed them to this Purpose,
>
> You Roxbury Poets, keep clear of the Crime
> Of missing to give us a very good Rhime;
> And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen,
> But with the Text's own words, you will them strengthen.

The book was printed on the little hand press which had been acquired by Rev. Jose Glover, a man of considerable property who had sailed from England in 1638 with his wife and children, accompanied by a printer named Stephen Day and three assistants, who were obligated to work out the passage money which Glover had advanced. Glover "fell sick of a feaver and dyed" on the voyage, but his widow established herself in Cambridge and there set up the press, with Stephen Day in charge. In 1641 she married Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard College, and two years later she died.

The preparation of *The Bay Psalm Book* must have been a slow job. Consultations between the ministers, or with the printers, involved trips on horseback. The press could print only a few pages at a time and each batch of sheets had to be sent to Roxbury and Dorchester for correction. The printers were not skilled in their craft; the spelling is late Elizabethan and the punctuation defies all rules. The book contained 296 pages and it was not until midsummer, 1640, that the task was done and the books were bound, presumably by John Sanders of Boston, the only bookbinder known to have been in the colony. In the course of a lawsuit over the Cambridge press, sixteen years later, Stephen Day testified that 1,700 copies of the first edition were printed, at a cost of £33 for printing and £29 for paper; that copies were sold for twenty pence apiece; and that the net receipts were £141, s. 13, d. 6, leaving a profit of £79, s. 13, d. 4.[1]

Only ten copies of the first edition[2] survive, five of which, including Richard Mather's own copy, were, in the middle of the eighteenth century, in the possession of Thomas Prince, three of them in perfect condition. They formed part of Prince's "New England Library" which he bequeathed to The Old South Church, "to be kept and remain in their Public Library for ever." They remained in the steeple of the church for a century. Then three of them, including Mather's copy, passed into private hands, a blundering church officer who took no interest in the old volumes, giving them in exchange for some modern books which were wanted for the library. A second edition, with a few corrections, was printed in 1647, of which only two copies survive.

The book appeared under the title *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre. Whereunto is prefixed a discourse declaring not only the lawfullnes, but also the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance of singing Scripture Psalmes in the Churches of God - - - - - Imprinted 1640.*

A rough draft of the "discourse," or preface, in Richard Mather's hand is preserved in the Boston Public Library, and he may therefore have been the primary author whose draft

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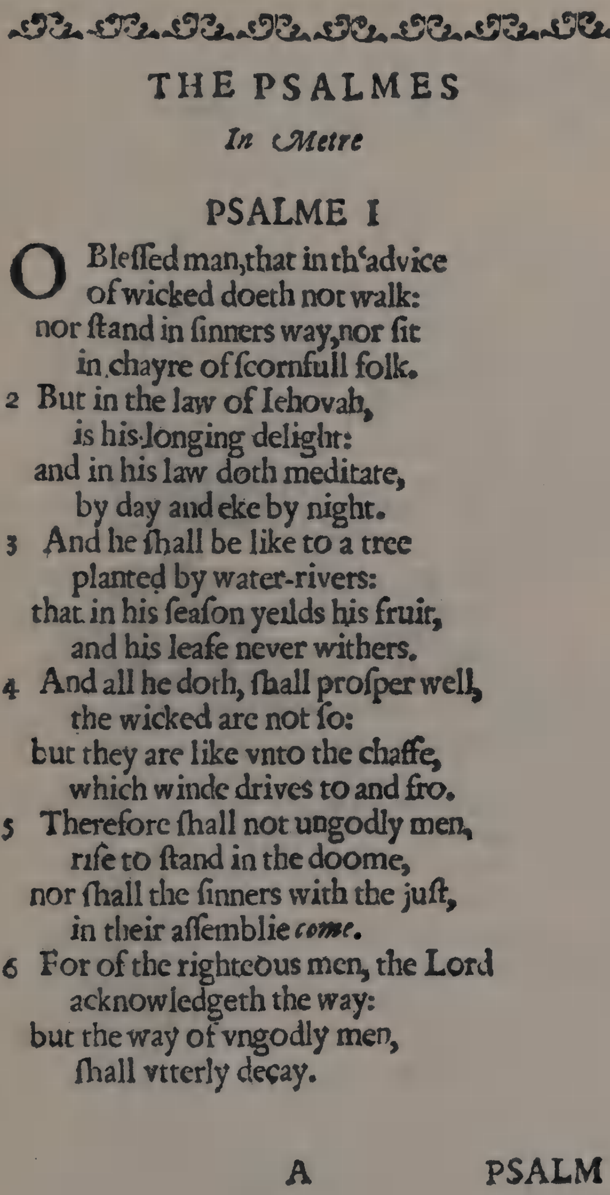
[1] The accuracy of these figures has been questioned, but presumably they are approximately correct.

[2] In 1903 a facsimile reprint of the first edition was published with an historical introduction by Wilberforce Eames.



THE PSALMES

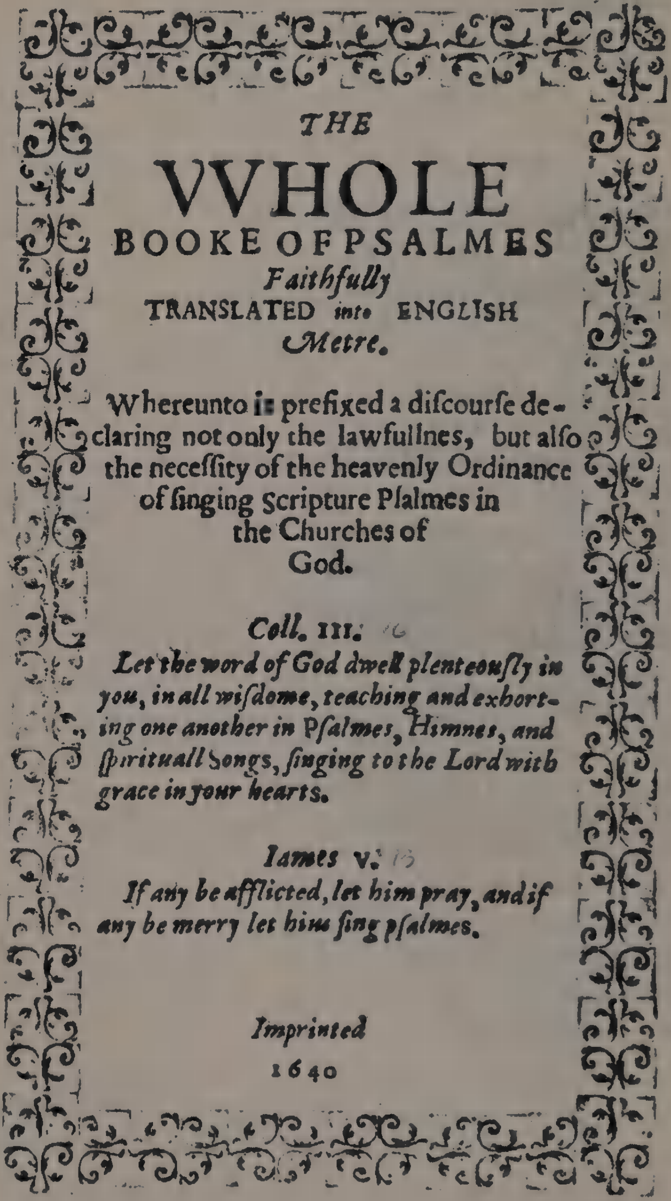
In Metre

PSALME I

O Bleſſed man,that in th'advice
of wicked doeth not walk:
nor ſtand in ſinners way,nor ſit
in chayre of ſcornfull folk.
2 But in the law of Iehovah,
is his longing delight:
and in his law doth meditate,
by day and eke by night.
3 And he ſhall be like to a tree
planted by water-rivers:
that in his ſeaſon yeilds his fruit,
and his leafe never withers.
4 And all he doth, ſhall proſper well,
the wicked are not ſo:
but they are like vnto the chaffe,
which winde drives to and fro.
5 Therefore ſhall not ungodly men,
riſe to ſtand in the doome,
nor ſhall the ſinners with the juſt,
in their aſſemblie *come*.
6 For of the righteous men, the Lord
acknowledgeth the way:
but the way of vngodly men,
ſhall vtterly decay.

A PSALM

A page from *The Bay Psalm Book*, 1640



THE

VVHOLE

BOOKE OF PSALMES

Faithfully

TRANSLATED *into* ENGLISH

Metre.

Whereunto is prefixed a diſcourſe declaring not only the lawfullnes, but alſo the neceſſity of the heavenly Ordinance of ſinging Scripture Pſalmes in the Churches of God.

Coll. III. 16

Let the word of God dwell plenteouſly in you, in all wiſdome, teaching and exhorting one another in Pſalmes, Himnes, and ſpirituall Songs, ſinging to the Lord with grace in your hearts.

Iames V. 13

If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any be merry let him ſing pſalmes.

Imprinted

1640

Title page of the first edition of *The Bay Psalm Book*, from a copy in the New York Public Library was worked over by his colleagues. As printed it is an illuminating document. It begins on a note of conciliation.

> The singing of Psalmes, though it breath forth nothing but holy harmony, and melody: yet such is the subtilty of the enemie, and the enmity of our nature against the Lord, & his wayes, that our hearts can finde matter of discord in this harmony, and crochets of division in this holy melody.

It then asks,

> First. what psalmes are to be sung in churches? whether Davids and other scripture psalmes, or the psalmes invented by the gifts of godly men in every age of the church. Secondly, if scripture psalmes, whether in their owne words, or in such meter as english poetry is wont to run in? Thirdly. by whom are they to be sung? whether by the whole churches together with their voices? or by one man singing alone and the rest joyning in silence & in the close saying amen.

As we should expect, the editors advocate the congregational use of the psalms in English verse. But the version should follow as closely as possible the Hebrew original, so they go on,

> If therefore the verses are not alwayes so smooth and elegant as some may desire or expect; let them consider that Gods Altar needs not our pollishings: Ex. 20. for we have respected rather a plaine translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetnes of any paraphrase, and soe have attended Conscience rather than Elegance, fidelity rather than poetry, in translating the hebrew words into english language, and Davids poetry into english meetre; that soe wee may sing in Sion the Lords songs of prayse according to his owne will; untill hee take us from hence, and wipe away all our teares, & bid us enter into our masters joye to sing eternall Halleluiahs.

The Bay Psalm Book was greeted with enthusiasm by the churches for which it had been prepared. The church at Ipswich clung to "Sternhold and Hopkins" until about 1667, and the church at Salem, which had adopted Ainsworth's *Book of Psalmes* at a very early date, continued to use it until the same year, but outside of the Plymouth Colony it is probable that every other church in New England soon accepted the new book, of which they had good reason to be proud.

When the book came into use, however, its literary deficiencies became apparent. The "poets" of Roxbury and Dorchester were, in truth, not poets at all, though godly and learned men. They had undoubtedly produced a very "close-fitting" translation of the Hebrew text, which after all was their primary purpose, but the verse had many awkward turns and inversions, and often limped painfully. Perhaps the 23rd Psalm is as favorable an example of their work as any:

The Lord to mee a shepheard is,
   want therefore shall not I.
Hee in the folds of tender-grasse,
   doth cause me down to lie:

To waters calme me gently leads
   Restore my soule doth hee:
he doth in paths of righteousnes:
   for his names sake leade mee.

Yea though in valley of deaths shade
   I walk, none ill I'le feare:
because thou art with mee, thy rod,
   and staffe my comfort are.

For mee a table thou hast spread,
   in presence of my foes:
thou dost annoynt my head with oyle,
   my cup it over-flowes.

Goodnes & mercy surely shall
   all my dayes follow mee:
and in the Lords house I shall dwell
   so long as dayes shall bee.

[illegible]
Dundee

But there are occasional lines of rugged beauty, such as these from the 139th Psalm:

vss. 9 and 10

If I take mornings wings; & dwell
   where utmost sea-coasts bee.
E'vn there thy hand shall mee conduct:
   & thy right hand hold mee.

. . . .

11

then shall the night about mee be
   like to the lightsome day.

. . . .

14

Because that I am fashionèd
   in fearfull wondrous wise;
& that thy works are merveilous,
   my soule right well descries.

or these from Psalm 30:

vs. 5

For but a moment is his wrath,
life in his love doth stay:
weeping may lodge with us a night
but joye at break of day.

vs. 11

Thou into dancing for my sake
converted hast my sadnes:
my sackcloth thou unloosed hast,
and girded me with gladnes.

or from Psalm 35:

vss. 1-3

Plead, Lord, with them that with me plead:
fight against them that fight with mee.
Of shield & buckler take thou hold,
stand up my helper for to bee.
Draw out the speare & stop the way
'gainst them that my pursuers bee:
And doe thou say unto my soule
I am salvation unto thee.

All these lines are but slight re-arrangements of the text in the Authorized Version of the Bible, but in these instances the turns are skilfully made and happily phrased. While there is no single psalm maintaining throughout a level of poetic excellence which would make it acceptable for use today, there are a good many containing a few verses of similar quality. And there are two versions of the 100th Psalm, one in long metre (to fit the familiar Old Hundredth tune) and the other in common metre. The first of these two versions is decidedly superior to the second. These indications seem to show that several hands took part in the versification, and that one of the writers had more facility for good phrase-making than did the others. Who he was we do not know.[3] Possibly he was John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians" who in 1661 produced his metrical psalms in the Indian language.

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[3] John Josselyn, in his *Account of Two Voyages to New England,* London, 1674, pp. 19-20, states that when he reached Boston in July, 1638, he delivered to Rev. John Cotton "from Mr. Francis Quarles the poet, the translation of the 16, 25, 51, 88, 113 and 137 Psalms into English meeter, for his approbation." It does not appear that any of Quarles's work was incorporated in the new book. Certainly the versions of those particular psalms are not noticeably superior to the rest of the translations.

The uncouth quality of much of the verse in *The Bay Psalm Book* has aroused the derision or the sarcasm of a host of unsympathetic critics, especially in the nineteenth century. Most of these critics have not taken the trouble to do more than glance at the book, and few, if any, understood either the intellectual outlook which it reflects or the extreme difficulty of the task imposed upon the authors. One such critic amused himself with this satirical and highly inaccurate description of the book:

> Welde, Eliot and Mather mounted the restive steed Pegasus, Hebrew Psalter in hand, and trotted in hot haste on the rough road of Shemitic roots and metrical psalmody. Other divines rode behind, and after cutting and slashing, mending and patching, twisting and turning, finally produced what must ever remain the most unique specimen of poetical tinkering in our literature.

This heavy-handed attempt at humor completely misconceives the real facts of the case. It is quite true that when we look at the printed page we wonder how the crude verses could possibly have been sung at all, much more how they could have endeared themselves to our ancestors. Our difficulty arises in part from the archaic spelling and the bad printing; in part from our complete unfamiliarity with the text. The fact is that these metrical psalms were sung, and with deep emotion, by several generations of Americans no less intelligent than their descendants, though living in a different world of thought. Several of these psalms, sung to the original tunes, have been used this year (1940) at commemorative services, and the congregations quickly discovered that both words and tunes were quite singable, and had an austere beauty and moving quality of their own.

Although *The Bay Psalm Book* met with immediate and general approval it was soon recognized that there was room for improvement in the verse. As Cotton Mather puts it,

> It was thought that a little more of Art was to be employed upon them: And for that Cause, they were committed unto Mr. Dunster, who Revised and Refined this Translation; and (with some Assistance from Mr. Richard Lyon. . . .) he brought it into the Condition wherein our Churches ever since have used it.

The revision prepared by President Dunster, with the assistance of young Mr. Richard Lyon, who was supposed to have a gift for poetry, appeared with a new title page reading, *The Psalms Hymns and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testaments, faithfully translated into English Meeter for the use, edification and comfort of the Saints, in public and private, especially in New England.* It was printed "by Samuel Green at Cambridge in New England" in 1651. A single copy of the 2,000 printed survives in the New York Public Library. It will be noted that the phrase "The Bay Psalm Book" does not appear on the title page of either the edition of 1640 or that of 1651. It is, in fact, only the nickname by which both forms of the book have been commonly known, as "Sternhold and Hopkins" was the popular nickname for John Day's Psalter of 1562.

Julian, in his *Dictionary of Hymnology,* and Glass in *The Story of the Psalters,* both list what they call *The Bay Psalter* (1640) and *The New England Psalter* of "1650" (*sic*) as two separate and distinct books, and Julian says of the latter,

> This was mainly a revised version of Rous's *Psalter* made by President Dunster of Harvard College, Richard Lyon and thirty others.

Glass says the same thing in substantially the same words. Both are wrong in several respects. Whether *The Bay Psalter* and *The New England Psalter* should be regarded as two books or as successive editions of the same book is, perhaps, a technical question for bibliographers, but the latter view is the one commonly held. Julian and Glass both give an incorrect date—1650 instead of 1651—for the publication of Dunster's revision. The "thirty others" who are said to have taken part in the revision with Dunster obviously refers to the thirty learned divines to whom the work was originally committed in 1636. The statement that Dunster's revision was based upon Rous's *Psalter* is apparently without foundation. Rous's *Psalter* was published in 1643 (revised in 1647) and it is wholly probable that copies had reached New England before Dunster started to work, but Cotton Mather gives no indication that Dunster was influenced by it, saying only that Dunster

> was a very good Hebrician, and for that cause, he bore a great Part in the Metrical Version of the Psalms now used in our Churches.

Furthermore a word for word comparison of the text of a number of psalms, chosen at random, as printed in *The Bay Psalm Book* of 1640, in Rous's *Psalter* and in *The New England Psalter* of 1651, does not reveal a single instance in which

Dunster borrowed a line or phrase from Rous. On the contrary, it does disclose cases where Rous seems to have taken a line or phrase, sometimes with slight variations, from *The Bay Psalm Book* of 1640. Inasmuch as Rous's *Psalter* was the basis for the *Scottish Psalter* of 1650 *The Bay Psalm Book* may have had a slight and indirect influence upon that famous volume.

Dunster, with such aid as Richard Lyon may have been able to give, did produce a much improved version of the work of the "Roxbury poets." While he left some stanzas untouched he rewrote many others. The following verses from Psalm 1 may serve as examples. In the 1640 edition they read,

vss. 2 But in the law of Iehovah[4]
is his longing delight:
and in his law doth meditate,
by day and eke by night.

3 And he shall be like to a tree
planted by water-rivers:
that in his season yeilds his fruit,
and his leafe never withers.

5 Therefore shall not ungodly men,
rise to stand in the doome,
nor shall the sinners with the just,
in their assemblie *come*.

6 For of the righteous men, the Lord
acknowledgeth the way:
but the way of ungodly men,
shall utterly decay.

In the 1651 edition both the spelling and the verse are improved:

vss. 2 But he upon Jehovah's law
doth set his whole delight,
And in his law doth meditate
both in the day and night.

3 He shall be like a planted tree
by water-brooks which shall
In his due season yield his fruit,
whose leaf shall never fall.

5 Therefore shall not ungodly men
in judgment stand upright,
Nor in the assembly of the just
shall stand the sinful wight.

---

[4] Perhaps pronounced "Jee--ho--vay" here as apparently in some other places.

6 For of the righteous men, the Lord
acknowledgeth the way;
Where as the way of wicked men
shall utterly decay.

As the title page of the 1651 edition indicates, Dunster added to the psalms metrical versions of a number of "hymns and spiritual songs" which are to be found in various books of the Bible. Before the psalms he inserted versions of the Songs of Moses, of Deborah and Barak, and of Hannah, and David's Elegy. After the Book of Psalms were the Song of Solomon; Songs in the Prophet Isaiah (chaps. V, XII, XXV, XXVI and XXXVIII); the Lamentations of Jeremiah (chaps. III and V); the Prayers of Jonah and Habakkuk; the Songs of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of Zacharias, of Simeon, of the Four Beasts (Rev. 4: 8), of the Elders (Rev. 4: 11), of the Church (Rev. 5: 9), of the Angels (Rev. 5: 12), of All the Creatures (Rev. 5: 13), of the Innumerable Multitude of Saints (Rev. 7: 10), and of Moses and of the Lamb (Rev. 15: 3). Of course the traditional interpretation of the frankly amorous passages in the Song of Solomon was that they portrayed the love of Christ and his church, but nevertheless the inclusion of a metrical version beginning,

Let him with kisses of his mouth
be pleasèd me to kiss;
Because much better than the wine
thy loving kindness is,

provided the Puritan youths and maidens with pleasing and quotable love songs right in their own psalm-books. It is perhaps safe to guess that they were used more frequently on private occasions than in public worship.

The Bay Psalm Book in this revised form remained in general use in New England for more than a century. Cotton Mather, writing about 1700, says in his *Magnalia Christi,*

> tho' I heartily join with those Gentlemen, who wish that the *Poetry* hereof were mended; yet I must confess, That the Psalms have never yet seen a Translation that I know of, nearer to the *Hebrew Original.*

That, after all, was the aim of the authors, and they succeeded very well, from the point of view of their time and place. Twenty-seven editions were printed in New England, the latest in 1762. It was reprinted in England as early as 1647, and, in the revised form, in 1652, and ran through at least twenty editions there, the latest being that of 1754. Thomas Prince says that "in that country" it was "by some eminent Congregations prefer'd to all others in their Public Worship." It was also reprinted in Scotland half a dozen times between 1732 and 1759. Altogether well over fifty editions were printed before it gave way either to the *New Version* by Tate and Brady or to Watts. Of the scores of English metrical versions of the psalms, only those by Sternhold and Hopkins, by Tate and Brady, by Watts, and the Scottish *Psalter,* exceeded it in the number of editions printed or in widespread and long-continued use.

As Mather indicates, however, in the quotation just cited, by 1700 *The Bay Psalm Book* had begun to seem old-fashioned, if not archaic, as "Sternhold and Hopkins" had in England, due to the great changes in language and in literary taste which had taken place between the days of Spenser and those of Addison. In England the demand for a more modern psalmody was met by Tate and Brady's *New Version* (1696), which slowly superseded the Old Version. In the colonies the change was made more slowly still. In 1757 twenty-four laymen of the First Church in Roxbury addressed a letter to their pastor, the Rev. Amos Adams, who then held the pulpit which Thomas Welde and John Eliot had occupied more than a century earlier, requesting the replacement of *The Bay Psalm Book* by "Tate and Brady." They wrote,

> The New England Version of the Psalms, however useful it may formerly have been, is now become through the natural variableness of Language, not only very uncouth but in many Places unintelligible; whereby the mind instead of being Raised and spirited in singing The Praises of Almighty God, and thereby better prepared to attend the other Parts of Divine Service, is Damped and made spiritless in the Performance of the Duty.

They go on to recommend as

> much preferable - - - The Version Made by Tate and Brady, which has lately been Rec'd by Divers of the Neighboring Churches in the Room of the New England version.

The Roxbury church voted in July, 1758, to make the change, thus discarding the book which its own earliest ministers had helped to produce.

In the fall of the same year Thomas Prince brought out his revision of *The Bay Psalm Book.* He had long wanted to introduce a more modern version into use at the Old South Meeting-house, but his people, unlike those in Roxbury, had clung to the old book, although they had finally agreed to let him revise it. He did so to the extent of making what was practically a new book, improving and modernizing the verse, and printing after the psalms "an addition of Fifty other Hymns on the most important subjects of Christianity." His book was used in the Old South Meeting-house for the first time on the Sunday following Prince's death, and for thirty years thereafter. But, with all its excellencies, it was not adopted elsewhere, as might have been the case had it appeared a decade or two earlier. As it was, it came too late. The reign of *The Bay Psalm Book,* which had meant so much to the colonists in the seventeenth century, was coming to an end, and by the time the Revolution was over it had been almost everywhere replaced, generally by Watts's *Psalms and Hymns.*

The early editions of *The Bay Psalm Book* contained no music. Probably there was no one in the colony capable of engraving it. But the first edition did include at the end of the book, as did the later editions, an "Admonition" about the tunes to be used. It reads, in part, as follows:

> The verses of these psalmes may be reduced to six kindes, the first whereof may be sung in very neere fourty common tunes; as they are collected, out of our chief musicians, by *Tho. Ravenscroft.* The second kinde may be sung in three tunes, as Ps. 25, 50 and 67 in our english psalm books. The third. may be sung indifferently, as ps. the 51, 100, & ten comandements, in our english psalme books. which three tunes aforesaid, comprehend almost all this whole book of psalmes, as being tunes most familiar to us.

Altogether some fifty tunes are referred to in this "Admonition" as being either in Ravenscroft's *Psalter* or in "our English psalme-books," meaning, presumably, editions of "Sternhold and Hopkins" which included music. An edition of "Sternhold and Hopkins," with 65 tunes, had appeared as early as 1564, and several more elaborate arrangements of psalm-tunes had been published in England before 1600, the best being Damon's *Psalms of David* in 1579; Este's *Psalter* in 1592; and Allison's in 1599. Este (East) printed his tunes in four-part settings arranged by distinguished musicians, and Allison, who set his tunes in pure Elizabethan counterpoint, was also a musician of high standing. The settings in these books were of the madrigal rather than the ecclesiastical type, too elaborate for congregational singing, and intended for social use. Ravenscroft's *Psalter,* however, to which the "Admonition" refers, had been published in 1621 and was intended for use in worship. It contained 105 settings and was by far the best available collection until superseded by Playford's after 1677. Ravenscroft was himself a musician of the first rank in England, and had drawn upon the work of twenty others of his own or the immediately preceding generation, including John Milton, father of the poet, Dowland, Farnaby, Morley, Tallis and Tomkins. We have not only the evidence of the "Admonition" that his *Psalter* was known in the Bay Colony. The copy which belonged to John Endecott is now owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society. The point to be observed is that, although the authors of *The Bay Psalm Book* were unable to print the tunes with their psalms, they were acquainted with and recommended to users of the book the best English sources for psalm-tunes which then existed.

An edition of *The Bay Psalm Book* with tunes is said to have appeared in 1690. If so, no copy survives. But the ninth edition, 1698, contains thirteen tunes at the back of the book, the earliest music printed in the English-speaking colonies of North America. It also contains "some few directions for ordering the Voice - - - without Squeaking above, or Grumbling below." The tunes are Oxford, Litchfield, Low-Dutch, York, Windsor, Cambridge, St. David's, Martyrs, Hackney, 119th Psalm Tune, 100th Psalm Tune, 115th Psalm Tune, and 148th Psalm Tune, these being, no doubt, best remembered and easiest to sing. In later editions the number of tunes varies from twelve to fourteen, occasioned by the addition of the Ten Commandments Tune or the dropping out of Hackney and the 115th Psalm Tune. The tunes were first printed from woodcuts, crudely engraved, and copied, not without mistakes, from an undetermined English source. They are in the old diamond-shaped notes, in two-part harmony, bass and treble, without bars except at the end of the line. In later editions well-executed copper plates were used, and it is strange that this was not done in 1698, as there were a number of silversmiths in Boston quite competent to do the work.

There is no reason to believe that the Puritans of the first migration did not sing as well as their English contemporaries whom they left behind them. We have adequate evidence that the Pilgrims sang skilfully the longer and more difficult French and Dutch tunes in Ainsworth's *Psalter*. Psalm-singing in church was of course gravely handicapped by the absence of any instrumental support and by the practice of "lining-out" the psalm. At that period in England only cathedrals, college chapels and the larger parish churches had organs. The Puritans in New England, like many other bodies of Christians before and since, opposed any instrumental music in the meeting-house, and the use of bass-viols came in but slowly in the middle of the eighteenth century, to be followed by organs about the end of that century. "Lining-out" the psalms had begun in England with the use of the metrical psalms in worship. Since in many, if not most, congregations there was either an insufficient supply of psalm-books or a large proportion of persons who could not read, the practice arose of having the clerk, or in New England a deacon, read a line or two of the psalm, and then lead the singing of what had been read, alternately reading and singing through the whole psalm. Originally this was regarded as a temporary device to meet a special situation, but in both countries it persisted long after the occasion for it had ceased, in spite of bitter complaints that it made impossible any good congregational singing.

Furthermore, the ability to sing rapidly declined in New England with the disappearance of the first generation of settlers who had the cultural background of middle-class life in England. Their children and grandchildren lacked this background and social stimulus and were brought up in the life of the pioneer, in small communities, and with few contacts with the outside world. By the time the 1698 edition of *The Bay Psalm Book* appeared with its thirteen printed tunes probably not many people could read music, and most of the tunes in Ravenscroft's *Psalter* had fallen into disuse. The situation in Plymouth clearly illustrates the process. By 1692 the descendants of the Pilgrims who had so well sung the long French and Dutch tunes printed in Ainsworth's *Psalter* found that music too difficult for them, and after long discussion abandoned Ainsworth for *The Bay Psalm Book* and the few and simple tunes which still survived in use in the Bay Colony. It was not until early in the eighteenth century, between 1715 and 1730, that there was a determined and successful effort, led by the ministers, to revive singing.

The decline in singing, serious as it was, has been exaggerated by many writers who have twisted a casual footnote in Palfrey's *Histcry of New England* into the statement that the first Puritans were limited to only five psalm-tunes. The "Admonition" in *The Bay Psalm Book* and the thirteen tunes in the 1698 edition are a sufficient answer to such misstatements. In the earlier days, at least, a considerable number of tunes were known and used. Some of these tunes were of Genevan origin, like Old Hundredth. Our forefathers called that a "jocund and lively air," because they sang it in its original, quick form. Indeed, some of the French tunes were so lively that critics dubbed them "Genevan jigs." Most of the English psalm-tunes, however, were grave and beautiful airs, commonly sung in unison. They are often cast in a mode unfamiliar to us, but reminiscent of the older church music of Europe. Thus the London Tune suggests the plainsong of the medieval church. Like so many psalm-tunes and folk-songs of the period it is in the minor key, which does not seem to have had for our forefathers the suggestion of plaintiveness or sorrow it has for many people today.

A few of the psalm-tunes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, besides Old Hundredth, have survived in use. Windsor, Winchester Old, St. Flavian, Martyrs and York—known in Scotland as "The Stilt"—are to be found in some modern hymn-books, and others, whether of Genevan or English origin, are being restored to use. Many of them are easily sung and are beautiful melodies, vigorous, virile, and free from the sentimentality and secular quality of many of the popular hymn-tunes of the nineteenth century.

There is no reason to doubt that the Puritans, and others who used *The Bay Psalm Book,* found in its verses and in the tunes to which they sang them an emotional satisfaction as deep and genuine as we find in singing our best-loved hymns today. They had good reason to "bless God for the Religious Endeavours" of the authors of *The Bay Psalm Book,* and we today should look back upon their work with pride, as the earliest piece of American literature, and as a moving expression of the religious thought and feeling of our ancestors.

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VIII

LOWELL MASON

An Appreciation

of His

Life and Work

by

Henry Lowell Mason

The Hymn Society of America
National Headquarters
Wittenberg University
Springfield, Ohio 45501

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THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA,

Lowell Mason

Lowell Mason, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of whose birth is to be observed on January 8, 1942, was born in Medfield, Massachusetts, in 1792, and there the first twenty years of his life were passed. Of this period he himself has written that he gave little promise, save in music, for which he early manifested a strong inclination. These years, he goes on to say, were spent in doing nothing but playing upon all manner of musical instruments that came within his reach. Despite this somewhat disparaging account, however, another has written—the late Theodore F. Seward, one time Mason's pupil, and his long-time friend—that Lowell Mason was a born educator, and that he demonstrated to the American people the two great correlated truths that music is a universal gift and that childhood is the proper time for cultivating it. He was destined as a matter of fact to become the outstanding leader among musical educators of the nineteenth century—and not only a musical educator, but one in a broad pedagogical sense as well.

Although the period of Lowell Mason's active work came to a close seventy years ago, its beneficial influences live today, as in truth they bid fair to live through years to come; for with characteristic foresight and practical application, he utilized in his work sound basic principles, raising his structures, so to speak, like a master architect, upon foundations firm and enduring. Of all his innumerable pupils the most indefatigable was, we believe, himself! Largely self-taught, he realized as a youth that time was fleeting, that the night cometh when no man can work, and he persistently sought to educate not only others but also himself.

There is an amusing story told of him illustrative of his teaching aptitude and of his perseverance. Invited to train a band at a neighboring village, when he met them he found a number of instruments new to him. He suggested that it might be well to leave them with him to be tuned and properly adjusted before the following lesson: these things he did, but he also practiced upon them until he felt prepared to meet such demands as might be made upon him as instructor.

Music, one hundred and fifty years ago in this country, was neither well understood nor, generally speaking, held in high esteem. True, efforts had been made in New England prior to Lowell Mason's time, at various periods and by various men, to redeem the music of the Church from the lamentable condition to which by the close of the 17th century it had declined. To trace the tortuous course of psalmody from the days of its comparative excellence as practiced by the earliest settlers would carry us far afield from our present purpose; still, reference, however brief, may here be made to the earnest endeavors of a group of divines—Thomas Symmes, John Tufts, Thomas Walter, James Lyon—who instituted early in the 18th century the so-called Reform of 1720. Speaking from their pulpits in no uncertain terms, publishing enlightening books and essays, these champions of progress by degrees aroused the people from their state of apathy, despite sharp and long drawn out controversy, and a new, disturbing element soon to be encountered—the importation of inferior tunes of the imitative or fugal style. The days of the drawling psalm singing, however, were gradually drawing to a close, to be followed by an era of welcome change. To one born in Boston credit is largely due for having displaced the distorted tunes of psalmody by catchy, lively airs—William Billings, an energetic, though untutored, composer, who helped pave the way to a sound, legitimate music worthy of the Church.

Although Mason evinced a fervent love of music as a boy, as stated above, and an unusual ability in mastering musical instruments, public opinion at the time viewed such gifts as of little use and hopelessly unpromising. Could anything worth while be expected of a youth who failed to interest himself in a practical occupation? A farmer, a blacksmith, a merchant—well and good! But what could anyone amount to who chose to pass his time in blowing a flute and singing? Lowell's father, a manufacturing merchant, was indeed perplexed—and this despite the fact that he himself played the bass viol in the church choir for many years. If he left his country store in charge of the misguided son, he was likely to find, on returning, that his "managing clerk" had locked the door and departed with some alluring companion with the key in his pocket!

At the age of sixteen, nevertheless, Lowell Mason took charge of the village church singers, and for the following four years while living at Medfield he conducted various singing classes in neighboring towns and villages.

In 1812 an opportunity arose which seemed to the practical merchant, Lowell's father, most opportune; namely, that the son should go to Savannah, Georgia, and devote himself to business. There he remained until called to Boston in 1827. Though he served as a teller in a bank in the southern city, he devoted his evenings and spare hours to the study and teaching of music. He early joined a leading Savannah church, of which he was soon appointed musical director; he helped organize and became superintendent of the city's only Sunday school at the time, with a membership representing several denominations. Of a deeply religious nature, he *lived* his religion in his everyday life. Of magnetic personality, strong mind and dignified manner, he was the embodiment of poise, yet kindliness as well, for the basic qualities of his character were bodied forth in his bearing and outward appearance. He possessed a natural simplicity and straightforwardness, together with a winning sense of humor. Endowed with a rugged constitution, his capacity for work was unlimited.

While in Savannah, being dissatisfied with the current tunes of the Church, the young man sought music for his choir from the works of the masters. He delighted in taking themes from various outstanding compositions and harmonizing them as hymn-tunes for his church services. This led to the publication of his first book, known as *The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music*, which appeared in the latter part of 1821, though bearing the date 1822. The book was an immediate success, bringing to the organization, whose name it bore, a helpful, opportune income. But this result was small in comparison with the beneficial influence the book exerted on the musical taste of the country at large. Still another effect of the book was the directing of public attention to its author; and in the year 1827, at the solicitation of three Boston churches, Mason removed to that city from his southern home.

Realizing the value of the alto of children's voices in a church choir and finding that this part was not usually sung or even attempted in Boston choirs, it became Mason's immediate object in connection with his musical directorship in the three churches to train a class of boys and girls, that the alto part might be properly added. Hence the first children's singing-school. This class as it began comprised but six or eight children: its increase was rapid, however, until it reached the number of between five and six hundred, being continued gratuitously for several years.

Although by 1829 Mason had achieved remarkable success as a teacher, he welcomed the Pestalozzian principles of education now brought to his attention by William C. Woodbridge, an American educator of high repute, well-known geographer and editor of the *American Annals of Education and Instruction*. Realizing that in this Inductive Method of Instruction, so-called, there lay distinct advantages, Mason soon became the outstanding promulgator in this country of Pestalozzi's ideas, as set forth by his disciples, Pfeiffer, Kübler and Nägeli. He believed Pestalozzianism to be the "natural" method of teaching, and accordingly strove to replace the old, or then universal, plan of starting a pupil off with a complete tune and correcting mistakes as such occurred, with the more logical plan; a plan, in short, of "*building* up rather than *patching* up;" to wit, the Inductive Method.

At this period Mason's classes of children were heard in a series of concerts, demonstrating the fact that children *could* be taught singing, and, furthermore, that it was desirable they *should* be so taught. Public interest was aroused; and though it took some seven years for its accomplishment, vocal music through Mason's tireless efforts was finally introduced in 1838 into the public school system of Boston, and thence in time throughout the country. In the Annual Report, July 1, 1839, of the Boston Academy of Music, founded in 1833 by Mason and a group of influential citizens, Jacob Abbott, William C. Woodbridge, George J. Webb, Samuel A. Eliot and others, this action by the School Board was referred to as the "Magna Charta" of musical education in this country.

Notwithstanding the favorable attitude of the Boston School Committee in 1837 authorizing vocal music study in the common schools, the City Council failed to provide the necessary funds. As a further demonstration of the practicability of such instruction, however, Mason offered to give free instruction in one of the schools for a year. The offer being accepted, he taught in the Hawes Grammar School, Boston, for the season of 1837–38. The following autumn he was appointed superintendent of music in the Boston Schools, continuing in this position until 1845, when, because of political pressure brought to bear by two musicians who desired his position, he was forced to retire. Nevertheless, he continued teaching in one of the schools, the Winthrop School, during 1850–51.

Other cities soon followed Boston's lead, vocal music being added gradually to the common school curriculum of centers throughout various states.

In 1834, keenly sensing the then existing lack of properly qualified musical instructors and with the view of rectifying this unfavorable condition, Mason published his *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music for instruction in the elements of Vocal Music on the system of Pestalozzi.* The issuance of a book for teachers was indeed a novel idea at the time, yet its adoption was immediate. Running into several editions, it became the widely used handbook of teachers and parents alike.

Closely following upon the appearance of the *Manual*, still another plan toward the same end was inaugurated; namely, classes for teachers—through the influence of which they should cultivate better methods of instruction. The first of these consisted of but twelve members. The number increased, however, from year to year, reaching an enrollment in 1850 of 1,176 men and women, representative of many sections of the country. As a result, the Academy of Music, under whose auspices the classes were held, received requests for professors, so that similar classes might be instituted in other cities as well, and this gave rise to the Musical Convention, so-called, which soon became an important factor in the progress of musical development. So impressed was Horace Mann, reformer of the Massachusetts Public School System, that he declared he "would walk fifty miles to see Lowell Mason teach, if he could not otherwise have that privilege."

One more medium for teacher-training, sponsored and developed by Mason, was the Musical Normal Institute, organized in New York City in 1853. Its sessions lasted throughout three months and its curriculum included musical theory, composition, instrumental and vocal training, and choral practice. In this movement Mason was joined by Thomas Hastings, George F. Root and William B. Bradbury, the latter two having been pupils of his, while students from all parts of the country attended. Thus, Mason's Teachers' Classes, Musical Conventions and Musical Normal Institutes provided the country for a quarter of a century with a majority of its well-trained music teachers.

Meanwhile Mason was prolific as a composer and arranger of music for the Church, also of songs for children. His published works, in some of which others collaborated with him, totaling sixty or more, included *The Juvenile Psalmist, or The Child's Introduction to Sacred Music*, 1829, the first music book ever published for Sunday schools; *The Juvenile Lyre*, 1831, the first book of secular school songs—in this country, at least; *Sabbath School Songs*, 1833; *The Juvenile Singing School*, 1837; *Mason's Young Minstrel*, 1837; *The Juvenile Songster*, 1838 (published in Boston and London simultaneously); *Little Songs for Little Singers*, 1840; *The Primary School Song Book, In Two Parts*, 1846; and *The Song Garden, Parts One, Two and Three*, 1864–66. Thus it is seen that the child, hitherto starved through lack of intelligible songs, was given the opportunity for self-expression through music—a new world of beauty being opened unto him.

And what were the principles upon which Lowell Mason vouchsafed to children this inestimable advantage? The child should find in the educative process pleasure and delight; be motivated through his own aroused interest, and through the realization of specific ends; teaching data should be organized so that the pupil proceeds from the known to the unknown, grasping the significance thereof step by step, one thing at a time; the occasional review of parts already learned and the significance of the parts so learned in their relation to the whole; the material at all times to be worth-while music and worth-while literature; the first steps should be by means of rote singing, followed by note reading of appealing songs, with especial care that the child's voice should not be forced. Since the success of the educational progress depends largely upon the teacher, he must not only be prepared for the work, from a musical point of view, educationally and morally, but likewise be ever attentive to his own development, and he should evince constant interest in the pupils themselves.

According to Lowell Mason's philosophy of education in music, while music should not be considered as an end in itself, its true function lies in the benefit it bestows upon the development of the whole personality; its educational value offers the means toward high human development through emphasis upon the student of a wholesome physical, intellectual and emotional objective. It is not so much the object of education to store the mind with knowledge as to discipline it. That person is not the best educated who has *learned* the *most*, but he who *knows best how to learn*. Music should be cultivated and taught not as a mere sensual gratification, but as a means of improving the affections, and of ennobling, purifying and elevating the whole man.

But during these years Mason was constantly composing and arranging church music as well, the chief medium of his musical expression being the hymn-tune. Beginning with *Hamburg* and the *Missionary Hymn*, in 1824, he composed with almost incredible facility. Many of his hymn-tunes, including several of those best known, date from the decade beginning with the year of his arrival in Boston, 1827, and particularly from the years 1830 and 1832. To the former, 1830, belong the spirited tune, *Laban*, for that hymn of Christian steadfastness by the Reverend George Heath, beginning:

> My soul! be on thy guard;
> Ten thousand foes arise;

and *Rockingham*, for the hymn, "My dear Redeemer and my Lord," called by Watts, its author, "The example of Christ;" and the tune, *Watchman*, of dignity and vigor, for the ringing missionary, Easter or Christmas hymn of Sir John Bowring,

> Watchman, tell us of the night,
> What its signs of promise are.

likewise the tune, *Hebron*, for Watts's "Thus far the Lord hath led me on;" and *Wesley*, for the stanzas by the Reverend Thomas Hastings,

> Hail to the brightness of Zion's glad morning,
> Joy to the lands that in darkness have lain!

Cowper, too, in memory of the poet William Cowper, its author, set to his hymn,

> There is a fountain filled with blood
> Drawn from Emmanuel's veins;

Uxbridge, likewise, in the spirit of a Gregorian Chant, for the hymn based on Psalm XIX,

> The heavens declare Thy glory, Lord!
> In every star Thy wisdom shines.

Of a few dating from 1832, mention may be made of *Boylston*, frequently sung to the Reverend John Fawcett's familiar verses, warm in brotherly feeling,

> Blest be the tie that binds
> Our hearts in Christian love;

and *Downs*, for William Cowper's "God moves in a mysterious way;" and *Olivet*, composed for and universally associated with Dr. Ray Palmer's hymn of prayer and triumphant confidence,

> My faith looks up to Thee,
> Thou Lamb of Calvary,
> Saviour Divine!

To complete the list would require many pages, but however brief a given list might be, it could not be adequate without including the tune, *Bethany*, written for and internationally sung to "Nearer, my God, to Thee."

Meanwhile, a succession of collections of church music came with remarkable rapidity from Mason's pen beginning in 1821 with *The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music*, of which nineteen editions were issued, and ending with *The American Tune Book*, 1869, although he later collaborated with other men in editing various collections. These collections comprised many of Mason's several hundred hymn-tunes, though the total number of his tunes will probably never be known. For, "although he had an honest love of approbation," as his pastor and friend the late Reverend George B. Bacon, has written,

> as all faithful workers have, he was not so eager for it as he was to have his work well done. He was willing, for example, to leave unclaimed much of the music which he introduced to general acceptance. It was his fashion to send out a tune anonymously, and to let it run awhile on its own merit. By-and-by he might claim it, but very often failed to do so. For many of his tunes he has no credit, and he did not care enough for his own fame to take the time (as he was urged to take it) to collect and recognize his works. So, too, with the service which he rendered to the English Churches of the Congregational order.

Regarding the contention sometimes raised that Lowell Mason formulated no positive principle and founded no school with definite limitations, we believe that he was too broad, too catholic, too practical, to bind himself down by any particular formulæ. He did have, nevertheless, two cardinal principles and to these the congregational tunes for the Church should conform: first, they should be such that all could sing them, their melodies should not exceed the limits of the average range of the human voice; and secondly, they should be the complement of the verses to which they were set, thus strengthening the meaning and the significance of the hymns themselves. His tunes at their best are expressed, first of all, by a spirit of devotion; they have vitality, the strength of simplicity and enduring qualities. Many of them, composed upwards of one hundred years ago, having stood the test of time, are today included in numerous, foremost hymn-and-tune books.

In 1837, after ten years of continuous labor, Lowell Mason visited Europe, partly for recreation, though more particularly to become acquainted first-hand with the methods—especially in Germany—of musical instruction in schools of different grades. He conversed with many teachers, witnessed demonstrations by their pupils; he heard much church music, attended numerous classical concerts, and met outstanding musicians and composers of the day—notably Mendelssohn, during a rehearsal of the oratorio, "St. Paul," at Exeter Hall, London.

Again, in 1851, now accompanied by his wife, he paid a second and more extended visit to Europe, devoting some fifteen months to England and the Continent. At London he gave courses of lectures on Music for the Church and Pestalozzianism; he directed congregational singing schools, and instituted elementary music classes for children. Having thus spent considerable time, pleasantly and industriously, he returned to America in April, 1853. Shortly following his arrival, he recounted his foreign experiences in a volume, entitled, *Musical Letters from Abroad*, a book of charm and information, offering much of interest to this day. In its Preface he writes:

> There are many persons in different parts of our country, who are deeply interested in the subject of music, who are beginning to appreciate its value, and who are engaged in the cause of musical education, and especially in efforts for the improvement of church music; this is abundantly proved by the rapid spread of music in common schools, by the steadily growing demand for good instructors both in the vocal and instrumental departments, by the higher qualifications which from year to year are required in those who are sought for and employed as teachers, and by the constantly increasing number of associations and gatherings for musical purposes, as elementary classes, singing societies, choirs and musical conventions. It was for the gratification of these persons, and especially for the satisfaction of the author's numerous pupils and friends, that these very imperfect letters were originally written and published in various periodicals, and for these too they have been now collected and printed in a more convenient and permanent form. May they serve as a token of remembrance from the writer, and may they in their humble way add a little to the influence of those who, regarding music as an object worthy of human pursuit and cultivation, are exerting themselves for its improvement and universal diffusion.

Removing to Orange, New Jersey, some twelve miles distant from New York City, in the latter part of 1853, Mr. and Mrs. Mason established their new and final home at the beautiful estate, known as "Silverspring," on the gently rising slope of Orange Mountain. Here their elder sons sooned joined them, Daniel Gregory and Lowell, Jr., who in 1855 constituted the publishing firm, Mason Brothers, and whose general catalogue contained a number of their father's works. Between the sons' residence, called "Cosey Cottage," and that of their parents, a little stream flowed down from its never-failing source—a spring at the mountain-top. Widening in its course, and silvery in the sunshine, on and on it ran until at the foot of the mountain it formed a lily pond, over across the roadway near the stables. As on its way it passed the gardener's lodge, it seemed to pause, as it were, long enough to keep filled to the brim an inviting drinking trough at which pedestrians and horses might quench their thirst. Mr. and Mrs. Mason found much to enjoy in their new home; and here they welcomed from time to time numerous guests, clergymen, educators, former pupils and friends.

Doctor Mason (he was honored by the New York University with the degree of Doctor of Music, in 1855—among the first of its kind to be granted by an American university) at once took an active interest, as did his wife also, in the religious and social life of the community. As a founder of the Orange Valley Church and superintendent of its Sunday school, the Doctor rejoiced in leading, as precentor, the musical service. Both he and Mrs. Mason devoutly aided in the church's spiritual welfare, as did likewise their son, Lowell, Jr., president of its Board of Trustees and one of its deacons, and also their gifted son, William, who for many years gave his services as organist. As senior deacon, Lowell Mason served the church from the time of its formation to the end of his days. Punctilious as to his engagements, it was his custom to return in time for the Sabbath, from New York City or more distant points to which he might have gone to lecture or engage in other activities. During the greater part of the Orange period he was busy as ever, editing books of music for children and for the Church, and contributing articles to American and English periodicals, composing hymn-tunes, anthems, motets and sentences, as well as conducting through an amanuensis an extensive correspondence. It was in 1858–59 that the three exhaustive volumes, *The Sabbath Hymn Book*, *The Sabbath Hymn and Tune Book* and *The Sabbath Tune Book*, first appeared, edited by Lowell Mason, in conjunction with Edwards A. Park and Austin Phelps, of the Andover Theological Seminary. One of his last compositions dates from 1871—an anthem, a musical setting for the verses:

> As the hart panteth after the water brooks,
> So panteth my soul after Thee, O God.

Lowell Mason's life of eighty years was a full and busy one. Fortunately he was blessed with a devoted helpmate. On September 17, 1817, he married Miss Abigail Gregory, of Westborough, Massachusetts. Together they lived happily for upwards of half a century, and to them were born four sons. Celebrating their Golden Wedding in 1867, they were gladdened by the presence of their children, their several grandchildren, their friends and neighbors, and their hearts were filled with thanksgiving to their Eternal Father for the exceeding goodness and blessings vouchsafed them.

But all that is mortal passeth away with time. On the evening of the Lord's Day, August 11, 1872, Lowell Mason peacefully breathed his last. Yet the inspiring influence of his life and work still lives. As he wrought for a better and brighter future, may it be given to us to carry on in the same spirit, to strive constantly for an ever fuller fruition of the salutary purposes for which he unceasingly, reverently labored!

THE PAPERS OF THE
HYMN SOCIETY

CARL F. PRICE *Editor*

IX

Christian Hymns of the First Three Centuries

by

RUTH ELLIS MESSENGER, PH.D.

THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA
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Christian Hymns of the First Three Centuries

I. INTRODUCTION

There is no part of the general field of Christian hymnology so baffling to the student or so full of difficulties as the one under consideration in this paper. Many accounts of the subject are in existence but are far from conclusive. This is due, first of all, to the unexpected scarcity of original sources. When one views the rise of Christianity from its inception to the period of the Council of Nicæa, 325, its numerical growth from a handful of original adherents to millions of followers at the time of the Edict of Milan, 313, its literary development from early scattered records to the works of the great Greek and Latin fathers, one cannot help inquiring, "What has become of their hymns?"

Another puzzling aspect of the study is the complex historical background against which the progress of Christianity appears. The peace and constructive progress of the Augustan era, in which Christianity was founded, have often been cited as factors contributing to its evolution and spread. But this is not the whole story. The civilization of that day, especially in the eastern Mediterranean lands most concerned, was largely Hellenistic, of mingled Greek and oriental features which were necessarily wrought into the fabric of the new religion. An understanding of pre-Augustan conditions, in which these diverse historical and literary trends were merged, is essential, for without it the subject is unintelligible.

A further problem which confronts the student is that of interpretation. It is well known that any general treatment of early Christianity is apt to conform to the point of view of the author. The study of hymnology, like that of other features of the early Church, is apt to be affected by the opinion of the commentator.

It is no wonder that the field has been neglected and that the accounts of it are vague, incomplete and unsatisfactory. In fact, the task of re-examining the mass of extant records of early Christianity and other relevant material, which might illuminate the subject of hymnology, seems never to have been undertaken with this purpose in view. It is, actually, too vast a project for the casual student and certainly has not been attempted here. Our best accounts of early Christian hymnody are often subordinated to a general history of Christian hymns. This is the case with the article, entitled, Hymnes, by H. Leclercq, in the *Dictionnaire D'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, probably the best short account in any language, containing a section on the hymnology of the first three centuries.[1] Charles Stanley Phillips drew generously from this source for the first chapter of *Hymnody, Past and Present*, which is written from the liturgical standpoint.[2] Independent studies are rare. Among them, *Die Hymnendichtung des frühen Christentums* by Josef Kroll, a distinguished classical philologist, deserves a much wider circulation and should be translated for the benefit of English readers.[3]

In view of the dearth of available material in English, it has seemed timely to approach the whole subject from a new standpoint. In this study, the extant hymnic sources will be presented objectively. Groups of hymns will be used to illustrate the types current in the period. In connection with them, the related historical and literary influences will be noted.

Let us abandon at once our contemporary connotation of the word *hymn* which is derived ultimately from the hymns of Ambrose, 340–397, that is, a metrical lyric constructed in stanzas. In the pre-Ambrosian period Christian hymns were largely of the psalm type, to be chanted in rhythmic periods without rhyme. Not only should the word *hymn* be conceived in terms of ancient thought, but also the futile attempt to differentiate among psalms, hymns and canticles should be avoided. Specialists in liturgical matters testify to the confusion existing among ancient writers in the use of these words and to the uncertainty of definition which results.[4] It is better not to multiply difficulties but to hold fast to the actual texts which we know were used in Christian worship.

II. OLD TESTAMENT HYMNS

At the threshold of Christianity the student crosses from the literary environment of the Old Testament into that of the New. But in actual practice the Hebrew psalms were never given up, and to this day are treasured in every branch of the faith. In the early centuries they formed the bulk of Christian hymnody. References to their use appear throughout the New Testament and are familiar to all. And, moreover, the influence of the Hebrew psalms upon the composition of new hymns is apparent even in the Gospels.

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[1] H. LeClercq, "Hymnes," *Dictionnaire D'Archéologie Chrétienne, etc.* (Paris, Letouzey, 1925), vol. 16, 2826–2928; Part I, *Hymnographie des trois premiers siècles*, 2826–2859.

[2] C. S. Phillips, *Hymnody, Past and Present* (London, S. P. C. K., 1937).

[3] J. Kroll, "Die Hymnendichtung des frühen Christentums," *Die Antike*, 2 (1926), 258–281.

[4] J. Mearns, *Canticles of the Christian Church* (Cambridge, Un. Press, 1914), 1; F. Cabrol, "Cantiques," *Dictionnaire D'Archéologie Chrétienne, etc.*, vol. 2 (2), 1976.

Keeping these important facts in mind regarding the psalms, the student may pass on to other hymnic sources in the Old Testament. Many striking lyrical passages in the Hebrew scriptures, uttered or perhaps repeated in moments of emotional fervor, were used by later worshippers to express a similar attitude toward the Divine.[5] Among these may be cited the Songs of Moses,

> I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously (*Ex. 15: 1–19*),

> Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth (*Deut. 32: 1–43*);

Hannah's Song of Thanksgiving,

> My heart rejoiceth in the Lord (*I Sam. 2: 1–10*);

the great hymns in the Book of Isaiah,

> Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts (*Isa. 6: 3*),

> We have a strong city; salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks (*Isa. 26: 1–21*),

the second part of which begins,

> With my soul have I desired thee in the night (*Isa. 26: 9–21*);

Jonah's Song,

> I cried by reason of my affliction unto the Lord (*Jonah 2: 2–9*);

the Song of Habbakuk,

> O Lord, I have heard thy speech, and was afraid (*Hab. 3: 2–19*)

The apocryphal addition to the Book of Daniel, known as the Song of the Three Holy Children, may be considered with Old Testament lyrics. Comprising sixty-seven verses, it was added to *Daniel 3: 23*, but, strictly speaking, its date, author and original language are unknown. It is probable that it is of Hebrew authorship and belongs to the first century, B. C. Its use, however, is unquestioned.[6] The first part,

> Blessed art Thou, O Lord of our fathers,

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[5] All biblical passages quoted in this paper are given in the *King James Version* of the English Bible.

[6] R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913), vol. I, 627–629.

is the familiar *Benedictus es, Domine;* and the second part,

> O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord,

is the *Benedicite, omnia opera.*

The term *canticle*, mentioned above, has been applied in a general sense to such lyrics from the Old Testament and also from the New. "In practice," says James Mearns, "it means those Songs of Holy Scripture which have been selected for ecclesiastical use and are appended to, or incorporated with, the Psalter or other parts of the Divine Office."[7] Both Eastern and Western Churches early made official use of the Old Testament canticles,[8] while the Greek Church elaborated upon them in formal metrical compositions, called *canons*, or groups of *odes* based upon an acrostic structure, a distinctive feature of Greek hymnody from the seventh century.[9]

It was only natural that the hymnody of the Old Testament should have exerted a marked influence upon Christian practice. The Old Testament tradition was very strong. Familiar phraseology was ready at hand for the composition of new canticles which were often mere centos from the Psalms or other portions of the Hebrew scriptures. It should be recalled that Christianity not only arose in the Semitic environment but also was for some years localized chiefly in the oriental sections of the Roman Empire, and that it was affected by oriental ideas and modes of expression. Even after Greek and Roman influences were strongly felt, hymnology retained this traditional Semitic character and pagan lyrics were held in suspicion.

III. New Testament Hymns

The transition, therefore, to the canticles of the New Testament was easy and perhaps inevitable. The *Benedictus*,

> Blessed be the Lord God of Israel (*Luke 1: 68–79*),

spoken by Zacharias, the *Nunc dimittis*,

> Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace (*Luke 2: 29–32*),

by Simeon, and above all the *Magnificat*,

> My soul doth magnify the Lord (*Luke 1: 46–55*),

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[7] J. Mearns, *op. cit.* (see note 4), 1.

[8] F. Cabrol, *op. cit.* (see note 4), 1976–1977.

[9] J. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology* (London, John Murray, 1892), "Canons," 461, 463.

from the lips of the Virgin Mother, are among the most famous of early Christian hymns, which, together with the song of the angelic host at the birth of Jesus, the *Gloria in excelsis*,

> Glory to God in the highest (*Luke 2: 14*),

appear within the Gospel narratives.

In the remaining portions of the New Testament other hymn fragments are found. Some of these are direct quotations from known sources.[10] In the *Book of Revelation* (*4: 8*), reference is made to the words of *Isaiah* (*6: 3*),

> Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty,

a passage which has survived in the Western Church in the expanded form of the *Tersanctus*, and in the Eastern Church as the *Hymnus Angelicus*. In the same Book (*Rev. 15: 3*), the Song of Moses (*Ex. 15: 1–10*) is recalled. Some passages are considered parts of familiar pieces otherwise unknown. The quotation in the *Epistle to the Ephesians*,

> Awake thou that sleepest (*Eph. 5: 14*),

may fall into this group or be considered a free rendering of certain passages in Isaiah.[11] The "faithful sayings" from the Epistles to Timothy and to Titus have also been viewed in this light.[12] The passage opening

> For if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him (*II Tim. 2: 11–13*),

possesses a marked lyrical character. The lines beginning

> Who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords (*I Tim. 6: 15–16*),

reveal poetic features of a generally oriental style, framing the Old Testament content. Certain digressions in the Epistles, in which formulas of belief or of praise rise to a sure and effective climax, have the qualities of sustained hymns:

> God was manifest in the flesh,
> justified in the Spirit,
> seen of angels,
> preached unto the Gentiles,
> believed on in the world
> received up into glory (*I Tim. 3: 16*),
>
> Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth:
> who, when he was reviled, reviled not again;
> when he suffered, he threatened not;— — — —(*I Peter 2: 22–25*),

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[10] Quotations from the Psalms are not included in this paper.

[11] C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament* (New York, Scribners, 1884), 199–200.

[12] E. F. Scott, *The Pastoral Epistles* (New York, Harper, no date), 14.

above all,

> Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God;
> But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant— — — —
> That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth;
> And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father (*Philippians 2: 6–11*).

Poetic refrains are obvious in the following:

> For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever (*Rom. 11: 36*),
>
> Unto him be glory in the church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end (*Eph. 3: 21*),
>
> Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever (*I Tim. 1: 17*).

The Apostle Paul and other writers of the New Testament, who quote freely from a variety of sources, have used fragments of hymns to reinforce their teachings or with a devotional purpose. One gains from such citations a text only, or a fragment of text. Singing is not implied. The apocalyptic vision of the *Book of Revelation*, however, contains several magnificent hymns of praise which testify not alone to the form and content of the early hymn but also to the practice of worship in song. The praises of the heavenly host are mirrored in the praises of the congregation upon earth.[13] "And they sung a new song, saying,"

> Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof (*Rev. 5: 9–10*),
>
> Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing (*Rev. 5: 12–14*),
>
> Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever (*Rev. 7: 12*),
>
> Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints (*Rev. 15: 3–4*),
>
> Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth (*Rev. 19: 6*).

From the point of view of the evolution of Christian hymns, the hymns in the *Book of Revelation* are perhaps the most significant in the New Testament because they exhibit varied elements, from Judaism, from Christianity and from the mingling of the two.[14]

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[13] J. Kroll, *op. cit.* (see note 3), 264.

[14] M. Dibelius, *A Fresh Approach to the New Testament and Early Christian Literature* (New York, Scribners, 1936), 247.

It is interesting to re-read the New Testament in the search for hymns, but one should remember that the field is controversial. Some commentators would suggest that the entire 13th chapter of *I Corinthians* is a hymn, beginning,

> Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels.[15]

A moderate rather than an extreme position, however, upon the identity of hymn sources in the New Testament seems more likely to be productive of a genuine appreciation of the style, subject matter and number of primitive Christian hymns.

Traces of poetic improvisation, which is so closely allied to hymnody, must be seriously considered at this point. The art of improvisation belongs to no one age or country. It happens that the Greeks had practiced it for centuries and that illustrations exist from the time of Homer. To the Hellenized orient it was familiar. "The Greeks of Cilicia and of the region about Antioch and Tarsus," as Dr. George Dwight Kellogg reminds us, "seem to have cultivated the art and become famous." He also suggests that the "gift of tongues" refers to this art and that Paul himself possessed the poetic talent in no small degree.[16] It is only natural to assume that, among the early Christians, certain individuals would react to the influence of heightened emotion in outbursts of poetic expression. Passages in the *Book of Acts* may refer to the use of such hymns, for example, in the case of the Gentiles at Cæsarea, who "speak with tongues and magnify God" (*Acts 10: 45–46*), or the Ephesians who "spake with tongues, and prophesied" (*Acts 19: 6*), or perhaps the disciples on the Day of Pentecost (*Acts 2: 4*). Irenæus, a second century father of the Church and bishop of Lyons, referring to the scene at Pentecost, mentions the singing of a hymn on that occasion.[17] The nature of improvisations is fugitive. They arise from individual inspiration and, even if expressed in familiar phrases, are not remembered or recorded by the singer or hearer. To whatever degree improvisation played a part in early Christian hymnody, to that same degree we lack corresponding literary survivals. Possibly this is one explanation of the dearth of sources which we now deplore.

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[15] R. Reitzenstein, *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1927), 3rd edition, 385.

[16] G. D. Kellogg, *The Ancient Art of Poetic Improvisation*, a paper read at the meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, April 26, 1940; J. Kroll, *op. cit.* (see note 3), 259.

[17] *Contra Hæreses*, III, xvii, 2; Migne (PG), VII, 929–930. For a recent commentator, see F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1931), 10–13.

On the whole, the hymnic evidence found in the New Testament points to a predominant Hebrew influence. Both in the use of psalms and other Old Testament hymns and in the phraseology of new hymns, the Christians found themselves more at home in the traditional forms of expression. Features of style, such as parallelism, uniformity and the repetition of words or word order, were not necessarily restricted to Hebrew poetry but might be found in other oriental sources—a consideration to which further attention will be given later.[18] Still we may assume that the influence of Judaism in form as well as subject matter was supreme.

IV. Liturgical Hymns

Christian practice reveals a third type of Hebrew influence, the liturgical, which brought about the use of the psalms in public worship, together with other elements familiar in the synagogue. At the close of a service of this kind, made up of prayers, readings, psalms and preaching, the eucharist was celebrated. Early writings, for example, the *Apologia* of Justin Martyr, 100?–165,[19] the *Didache*[20] and the *Apostolic Constitutions*,[21] testify to a somewhat fixed type of worship, which, varying in details, seems to foreshadow the liturgical models of the fourth century.

Briefly stated, the *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, is a second century treatise, the second part of which includes a ritual of baptism, fasting and the eucharist.[22] A series of eucharistic prayers is here recorded, beginning, **Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν,**

We thank Thee, our Father,

offered at stages of the communion ritual where we approach the heart of Christian worship.[23] At this point, hymn and prayer origins merge. Many Christians of our own day, perhaps the majority, regard the true hymn as a prayer offered in direct address to God. Throughout the history of Christian hymns the two forms of worship have overlapped or been identical. Hymn and prayer were also associated in ancient cults, and the chorus of a Greek drama offers an illustration of the superb proportions which this act of worship may assume. Charles Stanley Phillips, who has recently translated anew the eucharistic prayer of the *Didache*, thinks of it as not a true hymn, but a source and model of hymnody.[24] Improvised eucharistic prayer was interrupted by congregational refrains which provided another opportunity for the evolution of hymns. As a matter of fact, in all ages, expressions of thanksgiving, attending the celebration of the eucharist, have inspired many of the finest hymns of the faith.

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[18] Note the citation, *I Tim. 6: 15–16*, *supra*, p. 7, in which the repetition of the relative clause produces a stylistic effect.

[19] Justin Martyr, *Apologia pro Christianis*, 67; Migne (PG), VI, 430. Translation from *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (New York, Scribners, 1899), I, 14.

[20] *Didache*, xiv; Translation from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII, 381.

[21] *Apostolic Constitutions*, II, lvii; Translation from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII, 421–422.

[22] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII, 371–376; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 779f; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, eleventh edition, VII–VIII, 209f.

[23] *Didache*, ix; Translation from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII, 380.

The *Apostolic Constitutions* is a manual in eight books, of ecclesiastical discipline, doctrine and worship, including the *Didache*.[25] Dating from the fourth or fifth century, more probably the fourth, it represents the practice of an earlier period well within the scope of this study and, in the opinion of Brightman, was compiled in Antioch or its neighborhood.[26] Since Greek was the prevailing language in the Christian world of that day, it became the liturgical language of early Christianity for the first three centuries. Even in Rome and other large cities of Italy, Greek was used. In Italy, with these exceptions and in the western provinces, Latin was employed, finally superseding Greek as the official language of the Western Church.[27]

The following hymns appear in the seventh book of the *Apostolic Constitutions:*

A morning hymn, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, *Gloria in excelsis,*

Glory to God in the highest;[28]

an evening hymn, Αἰνεῖτε παῖδες,

Ye children praise the Lord,[29]

which includes Σοὶ πρέπει αἶνος, *Te decet laus,*

Praise becomes Thee,

and Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, *Nunc dimittis,*

Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace;

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[24] *Hymnody Past and Present*, 16–17.

[25] F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1896), vol. I, *Introduction*, xvii-xxix.

[26] F. E. Brightman, *supra*, xxix; see also B. S. Easton, *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Cambridge, Un. Press, 1934), 12.

[27] L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, vol. I, *Allgemeine Liturgik* (Freiburg im B., Herder, 1932), 150–152.

[28] *Apostolic Constitutions*, VII, 47.

[29] *Supra*, VII, 48.

and a prayer at dinner, Εὐλογητὸς εἶ,

> Thou art blessed, O Lord, who nourishest me from my youth.[30]

In the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and also in the *Liturgy of St. James* we have the *Tersanctus*, Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος,

> Holy, holy, holy.

In another part of the same *Liturgy* the *Trisagion* appears, Ὁ τρισάγιος ὕμνος,

> Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal,
> Have mercy upon us.[31]

An evening hymn, Φῶς ἱλαρόν, Joyful light, is mentioned by Basil in the fourth century as very old. It was sung at vespers in the Eastern Church:[32]

> O gladsome light, O grace
> Of God the Father's face.[33]

Among ancient liturgical hymns the *Te deum* should be mentioned. It is attributed to Nicetas, Bishop of Remesiana in Dacia, and dated from the end of the fourth century. It appears to be a combination of three distinct parts. The first thirteen verses, or parts one and two, probably originated earlier than the fourth century and may have been inspired by Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, 200–258, who wrote in terms almost identical with the phrases of this early section, used of prophets, apostles and martyrs.[34]

Biblical sources, especially the canticles, now appear as liturgical hymns, either in their original form or in an enlarged version.[35] The use of canticles, more particularly in their variations, is of supreme interest to the hymnologist, because it offers a theory of the origin of Christian hymnody apart from liturgical interpolations or from the psalms. Clement of Rome urged the Corinthians to unite in the spirit of praise as expressed in the seraphic chorus of Isaiah's vision,

> Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts:
> the whole earth is full of his glory,

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[30] *Supra*, VII, 49.

[31] Translations from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII, 538, 544.

[32] *Liber de spiritu sancto*, xxix, 73; Migne (PG), XXXII, 205. See also J. Mearns, *op. cit.* (see note 4), 16.

[33] Translation by Robert Bridges, *Yattendon Hymnal* (London, Oxford Un. Press, 1920), no. 88.

[34] R. M. Pope. "Latin Hymns of the Early Period," *Theology*, 21 (1930), 159; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Te deum," XIV, 468–470; C. W. Douglas, *Church Music in History and Practice* (New York, Scribners, 1937), 158–160.

[35] F. Cabrol, *op. cit.* (see note 4), especially Part II, *Les cantiques anciens*, 1976–1977.

associating it with the praise of the angelic ministrants, "ten thousand times ten thousand," beheld by Daniel (*Dan. 7: 10*). The same hymn had been heard in the apocalyptic mysteries of the *Book of Revelation*. Very early it was incorporated in the liturgy of the eucharist, continuing an ageless form of the praise of God from the old dispensation into the new.

The evolution of the Great Doxology from the words of the angelic song,

> Glory to God in the highest,

to the *Gloria in excelsis* illustrates the expanding thought of the Church, corresponding to the growth of the Christian body within the culture of the Roman Empire. Again, the *Gloria* illustrates Hellenistic features of poetic style, bespeaking the oriental influences which had entered into Greek literature.[36] Note the repetition of the clauses,

> We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory,

of the invocation,

> O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father almighty,
> O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ;
> O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father,

of the relative clause,

> That takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.
> Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer.
> Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us,

of the pronoun,

> For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father.

It is quite superfluous to analyze further the values of a poetic form which has helped to make the *Gloria* one of the truly magnificent Christian hymns of all ages.[37]

Postponing for the present a more detailed inquiry into stylistic origins, we may regard the group of liturgical hymns here presented as a source collection of the utmost importance. It reveals not only the continuity of the Old and New Testament hymnology but also the evolution of worship in song into the early Christian era. The fact that worship was chiefly liturgical in this period and hymns were therefore liturgical appears an inevitable conclusion.

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[36] E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913), 276.

[37] Translation from *Book of Common Prayer* (Prot. Epis. Church, U. S. A.), 84. Similar effects were apparent in *I Tim. 6: 15–16*, *I Tim. 3: 16*, *I Peter 2: 22–25*, quoted above.

V. CONTEMPORARY PAGAN AND HERETICAL HYMNS

Christianity expanded, as we have seen, in the environment of eastern Mediterranean culture. Its original heritage was that of Judaism, but within the first century it had entered upon the conquest of the Gentile world. As that conquest proceeded and the penetration of new ideas into pagan thought continued, a corresponding reaction of paganism upon the new faith took place. With the general aspects of this phenomenon all are familiar. It is significant here only in the field of lyrical expression. The period of pagan influence in the sense of an imprint from Greek and Roman literature is also the period of impact with pagan heretical ideas derived either from current philosophies or the practices of mystery religions.

Once more the chart and compass offered by the direct extant sources are the best guides through the cross currents of the literature in our possession. Representative pagan poetry must be examined, at least of a few general types, in order to establish what influence, if any, was exerted upon contemporary Christian hymns.

Regarding the classical influence, *per se*, a large number of Greek hymns were in existence when Christianity was founded,[38] and Roman lyrics were appearing in that very century. Paul was obviously acquainted with the Hymn of Cleanthes, a Stoic writer of the third century, B.C., for he quoted his words on the Areopagus. The original passage to which Paul refers has been translated as follows:

> Thee it is meet that mortals should invoke,
> For we Thine offspring are and sole of all
> Created things that live and move on earth
> Receive from Thee the image of the One.[39]

It is evident that the Christian hymns embedded in the books of the New Testament were not constructed after a classical model of this type. The influence of Old Testament poetry was too strong, the associations of paganism repellant and, moreover, the Greek poetry, familiar to the average man of that day, quite different. The older Greek hymns, such as the *Homeric Hymns*, the *Odes* of Pindar, the choruses of

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[38] K. Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung in griechischen Hymnus* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1932). In his index Keyssner lists 72 known authors of all periods, 37 anonymous pieces (some fragments), and 22 magical formulæ or collections.

[39] E. H. Blakeney, *Hymn of Cleanthes* (London, S. P. C. K., 1921), 8.

Greek tragedy, were produced in the Hellenic or pre-Hellenic ages which had been followed by more than two centuries of Hellenistic culture. Dr. Edward Delavan Perry, writing of Hellenistic poetry, said, "Other forms of poetry, particularly the lyric, both the choral and the 'individual,' died out almost completely."[40]

There remain, then, only the extant hymns of the mystery cults. In spite of many references to the use of singing in connection with these religions, very few specimens of their hymns actually survive. The mystery religion was a sacramental religion "which stressed the approach to Deity through rite and liturgy after a severe probation and an oath pledging to secrecy."[41] The leading cults were those associated with Orpheus, the Magna Mater (Cybele) and Attis, Mithra, Serapis, Isis, Adonis, and especially the Eleusinian Mysteries, which flourished for twelve centuries, ending with their extinction by the Christians in 397.[42]

During the period under consideration in this study Isis was honored in all parts of the Græco-Roman world. An authentic hymn to Isis appears in the writings of Apuleius (b. 125), who describes a procession in honor of the goddess and gives the words of the chorus, closing,

> Thy divine countenance and most holy deity I shall guard and keep forever in the secret place of my heart.

Variants of the Isis cult hymn or hymns have been preserved in inscriptions; for example, a hymn of some fifty lines from Cyme in Æolia,

> I am Isis the sovereign of the whole land.[43]

Liturgical survivals of the cult of Mithra are almost unknown. Franz Cumont, the great student of Mithraism, quotes one hymn fragment only,

> Hail bridegroom, hail thou new light![44]

He is of the opinion, however, that the Manichæan song mentioned by Augustine, 354–430, affords some idea of Mithraic poetry. The song or hymn in question represents a chief divinity surrounded by twelve minor divinities, symbolizing the seasons, all clothed with floral tributes.[45] Cumont also suggests that hero hymns were in existence, celebrating the exploits of the gods.[46] The so-called *Liturgy of Mithra*, a magic formula not considered by Cumont, contains hymn fragments, one of which begins,

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[40] E. D. Perry, Preface to A. Körte, *Hellenistic Poetry*, translated by J. Hammer and M. Hadas (New York, Col. Un. Press, 1929), vii.

[41] S. Angus, *Religious Quests of the Græco-Roman World* (New York, Scribners, 1929), 76.

[42] *Supra*, 77, 86, 87.

[43] *Metamorphoses*, xi, 25. Translation from S. Angus, *Mystery Religions and Christianity* (New York, Scribners, 1925), 240–241. For the hymn from Cyme see P. Roussel, "Un nouvel Hymne à Isis," *Revue des Études grecques*, 42 (1929), 138.

[44] Cited by Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, 20; Migne (PL), XII, 1025; F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments Figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Bruxelles, Lamertin, 1899), vol. I, 313.

> Lord, hail, potentate of the water,
> hail, ruler of the earth,
> hail, potentate of the spirit.[47]

Hippolytus, a presbyter of Rome who died in 236, in his *Refutation of all Heresies*, quotes certain hymns in praise of Attis:

> Whether thou art the race of Saturn or happy Jupiter,

and

> I will hymn Attis, son of Rhea.[48]

Here, as in so many cases, our information concerning pagan hymns is derived from an opponent, a Christian writer and defender of orthodox religion, but this circumstance in no way affects the validity of the text.

For the Orphic cult which had the longest period of influence, we possess what may be termed a hymn book containing eighty-seven hymns. It has been variously dated from the third century, B.C., to the fourth or fifth century, A.D. With a mental reservation as to the relevancy of the citations, we find that some of these hymns in praise of the gods are full of dignity, for instance,

> Mother of Gods, great nurse of all, draw near,
> Divinely honored, and regard my prayer.[49]

So debatable is the subject of the Orphic hymns, both in respect to date and usage, that they offer little or no assistance to the student who is interested in a possible influence upon Christian hymnology.[50]

Sooner or later, one must turn to the land of Egypt, if one desires a complete picture of early Christian culture. The mystery of the Egyptian Isis, mentioned above, was one element in the background of the times, illustrative of the religious syncretism which had been fostered throughout the Ptolemaic period. The identification of the Egyptian Thot with the Greek Hermes is reflected in the Hermetic literature of which the *Poimandres* is the oldest known writing.[51] From this source a hymn of praise is derived:

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[45] *Contra Faustum*, xv, 5; Migne (PL), xlii, 307.

[46] Cumont, *op. cit.* (see note 44), 302.

[47] A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1923), 14; Translation from S. Angus, *op. cit.* (see note 43), 241.

[48] *Philosophumena*, V, iv; *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Hippolytus*, vol. iii, edited by Paul Wendland (Leipzig, Hinrich, 1916), 99–100. Translation from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, V, 56–57.

[49] T. Taylor, *The Mystical Hymns of Orpheus* (London, Dobell and Reeves & Turner, 1896), 63.

[50] J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1929), 18; M. Hauck, *Die hymnorum Orphicorum aetate* (Dissertation, Breslau, 1911); O. Kern, *Die Herkunft des Orphischen Hymnenbuch* in *Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910 Genethliakon* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1910).

> By thy blessing my spirit is illumined,

and a thanksgiving hymn,

> Holy is God, the Father of all the universe.[52]

Summarizing the Greek influence, both Hellenic and Græco-oriental, upon Christian hymnology, it is difficult, if not impossible, to trace any connection between the classic Greek hymns or the hymns of mystery cults, and those of the new faith. If more sources were available, a valid conclusion might be reached. At present, a tentative conclusion involves the recognition of the vigorous protest and revolt against pagan ideas revealed in contemporary prose writings, in turn evoked by the actual pressure which was exerted upon Christianity by alien cults. The twentieth century has produced an impressive literature centered about the mystery religions and the problem of their influence upon Christianity; but in the field of hymnology there have been discovered only the faintest of traces. These are wholly stylistic. Christian hymns which reveal the characteristics of the repetition of direct address, or of relative clauses or predicates, previously mentioned, illustrate poetic forms which are, in the final analysis, oriental rather than Greek.[53]

It is a satisfaction to the classicist, who is interested in the history of this subject, that the classical meters, ignored at this period, were destined to be revived at a later date. They were used to some extent from the fourth century. It was reserved for the court poets of the Carolingian circle of the ninth century to restore the old lyric meters. The Sapphic meter in its Horatian form not only was a favorite among medieval Latin hymn writers, but also it has found an occasional imitator in the course of the centuries even to modern times.[54]

While hymn sources derived from oriental cults are extremely scanty, those originating in Gnosticism are much more numerous and suggestive in their relation to Christian hymnology. Gnosticism is not so much the name of a particular philosophy or definite system of belief, as it is a point of view, which sought to harmonize the speculative achievement of Greek thought with the oriental myths and with Christian teachings. The philosophical interpretation of pagan mythology was extended to Hebrew and Christian tradition. Thus, in accordance with the tenets of Neoplatonism, the primeval being has produced the universal mind and, in turn, mind has produced the soul which in contact with evil phases of matter has lost its original purity. Therefore, the soul must retrace its steps until it reaches the final stage of reunion with the origin of all being. It is easy to understand how a variety of meanings may be read into a simple statement like the above. It is also easy to understand that the possibilities of confusion arising in the first three centuries of Christian history were matters of the utmost concern to contemporary Christian writers and dogmatists. The period abounded in heresies and misunderstandings, to the discussion of which the ablest minds of the Church were devoted. Quotations from these authors furnish many of the extant hymns composed by Gnostics, either within or without the Christian fold. The range of literary excellence, of spiritual connotation and of intelligibility of subject matter in the so-called Gnostic hymns is so wide that it is difficult to evaluate them. To the modern reader they vary from the mere rigmarole to the genuinely inspiring hymn.

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[51] R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1904), 59, 347f.

[52] Translations from S. Angus, *Mystery Religions and Christianity*, 241–242.

[53] Phillips, *Hymnody Past and Present*, 13.

[54] *Ut queant laxis resonare fibris* (Paulus Diaconus, d. 799); *Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen* (Johann Heerman, 1630); *Where is the Friend for whom I'm ever yearning* (Johann Wallin, 1779–1839).

Perhaps the best known and certainly one of the loftiest expressions of Gnostic ideas is the *Hymn of the Soul*, which is found in the Apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*. Dating from the first half of the third century, the *Acts of Thomas* recounts the missionary preaching of the Apostle Thomas in India. While in prison, he chants this hymn, beginning,

> When I was an infant child in the palace of my father.[55]

It has no connection with the narrative but relates in allegorical fashion the return of the soul, which has been awakened from its preoccupation with earthly matters, to the higher state of heavenly existence. Here is a theme congenial to Christian thought and orthodox in its theology when extricated from the popular concepts of the times.[56] The actual authorship of the *Hymn of the Soul*, which is found in the Syriac version of the *Acts* alone, is unknown, but it has been attributed to some disciple of the Syrian Bardesanes, a Christian Gnostic who lived in the second half of the second century.[57] There seems to be no doubt that Bardesanes was himself influential as a hymn writer and that he was representative of a group of poets who were beginning to employ contemporary rhythms set to melodies familiar in daily secular life.[58]

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[55] *Acts of Thomas*, IX, 108. Translation from M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924), 411. See also B. Pick, *The Apocryphal Acts* (Chicago, Open Court Pub. Co., 1909), 312.

The *Acts of Thomas* contains a second hymn,

> The damsel is the daughter of light,

a poem of oriental imagery, personifying the divine wisdom as a bride.[59]

The apocryphal *Acts of John*, dating from the middle of the second century, yields a third hymn, the *Hymn of Jesus*. In the Gospel narrative of the last supper, Jesus and his disciples, before going to the Mount of Olives, sing a hymn together. It is not identified but is generally believed to be a part of the *Hallel* or group of Passover Psalms, 113-118. The writer of the *Acts of John* represents Jesus as using a new hymn which opens,

> Glory be to Thee, Father.

It contains a long series of antitheses, as follows:

> I would be saved and I would save,
> I would be loosed and I would loose,
> I would be wounded and I would wound,
> I would be borne and I would bear, etc.

The hymn concludes,

> A way am I to thee, a wayfarer.[60]

Variants of the *Hymn of Jesus* are extant, one of which has been preserved by Augustine, the Hymn of the Priscillianists, which came to him from a correspondent in Spain.[61]

Hippolytus, whose *Refutation of all Heresies* has been mentioned in another connection, discusses the Gnostic sect of the Naasenes. He quotes one of their hymns, beginning,

> The world's producing law was Primal Mind,

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[56] According to Pick *op. cit.* (see note 55), 312, it is a Gnostic development of *Phil. 2: 5-11*.

[57] O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, translated from the 2nd edition by T. J. Shahan (Freiburg im B., Herder, 1908), 107.

[58] J. Kroll, *op. cit.* (see note 3), 270.

[59] Acts of Thomas, I, 6. Translation from M. R. James, *op. cit.* (see note 55), 367.

[60] Acts of John, 94, 95. Translation from M. R. James, *op. cit.* (see note 55), 228, 253.

[61] Augustine, *Epistula* ccxxxvii; Migne (PL), xxxiii, 1034. See also Leclercq, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 2841.

in which Jesus is represented as the guide of mankind to the attainment of celestial knowledge.[62] The system of Valentinus, a Gnostic leader, is also discussed and a psalm of his authorship is quoted:

> I behold all things suspended in air by spirit,

a didactic presentation of Gnostic thought.[63] It is composed in dactylic meter, affording another illustration of the adoption of popular rhythms in the hymnology of the heretical sects. A Gnostic hymn to the Highest God from a third century Coptic source may be cited:

> Thou art alone the eternal and
> thou art alone the deep and
> thou art alone the unknowable, etc.[64]

Whatever impression may be created upon the modern mind by the perusal of Gnostic poetry, its influence was admitted by contemporary Christians and combatted by every means in their power. The Gnostic leaders, unhampered by Hebrew traditions of religious poetry, were able to make use of popular forms and popular concepts. They met the trend of the times more than halfway. Heretical groups of all varieties of opinion were using hymns as a means of expressing their beliefs and persuading possible adherents. At the opening of the fourth century, Arius appeared, the leader of the group whose theology was rejected at the Council of Nicæa, 325, and whose hymns were met and overcome by the verses of Ambrose. Such was the influence of heretical upon orthodox hymnody.

VI. EARLY CHRISTIAN HYMNS

Turning once more to the authentic Christian hymns of the first three centuries and this time omitting those which appear in liturgical sources, we observe three distinct linguistic groups, the Syriac, the Greek and the Latin.

The most familiar of the Syriac hymns were written by Ephraem Syrus (b. 307), who strove to counteract the influence of the Gnostic poets, especially that of his countryman, Bardesanes. Strictly speaking, he belongs to the first half of the fourth century but should be considered by the student who is tracing the continuity of this subject. His hymns are metrical in the sense of having lines with a fixed number of syllables and strophic divisions. An Easter hymn opens thus:

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[62] *Philosophumena*, v, 5; Text, *op. cit.* (see note 48), 102. Translation from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, V, 58.

[63] *Philosophumena*, vi, 32; Text, *op. cit.* (see note 48), 167. Translation from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, V, 91.

[64] E. Norden, *op. cit.* (see note 36), 69.

> Blessed be the Messiah
> Who has given us a hope
> That the dead shall rise again.

A hymn for the Lord's Day begins,

> Glory be to the good
> Who hath honoured and exalted
> The first day of the week.[65]

It is possible that the hymns of Ephraem were influenced by the Syriac Odes of Solomon, discovered in 1909, which were produced in the first century. Whether the *Odes* themselves are of Gnostic or Christian origin cannot be definitely asserted but the probability of the latter is strong. For a full discussion of this most interesting but highly controversial topic the work of special commentators must be consulted.[66] The intrinsic interest of the collection demands more than a passing comment. *Ode VI* opens,

> As the hand moves over the harp and the strings speak,
> So speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak by His love.[67]

Ode IX,

> Open your ears
> And I will speak to you,
> Give me your souls,
> That I may also give you my soul.[68]

Ode XXIX,

> The Lord is my hope:
> In Him I shall not be confounded
> For according to His praise He made me,
> And according to His goodness even so He gave unto me.[69]

Ode XXXI, in which Jesus speaks,

> 6. Come forth, ye that have been afflicted
> and receive joy
> 7. And possess your souls by grace;
> and take to you immortal life.
> 8. And they condemned me when I rose up,
> me who had not been condemned.
> 9. And they divided my spoil
> though nothing was due to them.[70]

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[65] H. Burgess, *Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus* (London, Blackader, 1853), 77, 83.

[66] J. R. Harris & A. Mingana, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, vol. I, *Text;* II, *Translation* (Manchester, Un. Press, 1916–1920), II, 69, 187–189, 197; J. R. Harris, *Odes and Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge, Un. Press, 1909), 1–15; M. Dibelius, *op. cit.* (see note 14), 248–251; J. Kroll, *op. cit.* (see note 3), 265–268.

[67] Harris & Mingana, *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, II, 232.

[68] *Supra*, 259.

[69] *Supra*, 362.

[70] *Supra*, 369.

Forty-two in number, the *Odes* reveal a true inspiration, novel and significant from the religious and the literary standpoint. They preserve the tradition of the Old Testament hymns, yet breathe the spiritual life of the new revelation. Their chief interest lies in the possibility that they illustrate a valid Christian poetry of a very early date. If it is true, as the editors suggest, that the *Odes* emanate from Antioch,[71] we have further evidence of the spirit of worship in that city with which early Christian liturgical forms are so closely associated.

The tradition of Syriac hymnody, of which these illustrations alone may be given from the early period, did not come to an end as Christianity moved westward. It was continued through thirteen centuries and is preserved in the Nestorian and other branches of the Syrian Christian Church.

Before the main stream of hymnody in the Greek language is traced, two sources from the second century will serve as an introduction. The first of these is the *Epistle to Diognetus*, by an unknown author, possibly a catechumen of the Pauline group.[72] It contains four selections, biblical in their phraseology, the first three of which express the redemptive mission of the Son of God:

> As a king sends his son who is also a king, so sent He Him,
> He did not regard us with hatred nor thrust us away,
> He, being despised by the people.

The fourth admonishes the Christian to union with the mind of God,

> Let your heart be your wisdom.[73]

The second source is a passage from a sermon on *The Soul and Body*, written by Melito of Sardis, a bishop and philosopher who was martyred in 170. The author pictures all creation aghast at the crucifixion of Jesus, saying,

> What new mystery then is this?
> The Judge is judged and holds his peace;
> The Invisible one is seen and is not ashamed;
>
> . . .
>
> The Celestial is laid in the grave, and endureth!
> What new mystery is this?[74]

Whether admissible as a hymn or not, this passage blends, in a most striking way, oriental and Greek elements employed in the expression of Christian belief.

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[71] *Supra*, 69.

[72] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, I, 23.

[73] Chapters vii, ix, x, xii. Translation from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, I, 27, 28, 29, 30.

[74] Translation from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, 756.

Authentic Greek hymnody begins with Clement of Alexandria, 170–220. He is the author of a work of instruction for catechumens, the *Pædagogus*, to which is appended a *Hymn to Christ the Savior*, Ὕμνος τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, beginning, Στόμιον πώλων. It is a hymn of praise and thanksgiving on the part of those newly received into the Church. Christ is addressed in the familiar oriental imagery of the guide and shepherd, but the theme is rendered in a poetic style, which, by the use of short lines and the anapest, heightens the effect of ecstatic devotion.

Bridle of colts untamed,
  Over our wills presiding;
Flight of unwandering birds,
  Our flight securely guiding,— — — —[75]

The modern adaptation of Clement's hymn, *Shepherd of Tender Youth*, by Henry M. Dexter, 1846, while preserving in a measure the spirit of this piece, in no way reproduces the original. The Στόμιον πώλων of Clement is representative of a theme which pervades Christian hymnody in all ages, the joy and enthusiasm of the initiate or the admonition and encouragement addressed to the Christian who stands upon the threshold of a new life. The *Odes of Solomon* have been interpreted in these terms.[76] Again, the theme is preserved in the so-called Amherst papyrus, which consists of a hymn of twenty-five tripartite lines, a catechism or liturgy for the newly baptized. Originating in the third century, it appears in fragmentary form but sufficiently complete to make clear its language and purport, as illustrated in the following:[77]

That thou mayest receive life eternal
  Thou hast escaped the hard law of the unjust . . .

. . .

Seek to live with the saints, seek to receive life,
  Seek to escape the fire.
Hold the hope that thou hast learnt. The day that
  the master has appointed for thee is known to no man.

. . .

Tell the glad tidings unto children saying: the poor
  have received the kingdom, the children are the inheritors.[78]

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[75] Poetical translation from *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (Edinburgh, Clark, 1867), IV, 343, by William Wilson. A familiar poetical translation is found in B. Pick, *Hymns and Poetry of the Eastern Church* (New York, Eaton & Mains, 1908), 21.

[76] Harris & Mingana, *op. cit.* (see note 66), 187.

[77] B. F. Grenfell & A. S. Hunt, *Amherst Papyri* (London, Frowde, 1900–1901), 23; Leclercq, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 2853f.

[78] Translation from P. D. Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity* (Cambridge, Un. Press, 1913), 83–84.

The Amherst papyrus is a part of the new store of knowledge from antiquity which has been opened up within recent years by the discovery and study of papyri. This branch of archæology and palæography has made available new fields of research in the study of early Christianity hitherto unfamiliar. In 1920, among the Oxyrhynchus papyri was discovered a fragment of a Christian hymn. It appears on the back of a strip which records a grain account of the first half of the third century. The hymn has a musical setting, the earliest example of Christian church music extant. The fragment consists of the conclusion only, so that the length and subject matter of the hymn as a whole are unknown. Creation is enjoined to praise Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in the form of a doxology. The meter is anapestic and purely quantitative.[79]

The *Hymn of Thekla*, *Ἄνωθεν παρθένοι*, appears in the *Banquet of the Ten Virgins*, a work of Methodius, Bishop of Olympus and Patara in Lydia, who was martyred at Chalcis in 312. It is a hymn of twenty-four stanzas sung by Thekla, each followed by a refrain sung by the chorus,

> I keep myself pure for Thee, O Bridegroom, and holding a lighted torch I go to meet Thee.[80]

Once more, a traditional theme in Christian hymnody is set forth, familiar from biblical as well as classical connotations and perpetuated either in the praise of virginity or in the form of the mystic union of Christ and the Church.

It is customary in presenting the subject of Greek hymn writers to pass from Clement of Alexandria to Gregory of Nanzianzus and Synesius of Cyrene, poets of the fourth century who mark the beginning of a new era beyond the limits of this study. They are mentioned here only as a reminder of the long succession of great poets who created and maintained Greek hymnody throughout the ancient and medieval centuries.

Contemporary with the development of Greek hymns, the literature of the Church was moving toward its destination in Latin culture. As Latin became a liturgical language the service hymns, already cited, appeared in their Latin form. Perhaps this is one reason why the production of original Latin hymns was so long postponed. It was not until the middle of the fourth century that the hymns of Hilary of Poitiers, the first Latin hymn writer, appeared. His authentic hymns are three in number:

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[79] B. F. Grenfell & A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Pt. XV (London, Oxford Un. Press, 1922), no. 1786, 21–22; also Preface.

[80] Συμπόσιον τῶν δέκα παρθένων, xi, 2; Migne (PG), XVIII, 207–214; Translation from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VI, 351.

> O Thou who dost exist before time

is a hymn of seventy verses in honor of the Trinity,

> The Incarnate Word hath deceived thee, (Death)

an Easter hymn, and

> In the person of the Heavenly Adam,

a hymn on the theme of the temptation of Jesus.[81] Hilary, like his Greek contemporaries, stands at the beginning of a new era, but it was Ambrose, and not he, who inaugurated the tradition of the medieval Latin hymn.

So far no mention has been made of the fact that the early period of Christian history was characterized by persecution. As a rule sporadic and intermittent, it was periodically severe. At all times Christians, if not actually persecuted, were objects of suspicion to the Roman government. We owe to the official zeal of Pliny the Younger, who was a proconsul in Bithynia in 112, our first glimpse of Christian worship from the point of view of the outsider. In a letter to the Emperor Trajan on the subject of the Christians, he says that, as a part of their service at sunrise, they chanted a hymn, antiphonally, to Christ as a God.[82] Speculation as to the identity of this hymn has never ceased among students. Leclercq summarizes the theories as follows: It is a morning hymn later attributed to Hilary. It is the morning hymn of the Greek liturgy. It is the morning hymn of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. It is the Great Doxology.[83] Since they are all unsatisfactory as identifications, we remain in ignorance on this point. A recent study of Pliny's letter by Casper J. Kraemer, a classicist, proposes the translation of the words *carmen dicere*, "to chant a psalm."[84] This most interesting suggestion is in thorough harmony with our knowledge of the continuity of the use of the psalms in public worship at this time.

VI. Conclusion

Reviewing the total pagan influence, both Greek and Latin, upon Christian hymnody, it must be understood that, in comparison with Semitic pressure in its wider implication, as well as the strictly Hebraic, pagan influence was relatively slight. It was a matter of centuries before the Hebrew psalms were permitted any rivals whatever in the usage of worship, except other biblical citations or such poems as might be produced by unquestioned churchmen. Even these were sparingly used, for *psalmi idiotici*, as the novel and original compositions were called, were forbidden by the Church and a new hymnody was thus stifled at its very birth. In a period of confusion marked by the rival use of hymns on the part of the orthodox and non-orthodox, it was felt that worship must be safeguarded. Only after the appearance of the modern vernacular languages in Europe in the period of the ninth century, when the liturgy had been set apart in the Latin tongue, was any real freedom permitted in the composition of new hymns. By that time the clergy were the poets and Latin their chosen medium of expression.[85]

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[81] W. N. Myers, *The Hymns of Saint Hilary of Poitiers in the Codex Aretinus* (Philadelphia, Un. of Penn., 1928), 12, 29, 53, 67. For a discussion of other hymns attributed to Hilary see *supra*, p. 14 and A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (Cambridge, Un. Press, 1922), 1–4.

[82] *Epistulae*, x, 96.

[83] Leclercq, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 2837–2838.

[84] C. J. Kraemer, "Pliny and the Early Church Worship," *Classical Philology* 29 (1934), 293–300.

By the time of Ambrose in the fourth century, however, Greek and oriental elements had long since merged in other aspects of civilization and, in the course of time, Christian hymns felt the effect of a universal development. There was a certain departure from biblical models and an emancipation from the old poetic forms in favor of the trend toward accent and rhyme. After all, a new religion had come into existence which demanded an authentic expression of a spiritual aspiration beyond that of the Old Testament models, just as Isaac Watts in the eighteenth century turned from the tradition of psalmody to an original presentment of the new revelation in Christ.

Are we to suppose that the Christians in the Mediterranean world of the first three centuries, representing the average inhabitant of these lands, had no hymns except those cited above? Or others like them? If they had, we are unacquainted with them. It is fair to assume that secular poetry and music eventually exerted an influence upon hymnody. At least the beginning of such influence was apparent in the adoption of popular meters by heretical poets, as well as by the orthodox.[86] Later, Ambrose perpetuated aspects of popular verse and perhaps music as well.[87] But there is no evidence at hand to support the assumption of a popular hymnody enjoyed either in connection with worship or independently of it.

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[85] H. F. Muller, "Pre-History of the Mediæval Drama," *Zeitschrift f. romanische Philologie* 44 (1924), 544–575.

[86] J. Kroll, *op. cit.* (see note 3), 273–274.

[87] E. Norden, "Die Literatur," in *Vom Altertum zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921), 41–49.

The problem of music is outside the province of this paper but is involved in any serious study of hymnology at any period of its development. Here the student is almost totally at a loss for manuscript evidence bearing musical notation from the primitive period. The Oxyrhynchus hymn is a solitary example.[88] This does not mean that the subject is altogether obscure. Many statements about Christian practice, inspired by biblical precedent, are found in patristic literature. The traditions both of Hebrew music and of the early Church are well known. It seems clear that melody only was employed and that it was, for the most part, unaccompanied. Instrumentation was opposed and forbidden in public worship of a liturgical nature.[89]

No student can leave the consideration of early Christian hymnology without a sense of defeat. The past cannot be forced to yield the hidden knowledge of which it is the custodian. Sources are very scanty, especially in proportion to other literary remains of early Christianity. Specifically, there is no collection of hymns in existence which might correspond to a modern hymnary. On the contrary, isolated examples or groups appear from place to place and from time to time in varied forms. But in one respect our evidence is sure, if not complete. Springing from the culture and the vicissitudes of the age, Christian hymns of the early Church, as in every other stage of its development, not only express the spiritual aspiration of the time but also respond to the challenge of a new day.

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[88] Grenfell & Hunt, *op. cit.* (see note 79), 22. There are 8 recognizable notes in the Diatonic Hypolydian key of Alypius. The mode is Hypophrygian or Iastian.

[89] J. Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulten der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit* (Münster im W., Aschendorff, 1930), ch. iv.

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X

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X. Addresses at the Twentieth Anniversary of the Hymn Society of America.

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Addresses at the Twentieth Anniversary of the Hymn Society of America

Four meetings marked the celebration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Hymn Society of America in New York City, Sunday and Monday, November 15 and 16, 1942: on Sunday afternoon a worship service in St. Bartholomew's Church, with music under the direction of Dr. David McKay Williams and a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Howard Chandler Robbins; on Monday morning, a public meeting in the Methodist Building; on Monday afternoon a public forum with addresses in the Marble Collegiate Church; on Monday evening a dinner at the Town Hall Club.

1. SERMON

Howard Chandler Robbins, D.D.

St. Bartholomew's Church, Sunday Afternoon

"For the masters of melody who have been the interpreters and deliverers of our spirits and the teachers of thy truth, we praise thee, O God, and give thanks. Grant us an echo of the melody that abides." (Joseph Fort Newton.)

The Hymn Society of America was founded in 1922 by Miss Emily S. Perkins, together with a small group of her friends, in her Riverdale home. Mr. Carl F. Price, one of the founders of the Society, was the first president. Among the objectives of the Society the most important have been to cultivate a wide congregational use of the better Christian hymns and hymn-tunes, and to encourage the writing and publishing of hymns that express the spirit and needs of modern Christian life and thought. To achieve these objectives, hymn festivals have been held in different sections of the country, prizes for hymns have been offered in hymn contests, hymnodic data have been collected, and papers written by the members of the Society have been issued. Of the members of the Society who have died there are names which at an Anniversary Service such as this should be gratefully commemorated: Miss Perkins, the founder of the Society and its most eminent benefactor; Mr. Augustus Newman, who bequeathed to the Society his notable hymnological library; Dr. Milton S. Littlefield, editor of *Hymns of the Christian Life;* Dr. William C. Covert and Dr. Calvin W. Laufer, who were editors-in-chief of the present hymnal of the Presbyterian Church; Dr. Louis F. Benson, one of the greatest of American scholars in hymnology, whose remarkable library was given to his alma mater, Princeton Theological Seminary; Dr. Oliver Huckel of Greenwich, whose contributions to corporate worship have made him known and loved by multitudes who have used them. The very utterance of these names of our former colleagues answers our prayer for "an echo of the melody that abides."

In looking over our important hymnals, one is impressed by the number of new hymns which they contain, meaning by "new" hymns which have been written since the turn of the century. For example, the interdenominational *New Church Hymnal*, edited by Dr. H. Augustine Smith, contains ninety twentieth century hymns out of a total of 492; and the revised *Hymnal* of the Protestant Episcopal Church will contain 102 twentieth century hymns (including translations) out of a total of 586.

What, perhaps, is even more important, the present century has witnessed the revision of the hymnals of most of the leading denominations in this country, in Canada and in England, and in practically every case the revised hymnals surpass in strength, in dignity, in literary merit, and in contemporaneousness with the thought and sympathy of the present religious world the books which they have superseded. Canon Percy Dearmer once remarked grimly that "if we want the men of our day to come to church, the first thing that we must do is to throw our hymnals out of the window." That drastic remedy would have meant throwing the innocent babe of religious feeling out with the soapy bathwater of sentimentalism and literary mediocrity. Dr. Dearmer himself did not do that. On the contrary, he helped to edit a revised edition of *The English Hymnal*, and after that he was editor-in-chief in bringing out the most original, modern and challenging hymn-book that England had ever seen, *Songs of Praise*. It was eagerly welcomed. An abridged edition for use in schools soon went into its 295th thousand.

In the western hemisphere a parallel movement soon began. The United Church of Canada came into existence in 1925. Its *Hymnary*, issued in 1930, represents converging lines of Methodist and Presbyterian hymnody, and has preserved and increased the wealth of both traditions. In this country *The Presbyterian Hymnal* was revised in 1933, and it is now one of the most distinguished hymnals in the English-speaking world. *The Methodist Hymnal*, the official hymn book of the recently united American Methodism, was published in 1935. It is especially rich, as one might expect, in hymns that deal with social religion, brotherhood, world peace and service. The revised *Hymnal* of the Protestant Episcopal Church has now been completed, and the publication is expected during the summer of 1943. All of these great denominational hymnals are now ecumenical in character. They represent the whole Christendom, not sectarian parts of it. They borrow freely and cooperatively from one another, and the interdenominational hymnals set them side by side in bowls and skim the cream from them all.

Although the Hymn Society of America is only twenty years old, it is, as its name indicates, the inheritor of three centuries of American hymnody, and in the person of its former president, Dr. Henry Wilder Foote, it attended the Harvard Tercentenary celebration and gave a good account of its inheritance. Dr. Foote's account of the colonial period of psalmody in this country, and of the long and hard transition from psalmody to hymnody, was of especial interest historically, and has its bearing upon hymn-writing today. Someone has remarked that we shall either lose the war in which we are engaged or emerge from it "lean, tough, hard-bitten psalm-singers," in other words, revert to type under strain.

The virtues which enabled our American forebears to win the numerous wars in which they were engaged—their independence of character, their indomitable resolution, and their confident belief that while they continued to place their reliance in Him the Lord of hosts would be with them—all were nourished on the Psalter, and more specifically, on English metrical versions of the psalms. For America was Puritan in those days, as it still is in the marrow of its bones, and to the Puritans, as Rowland E. Prothero has said, the Psalter was the book of books. "Soldiers sang (metrical versions of the Psalms) on the march, by the campfire, on parade, in the storm of battle. The ploughman carolled them over his furrow; the carter hummed them by the side of his wagon." It was left to the great Isaac Watts to make possible both in England and America the transition from psalmody to hymnody. Ralph Waldo Emerson, who was far from being in theological agreement with him, recognized the greatness of this accomplishment. "Dr. Watts," he said, "though his mind was imprisoned in a dark and barbarous system of religious faith, did yet, by the fervor of his piety and the freedom of his thought, wonderfully raise the downtrodden muse of the English churches."

Emerson would have been glad to raise the downtrodden muse of the American churches, but had not this particular ability. He himself wrote only one hymn, "We love the venerable house," which he composed for the ordination of his successor in the historic Second Church in Boston, Chandler Robbins. It was not a great hymn. But he realized the importance of hymns, and in a sermon which he preached, October 2, 1831, he said, "I wish to bring to your attention the subject of hymn books. I am anxious that we should sing hymns which we can feel, and which can do the office of sacred poetry upon our minds—can arouse, thrill, cheer, soothe, solemnize or melt us. I desire that we should not sing hymns to God that we should be ashamed to compose in praise of a man, flat, prosaic, unaffecting productions such as too many have been and are. . . The best poets should have written hymns for those who speak the English tongue, . . instead of permitting the unskilful versifiers who with whatever good intentions first turned the psalms of David into English metre."

Lord Tennyson is said to have remarked that he could not write hymns because they had to be both religious and commonplace and he found it difficult to be the latter. Other poets fortunately were not of this opinion, and a galaxy of American poets who were Emerson's contemporaries enriched both American hymnody and American letters. Whittier appears to have done so almost by accident. Most of his hymns were not written as such, but are centos taken by editors from his longer poems. Attention has been called to the fact that the most beautiful and popular of them all, "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind," comes from "The Brewing of Soma," Soma being an intoxicating drink supposed to promote religious exhilaration, and that it was written "after a particularly noisy and distasteful revival in Whittier's neighborhood." This anti-revival hymn is likely to outlast all the revival hymns of the period.

Another hymn by a distinguished American poet, of which the *Encyclopedia Brittanica* says that "it is difficult to praise too highly," is "Lord of all being, throned afar," by Oliver Wendell Holmes. A third American hymn writer who deserves rank in the society of Whittier and Holmes is Samuel Longfellow, younger brother of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. When the Hymns Committee of the Church of St. Martin-in-the-fields, London, edited their notable selection of the best hymns in the English language, they included in their small collection no less than four of the hymns of Samuel Longfellow. It has been said of his hymn, "I look to thee in every need," that the literature of devotion contains few songs of trust which surpass it. Samuel Longfellow and Samuel Johnson cooperated in editing and publishing a hymn book which because of the given names of the editors came to be jocularly known as the "Sam Book." The "Sam Book" deserves to be remembered as having given to the world two of Samuel Johnson's greatest hymns, "City of God, how broad and far," and his "Life of ages, richly poured."

Life of ages, richly poured,
  Love of God, unspent and free,
Flowing in the prophet's word
  And the people's liberty.

Never was to chosen race
  That unstinted tide confined;
Thine is every time and place,
  Fountain sweet of heart and mind!

While the new era in American hymnody came from Unitarians centered about Boston, orthodox Congregationalists centered about Yale College made their own distinctive contribution. The great hymn of the Church, "I love thy kingdom, Lord," was written not by a self-designated "churchman," but by Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College from 1795 to 1817. Leonard Bacon was a Yale graduate, and his commemoration hymn, "O God, beneath thy guiding hand," was written in 1833 for the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Connecticut. Ray Palmer was a Yale graduate and a Congregationalist, and wrote thirty-eight hymns of high literary quality, of which "My faith looks up to thee," and "Jesus, thou joy of loving hearts," are universally appreciated. About forty years ago another Congregationalist, William DeWitt Hyde, president of Bowdoin College, Maine, wrote a hymn which for maturity of thought marks a definite era in hymnody, a break with the subjectivism which led a group of psychologists to characterize one thousand out of four thousand American hymns as "infantile." President Hyde's hymn is not open to the charge.

Creation's Lord, we give thee thanks
  That this thy world is incomplete;
That battle calls our marshaled ranks;
  That work awaits our hands and feet;

That thou hast not yet finished man;
  That we are in the making still,
As friends who share the Maker's plan,
  As sons who know the Father's will.

And coming to our own times, another Congregationalist, Henry Hallam Tweedy, Emeritus Professor of Practical Theology in the Yale Divinity School, won a hymn contest conducted under the auspices of the Hymn Society with another noble hymn of religious maturity in thought and expression, "Eternal God, whose power upholds."

American hymnody began for Congregationalism with the name of Timothy Dwight. For Episcopalianism it begins with the name of William Augustus Muhlenberg. With his schools, his hospital, his free church, above all with the broad catholicity which began for Episcopalians the march toward Christian unity, he stands out as an unequalled leader, and adds to these the renown of having been a pioneer in Episcopalian hymnody. With Episcopalians, as with members of other denominations, hymnody replaced psalmody gradually, over a period of time covering many decades. The bishops helped to make it respectable. Bishop George Washington Doane's "Softly now the light of day" and his "Fling out the banner" were good hymns. Bishop William Croswell Doane of Albany wrote "Ancient of days" for the bi-centenary of the city of Albany. Phillips Brooks wrote one of the loveliest of Christmas hymns, "O little town of Bethlehem," for his Sunday school at Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia. And lately Walter Russell Bowie, though he declined election to the episcopate, has enriched American hymnody with his advent hymn, "Lord Christ, when first thou cam'st to men," and his social service hymn, "O holy city, seen of John."

But today American hymnody is quite genuinely ecumenical, and hymns find their way into general use quite irrespective of their denominational origins. We are all singing William Pierson Merrill's "Rise up, O men of God," even though Episcopalians have felt constrained to leave out the third verse, and on Thanksgiving Day we all ought to be singing Dr. Merrill's great Thanksgiving Day hymn, one of the greatest national hymns in the English language,

Not alone for mighty empire,
    Stretching far o'er land and sea,
Not alone for bounteous harvests,
    Lift we up our hearts to thee:
Standing in the living present,
    Memory and hope between,
Lord, we would with deep thanksgiving
    Praise thee most for things unseen.

So with a dozen other hymns of the new age of religious thought and the new world of religious feeling; for example, Harry Emerson Fosdick's "God of grace and God of glory" and Henry Van Dyke's "Joyful, joyful we adore thee," which is a poetical counterpart of the ending of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Frederich Nietzsche once remarked, "I should listen more patiently to these Christians' talk of a Redeemer if they acted more like a redeemed people and showed joy about it." Van Dyke's hymn does. Frank Mason North's great social hymn, "Where cross the crowded ways of life," was written in the beginning of the twentieth century, but it has already won its way to world-wide acceptance. As for translations, some of the best of all time have been made quite recently, and where Robert Bridges, Poet Laureate of England, led the way with his *Yattenden Hymnal*, many have followed. American translators, Landsberg, Mann and Gannett, have made available for us the Yigdal, the Jewish Doxology, which as a hymn of lofty, unself-conscious, utterly devoted praise stands in the tradition of the Hebrew Psalter.

Praise to the living God!
All praised be his name,
Who was, and is, and is to be,
For aye the same!
The One Eternal God
Ere aught that now appears:
The first, the last, beyond all thought
His timeless years!

We are today in a creative period of American and Canadian hymnody, second only in importance to that of the flowering of New England. One likes to look forward to its future development, and to hope that as after the Thirty Years' War, and after the Napoleonic wars, great popular revivals of religion were borne upward on wings of song, so it will be with us after the victory of the United Nations will have brought peace to the world, and new beginnings.

Oh wind,
If winter comes, can Spring be far behind?

2. THE PLACE OF HYMNS IN PUBLIC WORSHIP

(Summary)

Howard Chandler Robbins, D.D.

Methodist Building, Monday Morning

Religion proceeds upon the assumption that God is real and that communion with him is possible. This communion is a two-way communication. From God manward it is grace, communicated through the word of God, the sacraments and other means of grace. From man Godward it is worship, communicated through prayer, praise and self-commitment.

It follows that worship, including hymnody, is to be regarded as a sacrifice offered to God, a service rendered to him, and that it must be true, good and as beautiful as we can make it. "God is the audience," said Kirkegaard. Worship should be theocentric, centered in God and not in self, objective rather than subjective.

Judged by this criterion, hymns are often the weakest part of divine services. A study of radio broadcasts discloses that throughout the country the level of preaching is fairly good, the level of pastoral prayer fair to middling, but the level of hymnody low because overweighted with subjectivism and sentimentality. A group of psychologists who examined

4000 popular hymns pronounced 1000 of them infantile from the psychological viewpoint. They represented an attempt to escape from the responsibilities of life rather than to gain strength to meet them. Religion is an escape, not *from* reality, but *into* eternal reality, and our greatest hymns, such as "O God, our help in ages past," indicate this.

This fact has been recognized by leading denominations, such as Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, in recent revisions of their respective hymnals. Hymns that are weak, unreal, sentimental, self-centered, are being quietly dropped: noble and beautiful hymns are replacing them, and the denominations are borrowing so much from one another that hymnody is becoming ecumenical, as it should be. In the hymnals of the denominations mentioned, and in others also, there is an increasing percentage of hymns that meet the requirement of St. Augustine that a hymn should be praise to God in song.

But it has been well said that "a hymn has a teaching office, and an office of mutual encouragement, as well as an office of prayer and praise." This definition recognizes the legitimacy of hymns of social service, in which Methodism has led the way, and in hymns concerned with international peace and national loyalty, of which Merrill's "Not alone for mighty empire" is an outstanding example. The substitution of hymns *for* children, instead of *about* them, is also an office of mutual encouragement. Lesbia Scott's "I sing a song of the saints of God," Percy Dearmer's "Remember all the people," and Jan Struther's "We thank you, Lord of Heaven" are significant of this trend.

How can we promote the use of better hymns?

1. By relating hymns to the great theocentric rhythms of the Christian Year: Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter, Whitsuntide, etc., instead of selecting them hap-hazardly.

2. By choosing hymns common to the great new hymnals of the Churches, mimeographing them if necessary, carefully selecting the proper tunes for them, and using them often.

3. By teaching them in theological seminaries, and to choirs in choir practice; by teaching them to congregations in hymn singing periods a half hour before service, or in the pastor's home; by inviting the congregation occasionally to attend choir practice.

4. By telling the history of hymns and their writers. Percy Dearmer's *Songs of Praise Discussed* and James Moffatt's *Handbook to the Church Hymnary* will be found useful in this connection.

In these and other ways we may make our congregations familiar with the best hymns available, and familiarity with them will lead to preference of them over those that are unworthy, however popular for the time being. It will be a case of "the expulsive power of a new affection."

3. COOPERATION IN PLANNING FOR HYMNS IN WORSHIP

The Rev. Philip S. Watters

Methodist Building, Monday Morning

A friend who has been a physician in China tells of a Chinese doctor's prescription which contained these words: "Take a root . . . . take another root." Just which root was to be taken the prescription did not specify. We may only hope that by some kindly providence each root chosen was of the right sort. Too many people who have services to lead follow that doctor's principle. "Someone choose a hymn." It is time we stopped choosing *a* hymn and made it our rule to choose *the* hymn best suited to the special place in the particular service in which it is to be used.

The business of choosing the hymns goes back farther than we realize. For the first requirement is that the desired hymns be *available*. This means that the best hymnal possible shall be used. Fortunately many very excellent books are now to be had, and the hymnals of the great denominations have become very acceptable indeed. But, unfortunately, inferior books are still being produced and bought, and unworthy hymns are still being chosen.

This brings us to the second consideration, that the truly great hymns must come to be *preferred* in our churches, so that the best hymnals will be selected and the best hymns used. We have been short-sighted at this point. We have felt great satisfaction in seeing a few leaders educated in hymnic appreciation and taste, and have not realized clearly enough the necessity of educating the larger group of people. It is not enough that the best hymns be available. People must also understand them and want them. A strong-willed and strong-minded woman of my acquaintance was ranting one day about the refusal of youth to do what she felt they ought to do. She set her considerable jaw and declared with deep and unshakable conviction, "they ought to be made to do it and to do it willingly!" We may smile at her, but she had a good idea. And in this matter of hymns it is a question of making people choose the great hymns willingly.

This means that someone—many someones—must assume responsibility for teaching the people, beginning with the children, about hymns. Such simple considerations as that worship should be God-centered and that hymns should be sung to his glory need to be presented and presented again and emphasized. If we should sometimes go back to the old custom of reading hymns aloud in informal services, we could call attention to the excellence of poetry and to intellectual and spiritual values, thus teaching people what to look for in hymns. If those who choose banal, repetitious, sentimental jingles had to read them aloud, they might possibly discover what crimes they have been committing. And if the types of hymns and their functions in the various parts of the service and their influence upon the thinking and acting of children and older people were more generally understood, there would be a greater willingness to cooperate in the choosing and singing of the best.

When we come to the actual choices for a particular church service, those most concerned are the minister and the organist. These two should work together very closely. Unfortunately the average organist in the smaller church knows little about hymns, and the average minister in the same situation knows little about music. Too often neither is very well informed even in his own field, and we have heard of cases in which they were not capable of learning anything from each other. "Brethren, these things should not be." Fortunately there is no priority on learning. Three or four books carefully studied by each can make a world of difference; and the same books carefully studied by both can create a bond of common understanding. If they are still unable to work together in the spirit of Christ for the worship of Almighty God, either the minister or the organist or both should be made to depart and to do it willingly for the common good. But leaders, who are sincerely self-forgetful and Christian, should be able to complement each other; and in a very great many churches the finest of team work is found.

Both the minister and the organist should take part in choosing both the hymns and the anthems, so the musical elements in the service may supplement but not duplicate each other, and the service may be a unit, with a progressive development of thought and emotion directed toward the desired goal. In churches where this is the habitual procedure and where the long range education of the people is not neglected, the hymns become an increasingly important and interesting and inspiring influence in the services. Following one person's peculiar taste results in repetitious choices or a distorted emphasis. And the services themselves develop to the greater glory of God.

4. WHAT IS A GOOD HYMN?

(Summary)

John Haynes Holmes, D.D.

Marble Collegiate Church, Monday Afternoon

Nothing could be more appropriate for this occasion that the subject assigned to me. People are constantly asking the question, What is a good hymn? or else they challenge us to give it thought when they submit their own work for general acceptance. Before considering the elements of quality and excellence in a hymn we need to ask the broader question, What is a hymn?

Among the many definitions of a hymn I like that of Francis Greenwood Peabody, of the Harvard Divinity School, who gave us the following: "A hymn is a prayer to God expressed in song." A hymn opens the door of the soul upward and outward toward the conception of the Divine, and lifts the soul beyond itself, as prayer always does.

In its primary conception a hymn as a prayer is addressed to God, and the apparent exceptions to this objective are felt to be prayers implicitly, even though not by direct statement. Some of these exceptions may be outlined.

First, there are the didactic hymns, which are instructional and lay down ethical propositions. In this type we class "How happy is he, born or taught" by Henry Wotton, or "God moves in a mysterious way" by Cowper.

Next, we notice the hortatory hymns, of which class "Onward, Christian soldiers" and "Rise up, O men of God" are excellent examples.

Lastly, we must include the propositional hymns, which are prophetic in tone. Among such hymns are "A mighty fortress is our God" and "These things shall be; a loftier race" by John Addington Symonds.

We can now proceed to suggest some qualities that characterize a good hymn. A hymn should be simple, with a single idea, intellectually. It must contain not the slightest suggestion of complexity, in either thought or expression. There must be no unusual words, no fanciful figures of speech, no elaboration of diction or of phrase. Those very devices of eloquence and beauty, which the poet commands as the composer commands the instruments in his orchestra, are here quite out of place. Simplicity is the word—simplicity which is the handmaid of clarity. A good hymn must be as clear on the first reading as the second, and as obvious in its essence to the child as to the adult mind. No better example of this quality can be found than the classic, "Nearer, my God, to thee."

Second, a hymn must be characterized by feeling rather than by thought. It must appeal primarily to the heart and not the mind. Of course, it must have a central idea, or theme. But this theme must not be developed by an intellectual process so much as quickened by a spiritual emotion. It must be stated, not argued or amplified, and then it should be suffused with the glow and heat of exalted sentiment. A good hymn must stir the soul: it must comfort, challenge and inspire.

Last, a hymn must draw its idea, or theme, from the familiar, even the commonplace, events of life. Its range may extend from the sublime regions of the heavens to the intimate recesses of the heart. It may chant the vast concepts of time and eternity, as in Isaac Watts's "O God, our help in ages past," or catalogue the simple sentiments of personal dedication, as in Frances Havergal's "Take my life and let it be," which we are told is Gandhi's favorite Christian hymn. It may deal with the great traditions of faith and love, or mark transitions to new stages of spiritual apprehension, as in the social hymnology of our day. But always it must dwell where the heart of man is more or less at home. For a hymn always remains a prayer: it is the soul lifting itself from its daily lot to communion with the Most High. Therefore it must begin with what it knows, and only then reach out to what it dares to dream.

May I end with a personal reminiscence. Many years ago I wrote a modest Sunday school hymn, "O Father, thou who givest all," so slight in substance that I was almost ashamed of it. But as years went by, it became widely accepted, being included in general hymnals. On the other hand, some more pretentious lyrics produced in later years failed to make their way so readily into the hearts of worshippers, and they are not nearly so well known today.

It is high time that hymnology were recognized and reverenced for itself alone, thus being rescued at last from its lowly station as a kind of poor poetry, and lifted to its proper place as the song of the soul in tune with God.

Note by editor: Dr. Holmes has kindly allowed the hymn mentioned above to be printed with this brief summary of his paper. We also acknowledge the courtesy of the Christian Century, from which some paragraphs are quoted above. The hymn is as follows:

O Father, thou who givest all
    The bounty of thy perfect love,
We thank thee that upon us fall
    Such tender blessings from above.

We thank thee for the grace of home,
    For mother's love and father's care,
For friends and teachers—all who come
    Our joys and hopes and fears to share,

For eyes to see and ears to hear,
    For hands to serve and arms to lift,
For shoulders broad and strong to bear,
    For feet to run on errands swift,

For faith to conquer doubt and fear,
    For love to answer every call,
For strength to do, and will to dare,
    We thank thee, O thou Lord of all.

5. THE ORGANIST'S PLACE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HYMNODY

Seth Bingham, F. A. G. O.

Marble Collegiate Church, Monday Afternoon

There is no intention here of presenting an historical survey of hymnody: the subject is too vast. The organist's chief role is an artistic one; whereas the evolution of hymnody, stemming from antiquity, has been largely emotional and spiritual. It is a safe guess that less than half of the hymn-tunes in current use were composed by organists. But it is quite pertinent to ask: in what ways can the organist aid in the development of good hymnody? And I should like to enumerate several.

1. *By being a good organist.* Some months ago, the quarterly magazine, "Religion In Life," asked me for an article on "The Organist's Function in Worship." The article, which appeared in the 1942 summer issue, con-

tained a paragraph, which I venture to repeat here, on the qualifications of the ideal organist:

> The organist's approach to his art should be one of consecration; he must be in love with his task. Whatever policy toward its organist the church may pursue, be it strictly "business," truly Christian or a mixture of the two, the organist must find his highest reward in the satisfaction of devoted service rendered. Any organist worth his salt will gladly do for his church a thousand and one things he is not paid to do. The organist should be a "man of God" in the Christian sense; one can scarcely conceive the irreligious or unbelieving type of artist exercising his musical ministry with any permanent degree of happiness or success. This is not to say that an organist must believe in total immersion in order effectively to preside over the musical destinies of a Baptist flock. His study of the Bible, hymnody and church ritual should be thorough and constant. Technically and aesthetically the organist's education must necessarily entail years of arduous preparation, which he should willingly undertake. He ought to be a person of broad cultural outlook and warm humanity with a liking for his fellow men; pictures and architecture should attract him; whenever possible he should travel. He ought to be, and frequently is, a leader of musical culture in his community. The exercise of good taste should not turn him into an aesthetic snob, nor on the other hand should he lower his standards to curry favor with those who show themselves in their own tastes, any more than the preacher should stoop to cheap methods to gain the interest of his hearers.

2. *By first-rate hymn-playing.* A second quotation from the above-mentioned article discusses this very important essential:

> In the singing of hymns the congregation finds its most vital and tangible outlet for religious emotion. Our greatest hymns combine verses of grand poetic imagery with music which is in every way worthy of the text. Nothing else save prayer succeeds in voicing our innermost aspirations so simply and directly. It would therefore seem self-evident that this means of congregational participation should assume paramount importance for the organist whose duty it is to play the hymns. But it must be admitted that many are still deficient in this branch of their art. Hymns should be practiced as thoroughly and conscientiously as solo selections or anthem accompaniments. The organist should know words and music practically by heart. He must decide how to introduce the hymn, when to signal the choir to rise, whether the hymn should be sung wholly or partially in unison, whether to transpose it, the suitable tempo and how to maintain it, whether to "paint the lily" in a sentimental hymn or overdramatize a dramatic one, how to treat the Amen. These and many other questions will occur to the alert organist intent on realizing the fullest possibilities of a hymn. Nothing quite equals the thrill of satisfaction for the organist who knows how to lead and inspire his congregation in the singing of a fine hymn.

3. *By aiding in the choice of hymns.* Ordinarily the hymns should be chosen by the minister with as much or little collaboration from the organist as may be needed, depending mainly on the minister's own musical training or lack of it. It would be unwise to leave the entire selection of hymns to the organist, for there are too many questions involved which only the minister can answer.

The hymn will reinforce the sermon-topic, the scripture lesson, the collects or epistle of the day; it will give utterance to our various feelings of praise, adoration, repentance, petition, gratitude; it will celebrate the sacraments or some special feast or season. All this must be borne in mind in planning the hymns. Other influencing factors are the familiarity, newness or difficulty of hymns, their vocal range, their literary or musical worth; the size and attitude of the congregation, its ability to sing in parts or in unison, and the use of hymnals with or without music should also be taken into account.

The choice of processional and recessional can usually be safely left with the organist. The ordinary hymnal carries about 150 such hymns, but usually less than half of those available are so employed. Of the following processionals and recessionals, how many have a place in your service lists?

First Line	*Tune*
All beautiful the march of days	Forest Green (unison *ad lib*)
All praise to thee	Tallis' Canon (evening recessional)
And is the time approaching	Pearsall
Angel voices ever singing	Angel Voices (6/8 is grateful relief from 4/4)
As the sun doth daily rise	Innocents (morning processional)
Ask ye what great thing I know	Hendon
Awake, my soul	Christmas (general use)
Cross of Jesus, cross of sorrow	Cross of Jesus (Lent)
Day is dying in the west	Evening Praise
Father, we praise thee	Christe Sanctorum (morning processional—unison)
Fight the good fight	Courage
From all that dwell	Vigili et Sancti
From ocean unto ocean	Lancashire
God my King, thy might confessing	Stuttgart
God of compassion	O Quanta Qualia
God of the prophets	Toulon
God rest you, merry	Traditional
God that madest earth and heaven	Ar Hyd Y Nos (evening recessional)
God the Omnipotent	Russian Hymn
Good Christian men	In Dulci Jubilo
Guide me, O thou great Jehovah	Cwm Rhondda
Hail the day	Ascension
Hark, what a sound	Welwyn (unison)
He who would valiant be	Monks Gate
Heralds of Christ	National Hymn
I look to thee	O Jesu
I love to tell the story	I Love to Tell the Story
In heavenly love	Nyland (unison *ad lib*)
Joyful, joyful	Hymn to Joy
Judge eternal	Rhuddlan
Lead on, O King	Pearsall
Let all mortal flesh	Picardy
Let folly praise that fancy loves (Christmas)	Noel
Let us with a gladsome mind	Monkland (first bar unison)
Life of ages	Redhead No. 45
Lift up your heads (Advent)	Truro
Lord God of hosts	Welwyn (unison)
Lord of life and King of glory (Mother's Day)	Sicilian Mariners
Majestic sweetness	Grafenberg (unison *ad lib*)
March on	Arthur's Seat

First Line	*Tune*
O brother man	Welwyn
O come and mourn	St. Cross (Holy Week)
O come, O come, Emmanuel	Veni Emmanuel
O everlasting light	Swabia
O God of earth	Llangloffan (unison)
O Holy City	Morwellham
O Lord of life	Pro Patria
O sing a song	Kingsfold (Christmas, unison)
O Son of Man	Charterhouse
O 'twas a joyful sound	Mt. Sion
O what their joy	O Quanta Qualia
Once to every man	Ton-y-Botel
One holy church	St. James
Praise, O praise	Monkland
Rejoice, the Lord is King	Darwall
Rise crowned with light	Russian Hymn
Rise, my soul	Amsterdam
Rise up, O men of God	Festal Song
Take my life	Vienna
The chariots of the Lord	Praetorious
The day of resurrection	Rotterdam
The God of Abraham	Leoni
The golden gates	Praetorious
The King of Glory standeth	Gosterwood
The Lord will come	York
The spacious firmament	Creation
Thou, Holy Father	Vigili et Sancti
Through the night	St. Asaph
We are living, we are dwelling	Blaenhafren
We plow the fields	Wir Pflugen
Who trusts in God	Bishopgarth
With songs and honors	Ellacombe

The above list purposely avoids the beaten track, but all of these hymns may be found either in *The Hymnal* (Presbyterian) or in *Hymns of the Kingdom* (A. S. Barnes).

4. *By propaganda for the best of hymnody.* When participating in worship in a strange church, one immediately becomes aware of the congregation's attitude toward hymn-singing. Some congregations sing their hymns heartily with fervor and conviction. The organist counts it a great blessing to serve such a parish. Others seem apathetic, timid or indifferent. Whose the fault? Not necessarily the congregation's. Poor hymn-leadership by the organist is sometimes to blame. Too slow or too rapid tempos, inappropriate registration, slovenly rhythm or lackadaisical singing by the choir may be contributing causes. These are faults which can and should be remedied.

Organists frequently complain of the lack of musical taste among worshippers, and the complaint is often justified, particularly in the case of the so-called non-liturgical churches. I suppose the organist's impatience with this lack of discrimination parallels that of the pastor with those of his parishioners who rarely open their Bibles. It has been my own experience that many church-goers who enjoy every means for hearing and knowing the best in music exhibit atrocious taste in their likes and dislikes of hymns. They incline toward the cheap and sentimental, and they sometimes exert pressure to have their wishes carried out in the selection of hymns and anthems, to the great detriment of the church's music. But the organist must accept these problems with good grace: they are not insoluble. Enthusiastic, quietly persistent propaganda for the better hymns, rather than carping criticism of the poor ones, will in the long run produce good results.

5. *By expanding the hymn-repertoire.* Statistics have been cited to show that the average hymn-repertoire of a church does not exceed 200 tunes. This means either that most of our hymnals carry anywhere from 200 to 600 dead weight of useless hymns, or that something positive should be done to acquaint congregations with many splendid hymns hitherto unknown to them.

At the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York a clearly defined procedure is followed in introducing new hymns. One new hymn during a service is compensated by two very familiar ones. Usually the pastor calls attention to the new hymn, which is played through once or twice on the organ; then a verse is sung by the choir and repeated by the congregation. Two or three weeks later the hymn is again listed, this time without comment. The church's hymn-repertoire has been steadily increased by this means, some of the new hymns becoming real favorites with the congregation.

The congregational rehearsal is employed in some churches; it has fine possibilities where there is close cooperation between the parson, the organist and the four-and-twenty elders. Such a rehearsal may precede or succeed a service, or may take the form of a week-night hymn-sing. The choir may or may not assist. Last year it was my privilege to conduct a series of "hymn-sings" preceding the vesper services at the Central Presbyterian Church, New York. While no special emphasis was placed on learning new hymns, the enthusiasm and growing attendance at these sings would seem to indicate a genuine eagerness to share this kind of communal worship.

Inspirational talks on the origin and history of certain hymns, such as those so beautifully and persuasively given by Mr. Carl F. Price, are a great stimulus, particularly where it is possible for the audience to do some singing and get the "feel" of the tunes under discussion. To be sure not every church possesses a Mr. Price, but the minister and organist can get together and work out an interesting, illustrated talk, devoted to a few well-selected hymns.

6. *As a teacher.* More than once, while assisting as a judge at tryouts of candidates for a church position, I have heard some brilliant young executant give a dazzling performance of a difficult organ work for the assembled committee, only to fail dismally when asked to play the accompaniment of a simple hymn. The organist, who is conversant with the needs of hymnody and alive to its significance in public worship, will

surely pass on to his pupils all possible technical knowledge which can make for intelligent hymn-leadership. This should be a regular part of every young organist's instruction.

7. *As a composer or improvisor.* If the organist is gifted with creative talent, he may write short preludes, offertoires, postludes or meditations based on church hymns in common use. It is true that we have the incomparable Bach chorale preludes, which are constantly played for their intrinsic beauty, but with a few exceptions the hymns on which they were based are not sung in our churches today and would have little meaning for our age and generation. The writer has tried his hand at this form of composition with a set of twelve hymn-preludes recently published by H. W. Gray Company, purposely based on very familiar tunes of which a list is here given:

Ajalon ("Gracious Spirit, dwell with me")
Festal Song ("Rise up, O men of God")
Morwellham ("O Holy City, seen of John")
Martyn ("Jesus, Lover of my soul")
Toplady ("Rock of ages")
Truro ("These things shall be" or "Lift up your heads")
Bethany ("Nearer, my God, to thee")
Bread of Life ("Break thou the bread of life")
Langran ("O thou great Friend" or "Lead us, O Father")
Need ("I need thee every hour")
Olivet ("My faith looks up to thee")

One of these may be featured when the corresponding hymn is on the service list; it may become an effective means of concentrating the worshipper's attention on the hymn in question, and so add to the unity of the worship-service. A skillful extemporization may achieve the same purpose. Extemporization, however, is more than a gift: it is really a special technique, and few of our organists have mastered it. One must still go to France to hear the art of improvisation at its greatest. There is no mystery in this: the young French organist receives systematic training in improvisation, with daily practice, over a period of several years. Some progress, however, is being made in the United States through the efforts of the American Guild of Organists, and through individual teachers.

8. *As an editor.* Most of us will agree that there is an over-supply of hymnals on the market, and that the perfect hymnal does not exist. Perhaps this is impossible to achieve. Too many conflicting elements must be reconciled in its compilation. There are some good ones, however, and the general level of excellence is much higher than a generation ago.

Organists who act in an editorial capacity are usually too occupied elsewhere to spend the immense amount of time required for such a task. And their musicianship is not always of the highest. Even our best hymn-collections contain tunes of dubious value, harmonizations and changes which reflect the editor's personal bias rather than sound tradition. As I implied, the endless research, checking of sources and collating of versions find the really qualified church musician too busy to give this editorial job the requisite attention, unless he could be temporarily relieved of some of his routine duties and suitably compensated. But there is no question of the importance of first-class musical editing in the publication of a new hymnal.

To sum up briefly: The organist as an artist can share in the development of hymnody by living up to the obligations of a good organist, by keen and vital hymn-leadership, by aiding his minister in the choice of hymns, by steady propaganda for the best in hymnody and by discreetly featuring new hymns as part of his musical ministry. As a teacher, he can spread the good gospel among his students, through composition or improvisation he may greatly enrich the meaning of hymn-worship, and, as an editor, he may help to raise the standards of hymnody. And who knows? It may some day be his exceptional good fortune to compose fitting music for a great hymn.

6. MODERN TRENDS IN HYMNS FOR YOUTH

Miss Marguerite Hazzard

Marble Collegiate Church, Monday Afternoon

Perhaps the two greatest contributions of Christ's ministry are his *fight for character* against sin and his example of brotherhood. Herein lies the challenge to youth. The problem of what to do with one's life; the desire for economic independence and social contacts; the struggle for physical health and mental efficiency; the anticipation of family relationships; the interest in civic and community responsibilities; the aspiration for right personal relationships toward God, Christ and the Church; the growing recognition of world brotherhood—these are the problems which youth must solve for himself and for his generation. Youth needs a personal God as a guide, as a helper, and as a friend, but he needs assistance to find God in his own daily personal life. Youth responds with ardent self-sacrifice to the service of a great cause, but needs direction to make potential capacity actual.

"Watch what main currents draw the years." To appreciate the trends in the hymns for youth today, we must look for a moment at yesterday. Following the Civil War, we find a wave of emotional revival sweeping the country. Volume after volume of evangelistic songs and gospel hymns, to rattling syncopated tunes, poured from the publishing houses. The accent was on personal religion—a getting right with God and an undirected, passive concern for others. While this period sees the rise of the great philanthropies in the Evangelical Churches, a noble expression of concern for others and a way of service, it is also the beginning of a self-centered religious experience, expressed in countless hymns of a variety of values. For want of trained, aware leadership, these hymns became popular. Young people sang with enthusiasm the selfish hymns of yesterday.

Haste, haste, haste, in the business of the King,
While to do his bidding, golden hours are on the wing;
Step, step, step, in his footprints, day by day,
Spreading joy around you, making sunshine by the way.

Refrain:
Lift your voice with gladness, and loud his praises sing,
Haste, haste, haste, in the business of the King;
Till the gates shall open, and the harps of glory ring,
Haste, haste, haste, in the business of the King.
E. E. Hewitt, 1906

And what of those great songs of the Church, which Augustine Smith has called "heritage hymns"—yes, some of them were in the books, but they were not used, to any extent, by the young people. There are a number of reasons for this untrained leadership: lack of appreciation of both the music and the words; the inexpert playing of the tunes, making them doleful, heavy dirges; a feeling that they belonged to Sunday, only; a vague realization that many of those in use did not speak to youth, nor meet his needs to express his self-centered spiritual life.

At about the turn of the century, which is the beginning of Today, we find that handful of educated, thinking leaders of youth offering a hymnal which contained the best of the popular songs of that day and many "heritage hymns" which youth might use to his advantage. This book, *The Endeavor Hymnal* (1901), was a noble start, and while we do not use many of its popular hymns today, it made a distinct contribution for many years. Steadily working, like leaven, these leaders sensed the need for a *social gospel*, for a directed *life of service*, as well as a fight for character, and here we see the beginning of the rise of Religious Education. Growing steadily in scope, influence and achievement, with some setbacks from over-emphasis on non-essentials, this specialized department of education, together with the improved musical and literary programs of the public schools, the increasing number of young people going to the colleges and graduate schools, the spread of wealth, leisure and culture throughout the country, gave direction to the enthusiastic response of youth to a life of service and brotherhood. Poets and musicians, both young and old, met the need for the expression of this dynamic interpretation of the Master's example. At last youth is supplied with hymns that express his worship, his idea of God, his consecration to Christ, and his response to the challenge of Christ's leadership, in work, effort, mission and brotherhood.

But it is not a simple story of steady growth; for with the rise of Religious Education and its intellectual appeal, came the rise of Fundamentalism and its adherence to a conservative doctrine and an emotional personal religion. Two distinct sets of hymnals have been offered to youth since the beginning of Today. Some of the worst hymns have been written in recent years, for example, "Get Jesus on the line on the Royal telephone" or "Man the lifeboats, help for Christ's sake them that sink." In 1912 Dr. Levermore, of Adelphi College in Brooklyn, offered *The Student's Hymnal;* in 1913 Dr. Winchester and Miss Conant brought out *Worship* *and Song;* in 1915 Dr. Hartshorne's *Book of Worship* was published. These are the first of the new hymnals of Today.

Then came World War I. The popular song writers were ahead of us in expressing the new problem that we faced at the end of that. "How are you going to keep them down on the farm, after they've seen Broadway?" The great influx to the cities began together with the economic and social upheavals which followed the war. Youth had seen some of the world and knew from first-hand experience that it is a big place, filled with many people whose ways may be different from ours, but whose needs and aspirations are about the same. Then the travel adventure began. Not only the retired, older generation, but also youth caught what we sometimes call "Gangplank Fever," and set out to see the world. As the horizons widened, the spiritual life of youth broadened and deepened. The increased need for a vehicle to express his dedication to the Master's service was met by a wealth of new hymns and, at long last, the discovery of the "heritage hymns" was made. Listen for a moment to the hymnals of today:

Hymnal for American Youth	Smith	1919
Hymnal for Young People	Littlefield	1928
The American Student Hymnal	Smith	1928
New Hymnal for American Youth	Smith	1930

Denominational hymnals steadily improved in quality because the demand was constant and the non-denominational hymnals were in such favor.

Let us look for a moment at the contrasts in expression during Today.

1. Personal Religion:

I must tell Jesus all of my trials;
I cannot bear these burdens alone;
In my distress he kindly will help me;
He ever loves and cares for his own.

or

Dear Lord, who sought at dawn of day
The solitary woods to pray,
In quietness we come to ask
Thy guidance for the daily task.
Harry Webb Farrington, 1925

We bear the strain of earthly care,
But bear it not alone;
Beside us walks our brother, Christ,
And makes our task his own.
Ozora S. Davis, 1909

2. Reward:

I am thinking today of that beautiful land
I shall reach when the sun goeth down;
When thro' wonderful grace by my Saviour I stand,
Will there be any stars in my crown?

or

Lord God of Hosts, whose purpose never swerving,
Leads toward the day of Jesus Christ, thy Son,
Grant us to march among thy faithful legions,
Armed with thy courage, 'til the world is won.
Shepherd Knapp, 1907

I would be true, for there are those who trust me;
I would be pure, for there are those who care;
I would be strong, for there is much to suffer,
I would be brave, for there is much to dare.
Howard Arnold Walter, 1883-1918

Jesus, Thou Divine Companion	Henry Van Dyke, 1909
O Master Workman of the Race	Jay T. Stocking, 1912
Rise Up, O Men of God	Wm. Pierson Merrill, 1911
Forward Through the Ages	Frederick L. Hosmer, 1908
"Are ye able," said the Master, "To be crucified with me?"	Earl Marlatt, 1924

3. Salvation:

Nor silver nor gold hath obtained my redemption,
No value on earth could have saved my poor soul;
The blood of the cross is my only foundation,
The death of my Saviour now maketh me whole.
I am redeemed, but not with silver,
I am bought, but not with gold,
Bought with a price, the blood of Jesus,
Precious price of love untold.

or

I know not how that Bethlehem's Babe
Could in the God-head be;
I only know the Manger Child
Has brought God's life to me.

I know not how that Calvary's cross
A world from sin could free;
I only know its matchless love
Has brought God's love to me.

I know not how that Joseph's tomb
Could solve death's mystery;
I only know a living Christ,
Our Immortality.

4. Value of Life:

Are your sorrows hard to bear?
Life is short!
Do you drag the chain of care?
Life is short!
Soon will come the glad release
Into joy and rest and peace;
Soon the weary thread be spun,
And the final labor done.
Keep your courage, hold the fort!
Life is short!

or

Be strong! We are not here to play, to dream, to drift;
We have hard work to do and loads to lift.
Shun not the struggle, face it, 'tis God's gift,
Be strong, be strong.
Maltbie D. Babcock, 1901

O Son of Man, thou madest known,
Through quiet work in shop and home,
The sacredness of common things,
The chance of life that each day brings.
Milton S. Littlefield, 1916

5. Service:

One more day's work for Jesus;
One less of life for me!
But heaven is nearer,
And Christ is dearer,
Than yesterday to me;
His love and light
Fill all my soul tonight.

or

I thank thee, Lord, for strength of arm
To win my bread,
And that, beyond my need, is meat
For friend unfed:
I thank thee much for bread to live,
I thank thee more for bread to give.
Robert Davis, 1908

In Christ there is no East or West.
John Oxenham, 1908

Where cross the crowded ways of life.
Frank Mason North, 1903

O Holy City seen of John.
W. Russell Bowie, 1909

We thank thee, Lord, thy paths of service lead
To blazoned heights and down the slopes of need;
They reach thy throne, encompass land and sea,
And he who journeys in them walks with thee.
Calvin W. Laufer, 1919

Watch what main currents draw the years! Today we have excellent hymnals, easily available; trained leaders from the schools of religious education and sacred music; denominational and interdenominational conferences for youth; youth movements of many kinds—we can mention just a few of the advances. Youth is no longer satisfied with that old song, "In the Garden," for he has caught a vision of the Christian way of life and its seeming paradox. Today he sings and understands:

Make me a captive, Lord,
And then I shall be free:
Force me to render up my sword,
And I shall conqueror be.

I sink in life's alarms
When by myself I stand;
Imprison me within thine arms,
And strong shall be my hand.

My heart is weak and poor
Until it master find;
It has no spring of action sure—
It varies with the wind.

It cannot freely move,
Till thou hast wrought its chain;
Enslave it with thy matchless love,
And deathless it shall reign.
George Matheson, 1842-1906

And what of tomorrow? Once more, the popular song-writer calls our attention to the future. Have you listened to that song, "When the lights go on again all over the world—When the boys come home again from all over the world?" What will that home-coming be like this time? Youth will have seen far more of the world than most of us. We must be ready. Only love will bind up the hurts of this stricken world, a love that goes beyond all that we have sensed or known. We must provide the singing weapons for the rebuilding of the world, for peace and true brotherhood. It is our responsibility to keep in tune with these main currents which will draw the years just ahead. Youth and we must be concerned with the politics of the future, with the labor of the future, with the price to be paid for the future.

If Martin Luther could sing in his Reformation in a hostile world, organized against him by ecclesiastical might, youth today will be able to sing in the reality of brotherhood through sacrificial love.

God of Grace, and God of Glory,
Grant us wisdom,
Grant us courage
For the living of this hour.

7. ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS

William Pierson Merrill, D.D.

Town Hall Club, Monday Evening

I count it a high privilege to be asked to speak at this notable anniversary of the Hymn Society. It is an honor all the more appreciated because it is quite undeserved. I have not been a good member of the Society, so far as attendance at its meetings is concerned. But in reality I have been and am truly interested in its work, and count it of real importance in the life and progress of true religion.

And religion is of vital importance just now. In the tremendous struggle in which our country is engaged, mighty efforts are being made to provide all the material needed, and to raise money to pay for it. It might seem to some that this is about all that counts—that we should be ready, not too late, and with adequate equipment. So far the results are promising.

But something more and deeper is also needed. Religion is of vital importance just now. It is heartening to note the evidences that our leaders and our people are realizing that fact more and more. We need a faith, a motive. One of the sources of power in the Germans is their confidence in their cause and their leader. Fanatical and hysterical as that faith seems to us, it is very real in its power. You may have heard the story of the German boy who asked his mother how he should pray. She said, "You must thank God and thank Hitler." "But, mother, what shall I say in my prayers when Hitler dies?" "Then, my son, you must just say, 'Thank God.' "

We shall fail unless we have a better faith in a better leader. Where they put their trust in Hitler we must put our trust in God. But that means, first and most of all, that we trust Him to give us courage and strength, to keep up our morale, as we call it. Not that we shall expect Him to work miracles for our salvation. A visitor back from Palestine told of a conversation he had with a rabbi. He asked if the rabbi thought we could win this war. He answered, "I see but two ways, a natural way and a miraculous way." "What are they?" "The natural way would be if God should intervene to give us power." "But then what would be the miracle?" "Oh," said the rabbi, "the miracle would be if we could win it by ourselves."

Hymns will have to play a large part in this contribution of religion to morale. Song always means much in maintaining the courage and enthusiasm of the people. It means something that at every concert "The Star-spangled Banner" is played and sung. And it is no discredit to that great old song to say that there are hymns that do more for the soul than even it can do, hymns that renew our faith in God and goodness, and call forth courage and hope in the fight for justice and goodwill. Who can ever forget that thrilling scene before Trondheim Cathedral, where a dense throng of Norwegian Christians, shut out by the Gestapo from holding their accustomed worship in the cathedral, took up the ancient rugged hymn, "A Mighty Fortress is our God," as if they would remind their oppressors of the true greatness of the German spirit and, still more, remind themselves of the glory and grace of God. In the words of Sidney Lanier, they were "Heartily laying ahold on the greatness of God." And now word comes that all through Norway the people are singing to the old American tune of "John Brown's Body" a song about their heroic leader, my good friend, Bishop Berggrav, how, though he is in prison, "his soul goes marching on." Hymns mean much at such times.

Before discussing the hymns themselves, I want to say a word about the importance of urging upon ministers and choir leaders proper care in the selection and use of hymns. In many Protestant churches we note the danger of the vice of slovenliness. It appears in many parts of the service, but I feel most of its presence in two parts of the worship, the reading of the Bible, and the use of hymns. All too often I note careless or indifferent reading of the Scriptures. On Palm Sunday a year and a half ago in one of our churches, the minister who was reading the lesson read that Jesus rode into Jerusalem "on an ass and a colt, the FOUL of an ass." Often the sacrament of the Lord's Supper suffers when the officiating minister in giving the cup says, "Drink ye *all* of it." That is not what Jesus said. He said, "Drink ye all *of* it." His concern was not that all the wine should be consumed, but that all the disciples should participate.

That detail is not our theme tonight. But it *is* appropriate that we who want to promote the right and helpful use of hymns should avail ourselves of every opportunity to impress on ministers and choir leaders the importance of paying real and constant attention to the matter of selection and use of the right hymns. That involves, of course, the selection of the right kind of hymn book. "Of making many hymnals there is no end, and much study of some of them is a weariness to the flesh."

Of course, even the best hymns and anthems can be misused. Out of very many cases I could mention, allow me to give a few. I once told Clarence Dickinson, my beloved friend and partner in the worship of the Brick Church during all my ministry, that only once had he let any incongruity slip into a service, and that was when he had the choir sing, right after the sermon, "Sleepers, Wake."

I once went to hear the silver-tongued orator, W. J. Bryan, speak at a church service. The presiding minister rose and announced, "Before Mr. Bryan speaks, Mr.—naming a well-known soloist—will sing." The soloist rose and sang a hymn the refrain of which was, "He knows it all." I did not notice any feeling on Mr. Bryan's part that it was inappropriate.

A friend of mine, a minister in Philadelphia, had spent several years as minister of a church there, and had remained a bachelor. Then he became engaged. He told me afterward that he searched with minute care through all the details of the service, lest there should be something that would suggest the happy event in which he knew all the people were deeply interested. To his horror he found himself giving out the hymn, "O happy day, that fixed my choice."

I know a minister who once preached on "Launch out into the deep," only to have all rise and sing, "Pull for the shore."

Only a few months ago I took part in a service of installation for a pastor. When the solemn service of installation, with its promises and prayers, was ended, the baritone rose and sang, "But who may abide the day of his coming."

Just a little forethought will obviate many such ludicrous misfits. Yet sometimes they will occur in spite of the utmost care. I recall just two such cases in the Brick Church ministry, where the choir nearly broke down through irresistible laughter at the diabolical appropriateness of a hymn. In each case it was a beautiful hymn, and no one could have foreseen what happened. We were singing "Fairest Lord Jesus;" and as the last verse began, with its lovely picture, "Fair is the sunshine, fairer still the moonlight," one of the sopranos who had a clear and leading voice sang out, "Fair is the sunlight, fairer still the moonshine." It was in the Prohibition era, and the emergence of "still" and "moonshine" was too much for the gravity of the choir.

On another Sunday the service closed with the beautiful hymn, "In heavenly love abiding." As we sang the final stanza, I saw the choir almost convulsed with laughter. Later some of them explained. It seems that they had been planning for some time to go in a body to see that famous play, "The Green Pastures;" but somehow it had not been practicable. Suddenly they found themselves singing, "Green pastures are before me, which yet I have not seen." How could they help laughing?

Against such accidents no one can plan. But we can give thought and care always to keep the proper fitness and balance between message and music in our worship.

But enough of these minor matters. What about hymns, the part they play, and should play, in our worship? I remind you of some outstanding characteristics of this part of our common worship.

First, the hymns, as no other part of the worship, fuse four great, vital and beautiful elements. They are poetry, music, fellowship and religion. They unite the graces of poetry and music. Poetry plays a great part in the religious life. Some might not agree with me when I say that poets are our best practical theologians. But I say it. And I base it on long experience.

I look back, in my ministry of more than a half century, to the difficult days when we faced the new and mighty force of emerging modern science and philosophy. Our religion had to find new expression. I realize more and more deeply how much I owe to poets of that era, who, even more than the best theologians, helped me meet the emergency. Tennyson, Browning, Lowell, Arnold, Whittier and others helped me see the light. They brought the new thinking into the heart, and at the same time kept touch with what was good in the old.

But for religious uses poetry helps far more when joined to good music. Music is more like religion than anything else we know—intangible, indefinable, known only by being made a part of life, yet intensely real and wonderful and inspiring. Reread Abt Vogler if you would renew such a conviction.

When a great poem is set to a great tune you have religion in full glory.

It is not too much to say that in this age through which we are passing, the stimulating of interest in good hymns and tunes plays a valuable part in the cause of good poetry and good music. So much of modern poetry is careless, if not contemptuous, of form. Chesterton was quite right when he said that to call such writing free verse was like lying down in a ditch and calling it "free architecture." So much of modern music also is characterized by a shameless disregard of harmony and melody and the standards evolved by the patient and inspired work of great masters and good students. Recently I listened to a Symphony Concert in which most of the music was just raucous discord. I recalled what John Galsworthy said was his idea of the prayer of the modern composer: "I can see him entering his study, bowing his head, and praying devoutly, 'O God, preserve me this day from falling into a tune.' "

But in the music of the church both hymn and tune must have something of the beauty of order and form. Imagination falters at the vision of a congregation trying to sing an ultra-modern poem set to ultra-modern music. So it is well for the cause of true poetry and real music that the hymns of the church should be cherished, the writing of new ones encouraged, and as well, or even better, the use of the best of the old ones.

Of course not all good hymns are fine poetry, nor are all good tunes fine music. Yet on the whole something of the grace of poetry and music shines in every good hymn rightly set.

Something more is added when hymns are used. For as in no other part of the worship, save in certain prayers and responses, the singing of hymns brings a strong and noble expression of the fellowship of the saints. Preaching is good—sometimes,—so are prayer, anthem and reading of the Bible, rightly done. But something is added when all rise and sing together, a special sense of the union of Christians in worship.

We cannot overstress the value of an act which thus brings together the richness of poetry, music, fellowship and religion.

Hymns have a peculiar value also in that they mark the progress of religion. It would be hard to find a better or more conclusive test of such progress than the advance in hymnology. Compare the hymnals that were in use fifty or even thirty years ago with those in use today. Oh, of course, some were good then, and some are poor now; but in the main the advance in excellence is striking.

Here, illustration is better than argument. Let me set before you, in imagination, two hymn books that illustrate this powerfully, both closely associated with a church I have served.

Some time ago a friend gave me a little book, entitled, *Brick Church Hymns*. It had been published in 1823. It bore the sub-title, "For use in social gatherings." I looked through it with deep personal interest, for my grandfather was singing in the choir of the Brick Church when that book was in use. Out of the 220 or so hymns in it I found not more than twenty that could be found in any modern hymnal; and of those less than a dozen are in use to any extent today, and have any popularity.

The rest were amazingly poor. An atmosphere of gloom hovered over them all. They insisted, in varied forms of expression, that we are all worms of the dust, grovelling sinners; and most of them set God up as a stern, implacable judge, a veritable Shylock. Let me quote from two of them, which, while extreme, are really representative. One of them ends in this way:

'Tis dangerous to provoke a God;
His power and vengeance who can tell?
One stroke of his almighty rod
Can send his enemies to hell.

The other closes with this picture:

I lay my garments by,
Upon my bed to rest;
So death will soon disrobe my soul,
And leave it all undressed.

What choice songs for social gatherings of Christians! I have sometimes thought of preparing a volume of "Hymns Jesus Would Not Have Liked." A lot of those in that old hymnal would find a place in it.

Now compare that book with *The Hymnal* of the Presbyterian Church, edited by the choirmaster of that same Brick Church, and published just a hundred and ten years later. What a proof of progress in religion! And yet it has been a sane progress. It has not marked a departure from the old faith, but rather a deepening of it; and it has kept pace with the advancing mind of thoughtful Christians. It marks a real advance in the understanding and spiritual appropriation of the treasures of the spirit which was and is in Jesus Christ our Lord.

If anybody tells you religion is decadent, show him our hymnals. They are among the best proofs that the heart of the Church is sound but eager, loyal but advancing.

Another marked characteristic of our hymns as part of worship is their *catholicity*. It would be hard to find anything in our ordinary church life that more clearly marks this trait. How sadly difficult it is to get Christians together in their faith and order; what a bitter fact that we cannot get together at the Lord's Table. But we are one in our hymns. Many a church that would refuse with indignation to allow a Unitarian or a Catholic in its pulpit sings with joy hymns written by one or the other.

Lately I studied a list of composers of hymns, found in a fairly good hymnal, which gives in its index the denominational position of each. Some of the results will interest you, I believe.

Out of about 500 hymns, 190 are from Episcopalians, 76 from Congregationalists, 58 from Presbyterians, and others from some ten more religious bodies. But the notable fact is that 52 were written by Unitarians, and 30 by Roman Catholics. It was a hymnal prepared for use in orthodox Protestant churches.

I thought, suppose it were known that on some Sunday a Unitarian would take part in the worship of a Presbyterian church, what a storm would arise! But in many a Presbyterian church all would rise and sing with joy, "Lord of All Being, throned afar," "In the cross of Christ I glory," and "Nearer, my God, to thee," and find comfort and strength in these three hymns composed by Unitarians. In churches of all orders the people gladly sing "Crown him with many crowns" and "Faith of our fathers," both written by Roman Catholics. What of it? We find God's truth and beauty in those hymns, and we thank God for them.

I went through that hymnal and selected what seemed to me the fifty hymns best-loved by most intelligent Christians, hymns I felt reasonably certain would be chosen by the people of most churches as favorites. No doubt my personal preferences had some influence, but I did try to restrain them. The interesting result I found was that of those fifty hymns, fifteen were written by Episcopalians, six by Congregationalists, five by Methodists, five by Presbyterians, two by Baptists, two by a Quaker, four by Unitarians, and five by Roman Catholics, while four of them were anonymous. We *do* find a real unity of the spirit in the hymns we sing.

One more splendid fact about hymns let me mention, one rather intimately related to this matter of catholicity. The hymns of the Church have been selected and authenticated not by ecclesiastical authority, but by the common sense of Christians generally.

Of course editors and publishers and committees make their decisions. But they know well that the lasting value of the books they publish will depend on the common sense of the body of Christians who are to use the hymns. The hymns that come to be standardized, with their tunes, are chiefly those which the people of the churches approve and love.

There is an interesting analogy here with the formation of the canon of the New Testament. Highchurchmen like to talk of how it was settled in church councils which writings should be included in the Word of God. But anyone with honest and open mind knows that all the church councils did was to give official sanction to the general Christian judgment. We have in the New Testament the books which Christians generally found to be helpful and inspiring. So is it with our hymnals.

For these and many other reasons it is good and highly important to maintain a society dedicated to the maintenance of a high standard in our hymns and tunes for worship. The statement of aims of this Society is most admirable, inclusive and wise.

Hymns played a great part in the beginning of the Christian movement. That lovely book, *The Gospel According to Luke*, has preserved some of them for us, the Magnificat, the Benedictus, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Nunc Dimittis, all still in use. What noble company has followed in their train!

Paul is often classified as a strict theologian. He was in reality a good deal of a poet, as his noble rhapsody on LOVE reveals. And, hidden away in one of his letters, is a beautiful little exhortation which might well serve as the chosen text from all the Bible for such a Society as this—let me read it in the choice rendering of one of the modern versions:

> Let the inspiration of Christ dwell in your midst with all its wealth of wisdom. Teach and train one another with the music of psalms, with hymns, and songs of the spiritual life; praise God with thankful hearts.

To such service this fellowship is dedicated. May the Spirit of God bless it and extend its influence more and more!

THE PAPERS OF THE
HYMN SOCIETY

CARL F. PRICE Editor

XI

Hymns of Christian Patriotism

With Foreword by

EARL ENYEART HARPER, LL.D.

THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA
NEW YORK CITY
1945

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Dr. Reginald L. McAll,

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Foreword

by

EARL ENYEART HARPER
Director, School of Fine Arts, State University of Iowa;
Chairman, Committee on Quest for New Hymns of Christian Patriotism

It is appropriate that a Quest for New Hymns of Christian Patriotism should be instituted by the Hymn Society of America at this juncture in national affairs and international relationships.

A special committee was appointed in the summer of 1943 to undertake the project, consisting of the following members: Miss Eliza P. Cobb; Henry Wilder Foote, D.D.; T. Tertius Noble, Mus. Doc.; Howard Chandler Robbins, D.D.; and Earl E. Harper, LL.D., Litt.D., chairman.

The officers and members of the executive committee of the Hymn Society placed their services at the disposal of the committee. The Rev. Deane Edwards, of the Executive Committee, acted as secretary of the special committee. The Rev. Philip S. Watters and Mr. Carl F. Price gave invaluable aid as editorial advisers.

At a meeting of the combined executive and special committees in New York City in October, 1943, a list of approximately a hundred poets and hymn writers was prepared and an invitation to write one or more hymns for the Quest was subsequently issued to each person on that list.

Thirty-five hymn writers accepted the invitation and submitted sixty-two hymns. Many of those to whom invitations were issued signified their interest in the Quest and their intention to participate, only to have the Muse fail them until the deadline had passed.

Many of the hymns which do not appear in the final publication were poems of genuine merit, eliminated only because the committee decided they could not qualify from the standpoint of subject matter.

The hymns were considered by the committee at a special meeting in New York City, November 20, 1944, and subsequently twelve of them were recommended to the executive committee and then to the entire Hymn Society. Slight editorial revisions and alterations have been made in a few of the poems with the consent of the authors.

As this foreword is being written, a quest for new tunes for some of the hymns is being launched, while careful mating of others with familiar tunes is in process.

It is the hope of the special committee, the executive committee, and the entire Hymn Society of America that out of this Quest may emerge one or more hymns, with appropriate and effective musical setting, which will prove to be expressive and interpretative of enlightened Christian thought with reference to the relationship of the individual to his country and to his fellowmen, of whatever nation, race or creed.

Hymns of Christian Patriotism

GOD OF A UNIVERSE WITHIN WHOSE BOUNDS

10.10.10.10.

God of a universe within whose bounds
  Thy vast creation moves in ordered space;
Sons of a nation born of faith and wounds,
  We seek from Thee our true appointed place.

Within Thy purpose, through the ages' span,
  We would discern our country's destined role:
In all our councils, man with brother man,
  We would obey the law of love's control.

By all the grief man's strife with man entails,
  By all the woe that stalks oppression's train,
By Thy great sacrifice which still prevails,
  Free us from lust for all unworthy gain.

So shall we deal in justice like to Thine;
  So shall the love of mercy light our land,
Marking the footprints of the Love Divine,
  Where we walk humbly, guided by Thy hand.

Lead us into the light that shines from Thee
  For all mankind; for ne'er shall it fulfill
Its pure effulgence till all men are free,
  Free through the truth which is th' eternal will.

Katharine L. Aller

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O GOD OF ALL OUR FRUITFUL YEARS

C. M.

O God of all our fruitful years,
And of the years to be,
In this our day of need and hope
We bring our vows to Thee.

Not unto us the laurel crown
For triumphs that are ours;
Without Thy help all lowly laid
Would be our vaunted powers.

On us who toil and build today
The coming ages wait;
Unto the tasks that call to us
Our lives we consecrate.

Thou God of all humanity,
In every realm of earth
Breathe Thou Thy spirit over men
And bring Thy day to birth.

Thomas Curtis Clark

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WHO WILL BUILD THE WORLD ANEW?

7.7.7.7.7.7.

Who will build the world anew?
  Who will break tradition's chains?
Who will smite the gods of gold?
  Who will chant the Spirit's gains?
Who will hail the Gospel's power?
This his day and this his hour.

War and hatred—let them go.
  Caste and creed have had their day.
Pride and lust shall lose their power.
  Who will find the better way?
God of all, new faith inspire,
Lend Thy truth in words of fire.

Who will live to slay the false?
  Who will die to prove the true?
Who will claim the earth for God?
  Who will build the world anew?
In a world of night and sin,
May we bring God's Kingdom in.

Thomas Curtis Clark

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GOD OF ALL PEOPLES EVERYWHERE

L. M.

God of all peoples everywhere,
We raise to Thee our burdened prayer,
Father of all, of every race,
Our sin obscures Thy radiant face.

Thou who dost know the secret heart
Of men and nations, whole and part,
Thou yet dost love and pardon all
Who will upon Thy mercy call.

Since Thou hast sought us ere we prove
The worthy objects of Thy love,
Our gratitude to Thee is paid
In serving men whom Thou hast made.

Make love of self give way, to heed
The broadened boundaries of need!
Thy justice, Lord, to us impart,
But let Thy mercy rule each heart.

Grant us the kindlier heart and way,
Strength both to labor and to pray;
Unveil the evil that we laud,
Bring in the Brotherhood of God.

Ralph S. Cushman and Robert E. Cushman

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GOD, WHO HAST SET US IN THIS TIME

C. M.

God, who hast set us in this time
  Of storm and wreck and tears,
Be near, be near, that we may bear
  The burden of the years.

God, who hast set us in this land
  Of daybreak, dust, and fire,
Be near, that what we do may match
  The splendor we desire.

God, who hast placed us where the roads
  Divide, the ages part,
Be near, that no low fear betray
  The high dreams of the heart;

That we, whom Thou hast made free men,
  For self or service, free,
May in the hour of judgment choose
  Not mastery, but Thee!

Hermann Hagedorn

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SHED THOU, O LORD, THY LIGHT

6.4.6.4.D.

Shed Thou, O Lord, Thy light
On this strong land.
Firm in the ways of right
Strong may she stand.
Make her to all earth kin,
Teach her to share;
Cleanse her of inward sin,
Lord, hear our prayer.

Purge Thou from pride her life;
Stay lust for gain;
Save from unholy strife;
Let justice reign.
Make her Thine instrument
To bring earth peace,
Good will her armament,
Till wars shall cease.

Here let all men be free
Under Thy sun,
Bound in fraternity,
All peoples one.
Here let Thy truth be power,
All deeds be just.
Save, Lord, in this grave hour;
In Thee we trust.

Georgia Harkness

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AMERICA THE PROMISED LAND

8.7.8.7.8.8.

America the promised land,
  The child of all the nations,
Thy fathers left their native strand
  And faced the desolations
Of wilderness and stormy sea,
To find a land which should be free.

In thee they builded them their state,
  On freedom it was founded
With equal rights they made it great,
  By liberty surrounded.
With loyal hearts and strong right hand
They made of thee the Promised Land.

Fulfill for all the waiting world,
  Fulfill thy promise splendid.
Thy flag shall proudly be unfurled
  By God's own might attended;
Till Freedom shall victorious stand
And all the earth be Promised Land.

Caroline Hazard

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GOD OF OUR HISTORY

6.6.4.6.6.6.4.

God of our history,
Our fathers worshipped Thee
With one accord.
They were from many lands,
Of many creeds and clans,
But Thee, with lifted hands,
They all adored!

God of the present hour,
Send forth Thy saving power
In this our day;
Grant us the grace to see,
In our diversity,
Thy bond of unity—
Father, we pray.

Blend Thou our liberty
With true fraternity
The world around;
'Til every land be free
To trust not only Thee
But all humanity;
And peace abound.

God of our destiny,
Be this old Litany
Our staff and rod:
"Do justly" while we may,
"Love mercy" day by day,
"Walk humbly" all the way
With Thee our God!

M. Willard Lampe

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GOD OF THE SPIRIT-WIND

11.10.11.9.

God of the spirit-wind, whose rushing quickened
Men of all nations to faith in Thy word,
Waken our courage as theirs was awakened,
Breathe out Thy spirit on us, O Lord.

Touch us with cloven flame, forging forgiveness,
Fusing our hearts into fervent accord,
Steeling our wills with the faith that Thou livest,
Temper our souls with Thy fire, O Lord.

God of the glowing love, making men brothers,
Burn out the dross of belief in the sword;
Fashion one vision more golden than others:
Peace evermore through Thy mercy, Lord.

Then shall thy spirit-sons, purged of all hatred,
Spurning all envy and martial reward,
Stand a world-nation, united and sacred,
Pledging eternal good-will, O Lord.

Earl Marlatt

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LONG AGO A PROPHET SANG

7.7.7.7.7.7.

Long ago a prophet sang
  Of a nation that should be
Servant unto God and man,
  And should set the nations free.
God our Father, by Thy grace
May our country fill that place.

Faithful must that servant be,
  Not to falter or despair,
Till throughout the earth he see
  Justice reigning everywhere.
God, we pray Thee from the heart,
Help our country play that part.

Patience will that servant need,
  Not to weary or relax,
Not to break the bruised reed,
  Not to quench the smoking flax.
Grant us, Lord, in this dear land,
Grace to know and understand.

Through such service, nothing less,
  Can the curse of warfare cease;
Only out of righteousness
  Can there come the fruit of peace.
Lead us, Lord, we humbly pray
In that one and only way.

William P. Merrill

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WHERE WINDS OF HEAVEN'S SWEET FREEDOM BLOW

C. M.

Where winds of heaven's sweet freedom blow
  Around the hills of peace,
My home-land wakes within my heart
  A love that shall not cease.

O God, Thy bounteous Hand has made
  This heritage so fair,
'Tis here my life has ever proved
  Thy mighty love and care.

Oh! guard this country of my own,
  This land that is my home,
The land that in my dreams I see,
  However far I roam.

In evil times when foes assail
  And watchmen grasp the sword,
In danger's hour that land is safe
  Whose stronghold is the Lord!

Firm in the faith that follows Christ
  Let this my nation stand,
That no dishonour stain the flag
  That waves o'er this dear land.

In Thy great service, grant, O Lord,
  That I may give my best,
Until within Thy home above
  This loyal heart finds rest.

May A. Rowland

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RISE UP, O WORLD

10.10.10.10.10.10.

Rise up, O World, the light is on the hill;
Face valiantly the work that lies ahead;
Thine is the task to do thy Master's will;
To this great day His mighty Hand has led;
God's bugles blow, the dawn of light is here;
Stand on thy feet and put away thy fear!

Have zeal, O World, the new dawn rises high
From out the mists of darkness and of war;
The sun of hope is riding in the sky,
The sound of death and weeping is no more.
Stand forth, march on, the far peaks are agleam;
It is the dawn of an Immortal Dream!

Have hope, O World, 'tis thine to seek and find
The everlasting secret of the skies;
That human hearts can still be good and kind!
The flag of faith forever bravely flies
Above the cross-crowned hill of Calvary,
And points the way to man's great destiny!

Have faith, O World, that all is well and good:
March forward to this brave, new dawn of hope;
Send forth the bugle call of brotherhood
Where men in terror blindly reach and grope.
It is the Christian Day, let anthems ring;
Let every Christian heart in glory sing!

William L. Stidger

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THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

CARL F. PRICE Editor

XII

Luther and Congregational Song

by

LUTHER D. REED

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2268 Sedgwick Avenue ------------ New York 53, N. Y.

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LUTHER AND CONGREGATIONAL SONG

(*Written in the 400th Anniversary year of Luther's death.*)

Thomas Carlyle in his *Sartor Resartus* (Book I, Chap. 2) remarks, "Biography is by nature the most universally profitable and universally pleasant of all things." Intimate and vital study of important personalities against the background of their time convinces us that great moments and great movements in history come to focus in the lives and experiences of great men. Martin Luther was such a man.

The number of books by Luther and books about Luther is amazing. The definitive Weimar edition of *Luthers Werke* (1883-1939) contains sixty-seven volumes of from 600-800 pages each, and the work is still incomplete. Books and articles about Luther number not hundreds, but thousands.

Luther's liturgical and hymnological writings are relatively few and brief, compared with his vast output of sermons, commentaries, university lectures, treatises, correspondence, etc., and historians often fail to recognize their importance. Yet Luther's influence in this field cut deep, travelled far and continues to this day. His Latin and German revisions of the liturgy determined the character of subsequent Lutheran worship in many lands, including our own, and definitely affected the preparation of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. His translation of the Bible, which was not unrelated to his reform of worship, was an epoch-making work. His pioneering in the field of congregational song ushered in a new era in public worship.

Another fact not generally appreciated is that his work in theology was so effective because he had the perception and feeling, the powers of expression of an artist, though he probably would not have welcomed the term. This aspect of Luther's work has been brought out particularly by Professor Hans Preuss of the University of Erlangen in his thoroughly documented work on *Luther der Künstler.*[1] Professor Preuss shows how Luther's intellectual and spiritual resources seem not to have developed step by step as in the case of most men, but to have been largely native, instinctive, ever present. He was not only a thinker, but also a prophet; not only a teacher, but also an artist—in a word, a genius whose gifts enabled him to sing and paint in tone and word. He himself said, "Our opponents cannot claim ignorance of the doctrine of the Gospel, since we have preached, written, painted and sung it."

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[1] Preuss, Hans. *Martin Luther der Künstler.* Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1931.

First, let us consider Luther as poet and musician. In addition to possessing fine natural gifts, Luther had good training in music. In Mansfeld as a boy he regularly put on his choir vestments and sang in the church. At Magdeburg and Eisenach he studied singing. At Erfurt he extended his musical studies and began to compose and play the lute. In the monastery he learned Plain Song and the whole liturgical system of the Church. Professor Otto Scheel of the University of Tübingen in his fine study of Luther's formative years in the home, the school, the university and the monastery, vividly describes this early churchly training.[2] As the young Luther learned to chant the psalms and sing the Gloria, the Sanctus, the Magnificat and the Te Deum, he learned more than the Latin language or how to use his voice, or the mastery of ecclesiastical technique. The church services of his youth lifted his heart to the heights. They involved a real experience and gave his soul deep spiritual satisfactions. In later years he came to know and rebuke the errors which disfigured some of the texts, but he never lost his appreciation of the spiritual values in ordered public worship and in the use of historic liturgical forms, made vocal and beautiful by appropriate music.

Luther regarded music as more than a human invention. To him it was one of the greatest gifts of God, an essential part of his own personal piety and of his churchly program. In this respect he stands in sharp contrast to the other great reformers.

There was nearly always a musical period in Luther's home after the evening meal. Luther himself had a good tenor voice, clear and sonorous, though not particularly powerful. Ratzeberger, his house physician, records how he took the music parts from his desk and distributed them, and then sang the Gregorian responsories of the Seasons with his sons, Martin and Paul, and polyphonic compositions with his older friends.

For, in addition to his interest in hymnody and his knowledge of the ancient Plain Song and the music of the liturgy, Luther was quite familiar with the motets and other polyphonic compositions of his time—a vast literature of complicated, artistically interesting music. Josquin des Près, the Flemish composer, was his favorite. He said: "Josquin is the master of the notes, they must do as he wishes; other musicians do as the notes say." He appreciated the motets of Ludwig Senfl and said, "I could not compose such a motet if I were to tear myself to pieces, just as he for his part could not preach a sermon like mine."

Luther knew and loved the great Latin poets. He took copies of Virgil and Plautus with him into the cloister. He wrote Latin verse with facility—to his daughter Magdalena, or to his colleague Jonas. At times, when ill in bed, he would write polemic verses against Erasmus or pen tender Latin paraphrases of the psalms.

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[2] Scheel, Otto. *Martin Luther; vom Katholizismus zur Reformation*. Tübingen, Mohr, 1917. 2v.

Luther professed that he was no poet. He wrote to the humanist Eobanus Hess, "You are the king of poets and the poet of kings. I am no poet" (in the sense of the humanistic makers of elegant Latin verse). Yet who knows of Eobanus Hess today, while Luther's hymns are known and sung by millions.

Luther's peculiar genius came to fullest expression in the German language. Professor Preuss thinks that he probably did not fully realize his poetic gifts until 1524 when he was forty years old. Encouraged by the progress of his work and in good spirits, he felt an inner compulsion to express the joy of the Gospel in hymns as David had done in psalms. In 1524, five years before his German Catechism, he published his German Psalms in Wittenberg after the example of the psalmist.

In the field of music, Luther was not a Meistersinger with highly developed technical qualifications. His work was elemental, of the people, rough in rhyme and meter. The child and the hero are blended in one. His verses are manly, and at times they appear childlike, but they never are feminine, as were the Latin forms of the humanists. Similarly his thought is direct and powerful in contrast to the frequent sentimentality and grandiloquence of later pietistic and rationalistic hymn writers. Luther was very free in the choice of varying rhymes, corresponding to mood. One-half of his hymns have no rhyme at all in their concluding lines, a "volkstümliche" characteristic resembling the madrigals. Scriptural, churchly training, simplicity, strength, reverence and joyous, confident faith breathe in all his hymns.

One may venture the thought that in depth, vigor and profound religious feeling Luther's hymns stand in close kinship with Dürer's wood engravings, and Bach's music. One may even suggest that modern art—in painting, music, architecture—has much in common with Luther, so far as handling of material is concerned. Many modern expressions in this field lack the essential religious content and goal evident in all of Luther's work. But in breadth, vigor, in qualities of elemental power and forthrightness and in concentration upon mass rather than detail, they speak Luther's language.

It must further be said, however, that while much modern art is brutal, sordid and utterly man-centered, without God and devoid of hope, Luther's strength is tempered by tenderness and humility, reverence and joyful thanksgiving. His thought grasps not only sin, and its human problems, but also divine love and grace and salvation.

Thus the everlasting Gospel of the Grace of God, as revealed in Jesus Christ, is the theme of all his hymns, a theme expressed in infinite variety of mood and form.

Luther's hymn writing was definitely related to his reform of the liturgy. When he wished to promote congregational participation in worship there was nothing at hand that he could use except some specimens of a mongrel type of Latin and German hymn in which the people sang the German lines, and a few German hymns and folk songs full of invocations of the Virgin and the saints. He solved his problem by making an entirely fresh approach to the Latin hymns of the Breviary, the Latin texts of the psalms and the liturgy.

Luther began his hymn writing in 1523, the year of his first and greatest liturgical writing, which was a revision of the Latin Mass.[3] The end of the year 1524 saw no less than twenty-four of his thirty-six hymns in print.

Dr. Helena A. Dickinson in her interesting and able paper at the spring meeting of the Hymn Society, May, 1946, discussed Luther's use of hymns in his German Mass of 1526.[4] Unlike other reformers, Luther kept the historic Order of the Mass, and in addition to suggesting the use of German hymns here and there during the services, he translated into German verse parts of the litany which the choir traditionally sang in Latin, and set chorale melodies to them for the people to sing. This not only preserved the various parts of the historic Order of the Mass, but also gave the people a welcome part in the service and added a great impulse to congregational singing. The German texts, however, were rough, and one unfortunate result was that, in many parts of Germany, the people never learned the actual texts of the liturgy in all their majesty and beauty, and henceforth simply sang the different parts in poor rhymed versions. The liturgy in effect became lost in the hymnal.

The number and the order of appearance of the booklets in which Luther's hymns were first printed are matters upon which scholars still disagree. It is clear, however, that there were four collections which Luther, himself, supervised and for which he wrote prefaces. They were:

1. *Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn.* Tenor, Wittemberg, 1524. This was prepared in collaboration with Johann Walther, cantor of the Elector Frederick's choir at Torgau, an intimate friend of Luther. In his preface, Luther says that he greatly desired the youth to be trained in music and other arts, and that they should have something wholesome and beneficial to sing instead of love ballads and worldly

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[3] *Formula Missae et Communionis pro ecclesia Vuittembergensi.* Martin Luther. Strassburg, Köpffel, 1523. English translation with introduction and notes by Paul Z. Strodach in *Works of Martin Luther.* Phil. United Lutheran Publication House, 1932. v.VI,p.67-117.

[4] *Deudsche Messe und Ordnung Gottis Diensts.* Wittemberg, 1526.

songs. He says: "I do not believe that all the arts are to be destroyed because of the Gospel, as some fanatics declare; on the contrary I would gladly see all arts, especially music, in the service of Him who has given and created them."

2. *Geistliche Lieder auffs new gebessert zu Wittemberg.* Mar. Luth. Gedruckt zu Wittenberg durch Joseph Klug, 1529. This so-called *Klug Gesangbuch* contained twenty-eight hymns by Luther and twenty-six hymns by other authors especially selected by Luther for this collection. In his preface Luther resents the fact that authors have "enlarged and revised" his hymns without his knowledge or permission and have sold them under cover of his name. He appeals to "all who love the pure Word" not to do this lest "the good be lost and only the good-for-nothing kept."

3. *Christliche Geseng Lateinisch und Deudsch, zum Begrebnis.* D. Martinus Luther. Wittemberg, 1542. This, another Klug publication, is unique as not only the first evangelical collection of hymns for use at funerals, but also because of the definitely doctrinal character of its preface which asserts the evangelical view of death and assails the false teaching and practice of the "lazy bellies, evil wolves, godless hogs who persecute and blaspheme God's Word." He declares that in spite of their "pestilential abominations," such as vigils, masses for the dead, purgatory, and "all other mockery and hocus pocus," they have many "admirable, beautiful and musical compositions." "Some of them," he says, "we have had printed in this little book . . . but we have substituted other texts . . . the songs and the notes are precious; it would be a shame and a loss were they to disappear, but the texts or words are un-Christian, unfit and absurd."

This booklet contains five hymns by Luther and two other hymns by Michael Weiss and Aurelius Prudentius.

4. *Geystliche Lieder mit einer newen vorrhede.* D. Mart. Luth. Warnung D.M.L. viel falscher Meister . . . Leipzig, Valentin Babst, 1545. This collection of 129 hymns contains all of Luther's hymns previously published and eight new hymns. Luther's German and Latin litanies are also included and many German translations of Latin collects are scattered throughout the work, which is enriched with wood cuts and ornamental borders.

Friedrich Klippgen in his critical study[5] lists ten other collections which appeared during Luther's life time, among them two of the year 1524. *Etlich christlich lider, Lobgesang und Psalm*, etc. was probably printed in Nuremberg or Strassburg, though the imprint is Wittenberg, 1524. It contains only eight hymns—four by Luther—and is popularly known as the *Achtliederbuch* and "The First Protestant Hymnal," though in all probability it was antedated by Walther's *Gesangk Buchleyn* of the same year. The Erfurt *Enchiridion* contained twenty-five hymns, eighteen of which were by Luther. This apparently was the work of an unknown editor.

Luther wrote thirty-six hymns, to which may be added his German Litany and a poem, "In Praise of Music as the Gift of God." Luther's entire theology comes to expression in his hymns, which include festival hymns, catechetical hymns (Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Baptism, Lord's Supper, etc.), and hymns of comfort, faith and trust. Sixteen of his hymns are free renderings from Latin and earlier German sources; seven are paraphrases of the psalms; eight are based upon scripture passages; and only five are entirely original, though there is a strong note of originality in nearly all of his translations and paraphrases.

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[5] *Martin Luther, Sämtliche deutsche geistliche Lieder in der Reihenfolge ihrer ersten Drucke;* Halle, Niemeyer, 1912.

With respect to tunes, we may take Professor Preuss as our guide. He discusses the dozen melodies ascribed to Luther with relative certainty and answers the Roman scholar, Wilhelm Baeumker,[6] who tried to discredit Luther's work in this field by tracing fragments of *Ein'feste Burg* to pre-Reformation motets and scraps of Plain Song. Preuss shows how the *Missa de Angelis*, in which some of these scraps were supposed to be found, is definitely post-Lutheran, and he stresses the fact now generally understood by historians, that sixteenth century makers of melody were arrangers rather than composers, craftsmen rather than artists. Like the Meistersingers, they provided their texts with melodies which, however, were generally adaptations rather than original features. Luther, with all his force, was respectful of the past and committed to the principle of retaining the best from it. Many of his melodies carried phrases reminiscent of Plain Song and folk song. As developed in a tune like *Ein' Feste Burg*, they became something new and distinctive, if not absolutely original. This melody, certainly, expresses Luther's personality in all its vigor, boldness and joyous confidence.

The following list gives Luther's hymns, with the briefest possible statements concerning sources, date, subject matter, etc. The hymns are arranged alphabetically under the several headings.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE LATIN

1. *Christum wir sollen loben schon* (*1524*)
Now praise we Christ, the holy One (Massie)

A hymn of eight stanzas on the birth of Christ, a free translation of *A solis ortus cardine*, hymn of composite authorship, the first part ascribed to Sedulius.

2. *Der du bist drei in Einigkeit* (*1543*)
Thou who art three in unity (Massie)

A hymn of praise to the Holy Trinity, a translation of the eight-line *O lux beata, Trinitas*, ascribed to Ambrose, with an additional stanza by Luther.

3. *Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ* (*1524*)
All praise to Jesus' hallowed Name (Massie)

A hymn of seven stanzas on the Incarnation, the first stanza a translation of the Latin sequence, *Grates nunc omnes reddamus*, the remaining six stanzas original with Luther.

4. *Herr Gott, dich loben wir* (*1529*)
Lord God, Thy praise we sing (Massie)

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[6] Baeumker, Wilhelm. *Das Katholische deutsche Kirchenlied in seinen Singweisen*. Freiburg, Herder 1883-1911. 4v. (particularly v.1,p.30; v.4,p.691).

A versification of the *Te Deum laudamus*, arranged for antiphonal singing by two choirs.

5. *Jesus Christus unser Heiland* (*1524*)
   Christ, who freed our souls from danger (Massie)

A cathechetical hymn, in ten stanzas, on the Holy Communion, inspired by John Huss's hymn, *Jesus Christus, nostra salus*, but largely original.

6. *Komm Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist* (*1524*)
   Come God, Creator, Holy Ghost (Massie)

A free translation, in seven stanzas, of the great Latin hymn to the Holy Spirit, *Veni Creator Spiritus*.

7. *Komm Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* (*1524*)
   Come, Holy Spirit, God and Lord (Winkworth)

A hymn in three stanzas, eight lines each, to the Holy Spirit. The first stanza is based on the Latin antiphon, *Veni sancte spiritus;* the second and third stanzas are original.

8. *Mitten wir im Leben sind* (*1524*)
   Though in midst of life we be (Massie)

A hymn in three stanzas of thirteen lines each, "A hymn of triumphs over the grave, death and hell," based upon the Latin antiphon, *Media vita in morte sumus*, ascribed to the Benedictine monk, Notker of St. Gall.

9. *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland* (*1524*)
   Saviour of the heathen, known (Massie)

A translation in eight stanzas of the Advent hymn, *Veni*, *Redemptor gentium*, ascribed to Ambrose.

10. *Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich* (*1529*)
    In these our days so perilous (Massie)

A brief prayer for peace in one stanza based upon the antiphon, *Da pacem Domine.* Frequently sung in connection with Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort.

11. *Was fürcht'st du, Feind Herodes sehr* (*1541*)
    Why, Herod, unrelenting foe (Massie)

An Epiphany hymn in five stanzas, the beginning of which is based on the eighth stanza of Sédulius's hymn, *A solis ortus cardine*, this stanza beginning, *Hostis Herodes impie.*

12. *Wir glauben all' an Einen Gott* (*1524*)
    We all believe in one true God

A versification of the Nicene Creed, *Patrem credimus*, in three stanzas of ten lines each; appointed by Luther for use in his German Mass, 1526.

REWORKINGS OF GERMAN SPIRITUAL FOLKSONGS

13. *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (*1524*)
    Christ was laid in death's strong bands

An Easter hymn in seven stanzas, based, though only slightly, on the 12th century folksong, *Christ ist erstanden*, with traces (fourth and fifth stanzas) of the Latin sequence, *Victimae paschali laudes.*

14. *Gott der Vater wohn uns bei* (*1524*)
    God the Father, with us stay

A litany hymn in three stanzas of fourteen lines each. The first lines of each stanza are addressed to the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, respectively, but the rest of the text is identical in all stanzas. Based on an ancient folksong used in Lent and before Ascension Day which Luther claims to have "gebessert und Christlich corrigyret."

15. *Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet* (*1524*)
May God be praised henceforth and blest forever (Massie)

A three-stanza Communion hymn, the first stanza only of which is similar to a pre-Reformation hymn. Every fourth line concludes with *Kyrie Eleison.*

16. *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist* (*1524*)
Now pray we all God, the Comforter (Russell)

A four-stanza hymn for Pentecost, the first stanza based on a twelfth century hymn. The other stanzas are original with Luther who intended this as a post-communion hymn.

Hymns Based on the Psalms

17. *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein* (before *1524*)
Look down, O Lord, from heaven behold (Cox)

A hymn in six stanzas on the Church, her conflicts, needs, strength, etc. A free versification of Psalm 12, *Salvum me fac, Domine.*

18. *Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir* (*1524*)
Out of the depths I cry to Thee (Winkworth)

A fine free versification of Psalm 130, *De profundis clamavi ad te;* five stanzas, eight lines each. A hymn of repentance and faith, originally thought of as a funeral hymn.

19. *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* (*1528?*)
A mighty fortress is our God (Composite)

A free versification of the 46th Psalm, *Deus noster refugium et virtus*, in four stanzas of nine lines each, generally regarded as Luther's finest hymn. Probably issued first as a broad-sheet publication.

20. *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl* (*1524*)
The mouth of fools doth God confess (Massie)

A versification of Psalm 14, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo*, in six stanzas, eight lines each. One of the earliest of Luther's hymns.

21. *Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein* (*1524*)
May God unto us gracious be (Russell)

A versification of Psalm 67, *Deus misereatur nostri;* perhaps a closing hymn, though a strong missionary character is evident. Three stanzas, nine lines each.

22. *Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit* (*1524*)
Had God not come, may Israel say (Massie)

A versification of Psalm 124, *Nisi quia Dominus*, in three stanzas, eight lines each.

23. *Wohl dem der in Gottes Furcht steht* (*1524*)
Happy the man who feareth God (Massie)

A versification of Psalm 128, *Beati omnes qui timent Dominum.* A hymn on the family in five stanzas, four lines each.

Hymns based on Scripture Passages

24. *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam* (*1541*)
To Jordan came our Lord the Christ (Massie)

A didactic hymn in seven stanzas, nine lines each, on Holy Baptism. Based on Matt. 3:13-17; Mark 16:15, 16.

25. *Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot* (*1524*)
That man a godly life might live (Massie)

A catechetical hymn on the Ten Commandments in twelve stanzas, four lines each with a Kyrie at the end of each stanza.

26. *Jesaja dem Propheten das geschah* (1526)

These things the seer Isaiah did befall (Massie)

A poor versification of the *Sanctus* (Isa. 6:1-4) in the Communion Service, written for the German Mass, 1526.

27. *Mensch willt du leben seliglich* (1524)

Wilt thou, O man, live happily (Massie)

A brief cathechetical hymn, six stanzas, based on the Ten Commandments. Companion hymn to No. 25.

28. *Mit Fried' und Freud' ich fahr' dahin* (1524)

In peace and joy I now depart

A four-stanza versification of the *Nunc Dimittis* (Simeon's Song, Luke 2:29-32) and the best of the renderings of liturgical texts. Frequently used as a funeral hymn.

29. *Sie ist mir lieb, die werthe Magd* (1535)

Dear is to me the holy Maid (Massie)

A hymn on the Christian Church in three stanzas of twelve lines each. Based on Rev. 12:1-6.

30. *Vater unser im Himmelreich* (1539)

Our Father, Thou in heaven above (Winkworth)

A fine paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9-13) in nine stanzas, six lines each.

31. *Vom Himmel hoch da kam ich her* (1535)

Good news from heaven the angels bring (Russell)

A fine original Christmas hymn, in fifteen stanzas, four lines each, based on St. Luke. Said to have been written by Luther for his little son Hans.

Entirely Original Hymns

32. *Ein neues Lied wir heben an* (1524)

By help of God I fain would tell (Massie)

Luther's first hymn, a narrative in twelve stanzas, nine lines each, inspired by the martyrdom in Brussels, July 1, 1523, of two Antwerp Augustinians because of their adherence to Luther's teachings. Not intended for congregational use.

33. *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort* (1541?)

Lord, keep us steadfast in Thy Word (Winkworth)

A hymn in three stanzas, four lines each, written for the choir boys in Wittenberg "to sing against the two archenemies of Christ and His Holy Church, the Pope and the Turks," the latter of whom were even then storming the gates of Vienna.

34. *Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand* (1524)

Jesus Christ, who came to save

An Easter hymn, three stanzas, four lines each, with Kyrie.

35. *Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein* (1523)

Dear Christians, one and all rejoice (Massie)

One of Luther's earliest hymns, ten stanzas, seven lines each. A hymn on the blessings of redemption by Christ.

36. *Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar* (1543)

To shepherds as they watched by night (Massie)

A shorter Christmas hymn in six stanzas, four lines, intended to be sung to the tune *Vom Himmel hoch.*

What then, is our inheritance from the great Reformer? Is it anything more than thirty-six hymns and an uncertain number of tunes?

Luther encouraged others to write hymns and chorales, and to collect, edit and adapt fine church music. He insisted that hymns and music must be taught in the schools. "A school teacher must be able to sing or I will have none of him." He encouraged composers and urged princes and civil authorities to support church music societies after ancient choral foundations had been dissolved. Writing to the Elector John, he said: "Kings, princes and lords must support music, for it becomes great potentates and lords to maintain good liberal arts and laws."

These things were important, and we may well say that Luther not only taught the German nation to sing in church, but that he led the way in a significant development in German culture and expression. Peter Lutkin speaks of the German chorale which developed from Luther's efforts as "a type of hymn tune which for dignity, breadth and fundamental worth has remained unexcelled." The spring of congregational song, which Luther's pioneering endeavors uncovered, became a mighty river, whose waters continued to flow freely for more than 250 years, and eventually refreshed all Protestant lands. Koch takes even a wider view and declares, "From the Reformation dates the true rise of the poetic literature of the entire German people;" and Hermann Kretzschmar, while calling Luther a layman in music, regards him as "the most significant of all the laymen who wrought mightily for the development of music since Ambrose."

But this is not all. If we would understand some of the significant differences between the various Protestant communions, in spite of all that they have in common, we must appreciate Luther's whole attitude towards life, religion and worship. This was of such breadth and balance that for a large part of Protestantism at least, the continuity of Christian history, worship and art was preserved, and every encouragement was given the individual to consecrate and develop all his talents and gifts to his Creator and Redeemer. We have come so generally to accept this point of view today that we perhaps fail to recognize how unusual it was in Luther's day, at least among the other great leaders of the Reformation.

Zwingli was an admirable musician, far surpassing Luther in his attainments. He not only sang, but also played the lute, harp, viol, flute, clarinet and horn. Yet he prohibited both instrumental and vocal music in the church. Calvin inaugurated a movement of great importance when he introduced psalm-singing among his followers. But, because his literalistic views of Scripture permitted nothing but metrical versions of the psalms in worship, church music received from him a very limited development. Cranmer endowed the Church of England with a superb liturgy. He did nothing, however, to encourage hymn singing or church music. Fortunately, after the first shock of the Reformation, musical interests were kept alive in cathedrals and churches in England by local churchmen and musicians, and eventually regained much of their vigor.

Luther, on the contrary, regarded music as having inspiring and creative power, and he earnestly desired to see it employed in worship. Had his attitude been different there probably would have been no opportunity for the later gifts and achievements of men like Crüger, Nicolai, Franck, Albert, Neumark, Praetorius, Eccard, Klein, or even Bach and Mendelssohn, to say nothing of the later composers such as Albert Becker, Gustav Schreck and many others. These and others like them produced a vast body of chorales, and a wealth of choral music based upon chorales. This ranged from harmonized chorales in four, six and eight parts to motets, cantatas and full scored Passions. A much later and a really superb body of organ music developed from the same thematic foundations—chorale preludes, fugues, etc., by giants like Bach and Mendelssohn, and in our own day, Brahms, Reger and Karg-Elert.

Thus Luther's efforts and encouragement set in motion creative forces which within two centuries transferred leadership in the field of church music from Italy to Germany, and prepared the way for the noble achievements of Johann Sebastian Bach. So significant was this development that Oswald Spengler in his *Decline of the West* makes the observation that, while Roman Catholicism's greatest contribution to art was in the field of painting, Protestantism's greatest contribution is in the field of choral music.

Luther's work and ideals in time crossed all frontiers, and hymn-singing eventually became part of Protestant worship everywhere. This, however, was long delayed among English-speaking peoples. John Brownlie, Scotch clergyman, who enriched Protestant hymnody with fine translations of ancient Greek hymns, says in his *Hymns and Hymnwriters* (p. 54), "Germany became the home of sacred song. We can say that of no other country . . . To put it very plainly, Germany at the Reformation became Lutheran, not Calvinistic. Only now in the end of the years we are beginning to realize what we have known all along but have not felt at liberty to express, that the beautiful things are the things of God." This is precisely the way Luther thought about it. His position has been amply justified by history. The spiritual descendants of the other great Reformers endeavored to divorce beauty from goodness and truth. Rejecting the ministry of art in worship, they impoverished not only their services, but also their lives. Most regrettable of all, they soon lost the power to produce liturgical art of any kind.

Thankfully we note ancient objections and prejudices broken down, art welcomed in worship and the service of the Gospel, quite as Luther proposed. Joyfully we recognize the rich contributions in the field of liturgical art, and particularly hymnody, made by virtually all Protestant communions during the last century. In fact we must go back more than two centuries to find Isaac Watts, dissatisfied with the crude psalmody of his time, leading the English-speaking people, who up to this moment had been psalm-singers and not hymn-singers, into a new and beautiful recognition of the spiritual values of hymnody. Here, too, we find the Wesleys, aflame with apostolic zeal, and appreciating the power of congregational song, laboring mightily in this field. Gratefully we recognize the cultivated appreciations and creative efforts of authors and composers in the Church of England, too numerous to mention, who, under the inspiration of the Oxford Movement a century ago, uncovered in beautiful translations the glories of Greek, Latin and German hymnody, and established and still hold leadership in the modern development of English and American hymnody with its high literary, liturgical and musical values.

One more thing remains to be said. When we speak of Luther's broad outlook and his desire to have music and all the arts welcomed in worship, we must remember that he was not interested in music as music, or in art as art. Luther was no child of the Renaissance. He was a Prophet of the Reformation—first of all a priest, and only secondarily a poet and maker of verses and tunes. His first concern was for the Gospel, the Word of God. Every art, that could carry this message, proclaim the divine plan of salvation and express the joy of souls redeemed and refreshed by divine grace, he welcomed.

Luther was not interested in architecture or even greatly in painting and sculpture. These to him had little significance for the Gospel: they seemed rather to speak of episcopal pride and power. The liturgy, the Church Year, hymnody and music—these he instinctively felt gave vital presentations of the Word of God.

Luther's hymns have Christ as the center: they throw light upon His life and work, they call for faith in Him. Taken as a whole, they develop the full plan of salvation and reveal the Christian life as a constant struggle between the believer and the world, but a struggle in which justifying faith gives inward joy and peace. If all our Bibles were destroyed we could reconstruct essential Christian belief and the divine plan of salvation from Luther's hymns.

If Luther were a member of the Hymn Society today he would not be particularly interested in polished verse or pleasing tunes. Content would be more important to him than form. He would recognize the claims of beauty as well as those of truth and goodness, and he would welcome the ministry of art in worship. But he would also be deeply interested in every expression, whether particularly artistic or not, of positive Christian faith. He would appreciate, as he always did, the noble tradition of liturgical worship enriched and empowered by great music. But he would insist upon an emphasis in Christian worship upon essential Christianity, a body of belief which rests firmly upon scriptural foundations.

Thus we see that the essential strength of Luther's work in this field is not to be found in the inspiration of a new idea, the quality of his gifts as poet and composer, or the force of personal leadership or national influence. It lies in the depth of his faith in God and his Pauline conception of the divine plan of salvation.

Luther was one of the world's greatest figures because he was a great Christian, a humble believer in the truth of God's Holy Word, a consecrated minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

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XIII

Isaac Watts and his Contribution to English Hymnody

by

NORMAN VICTOR HOPE

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ISAAC WATTS AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLISH HYMNODY[1]

In any account of the development of the English hymn, the name of Isaac Watts must occupy a place of high honor. To be sure, it would doubtless be correct to say that the very greatest of all English hymn-writers was not Watts, but Charles Wesley. But even so, it may well be thought that Watts's over all contribution to English hymnody was at least as great as that of any other, Wesley included.

The chief facts concerning the life of Isaac Watts can be briefly summarized. He was born in Southampton, England, on July 17, 1674, the son of a Dissenting schoolmaster who later went into business. Since during the reign of King Charles II (1660–85) Nonconformity was penalized by law in England, Watts's father—like such other Dissenters as John Bunyan—more than once went to prison for his religious convictions. Young Watts received his early education at the Grammar School of his native town, which he attended from 1680 till 1690. At that time, and indeed down to the nineteenth century, Nonconformists were debarred from the two English universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Accordingly, Watts pursued his higher studies at the Dissenting Academy at Stoke Newington, London, between 1690 and 1694. As the late Bernard L. Manning has pointed out, such academies as the one at which Watts studied had at least one notable advantage over the older universities at that time, inasmuch as they developed a wider conception of education, in which not only mathematics and classics, but also philosophy, natural science, history and modern languages found a place. Thus Watts was enabled to lay the foundations of a wide and varied scholarship.

After leaving the Academy, Watts spent the next two years at home in Southampton. In 1696 he became tutor to the family of Sir John Hartopp, a well-known London Nonconformist, with whom he remained until 1702. Between 1699 and 1702 Watts acted as part-time assistant to the Rev. Dr. Isaac Chauncey, minister of the important Independent (i.e., Congregational) chapel at Mark Lane, London, of which Hartopp was a member; and in the latter year he was installed as sole pastor. Ill-health, however, dogged his footsteps almost from the very outset of his ministry. As early as 1703 Watts was obliged to seek pulpit assistance from the Rev. Samuel Price, who in 1713 was given the official status of co-pastor. So deeply entrenched was Watts, however, in the loyalty and affection of his people, that he was not allowed to sever his official connection with the congregation, of which he remained senior minister all the rest of his life. About this time—the exact date is not quite certain, but it must have been between 1712 and 1714—Watts accepted the invitation of a wealthy friend, Sir Thomas Abney by name, to live in his (Abney's) home, first in the country at Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, and then at Stoke Newington, London; and in the Abney home he remained as an honored guest until his death in 1748.

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[1] Dr. Hope, formerly of Edinburgh, Scotland, now Professor of Church History in Princeton Theological Seminary, N. J., has written this paper in anticipation of the Bicentenary of the Death of Isaac Watts, to be observed in November, 1948.

Watts never married. So far as is known, the only lady to whom he ever proposed was a Miss Elizabeth Singer, afterwards Mrs. Thomas Rowe. Miss Singer, who was something of a poetess herself, had been greatly attracted by Watts's writings. But when the two of them met, though Watts fell deeply in love with her, she was so disappointed by his ungainly and unprepossessing appearance that she declined to be his wife, adding—not perhaps very tactfully or graciously — "Mr. Watts, I only wish I could say that I admire the casket as much as I admire the jewel." Thereafter Watts, while retaining this lady's staunch friendship to the end of her life, remained a bachelor.

Though he was never in robust health, Watts managed to crowd into his life a large volume of literary activity:

I. He wrote educational treatises, of which the most important were (a) his "Logic, or the Right Use of Reason in the Enquiry after Truth," 1724, which was for many years used as a text-book at Oxford University and other educational institutions; and (b) his "Knowledge of the Heavens and Earth Made Easy," 1725.

II. Watts composed several works of controversial divinity, such as "The Christian Doctrine of the Trinity," 1722, "Dissertations Relating to the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity," 1725, and "Useful and Important Questions Concerning Jesus the Son of God," 1746. Some of his theological writings caused him to be accused of Arian heresy, i.e. denial of the full and essential deity of Jesus Christ, but without sufficient justification.

III. Watts's poetical volume, "Horæ Lyricæ: Poems Chiefly of the Lyric Kind," published in 1706, caused Dr. Samuel Johnson, the eminent eighteenth century literary critic, to include Watts in his famous "Lives of the Poets," 1781, which has been described as "perhaps the greatest body of critical opinion in the English language." There Dr. Johnson appraises Watts's poetry thus: "As a poet, had he been only a poet, he would probably have stood high among the authors with whom he is now associated. For his judgment was exact, and he noted beauties and faults with very nice discernment; his imagination, as the 'Dacian Battle' proves, was vigorous and effective, and the stores of knowledge were large by which his fancy was to be supplied. His ear was well-tuned, and his diction was elegant and copious; but his devotional poetry is, like that of others, unsatisfactory. The paucity of its topics enforces perpetual repetition, and the sanctity of the matter rejects the ornaments of figurative diction. It is sufficient for Watts to have done better than others what no man has done well." This volume of Watts's poems, it may be noted, after running through many editions, was reissued in 1834 in a series of "Sacred Classics," with a memoir of the author by Robert Southey, the then Poet Laureate of Great Britain.

But unquestionably Watts's sacred songs are his greatest literary as well as religious achievement; and it is by them that he will always be remembered. It appears that he began to compose hymns in the following circumstances. One Sunday, in or about the year 1695, Watts, returning home from the Independent service — he was then living with his parents at Southampton — complained about the uncouthness of the psalms which had been sung, declaring them to be lacking in both beauty and dignity. "Try then," said his father, "whether you can produce something better." Taking up this challenge, young Watts bent his energies to the task, and in due course produced the well-known hymn whose first three stanzas run thus:

Behold the glories of the Lamb
  Amidst His Father's throne;
Prepare new honors for His name,
  And songs before unknown.

Let elders worship at His feet,
  The Church adore around,
With vials full of odors sweet,
  And harps of sweeter sound;

These are the prayers of all the saints,
  And these the hymns they raise.
Jesus is kind to our complaints,
  He loves to hear our praise.

This was the beginning of a prolific career of hymn-writing. Watts's hymns, numbering around seven hundred and fifty in all, were scattered in the pages of seven different works:

"Horæ Lyricæ," 1706; second edition 1709.
"Hymns and Spiritual Songs," 1707; second edition 1709.
"Divine and Moral Songs," 1715.
"Psalms of David," 1719.
"Sermons," 1721–27.
"Reliquiæ Juveniles," 1734.
"Remnants of Time," 1736.

But it is not unfair to say that the best of his hymns were written by 1719; thereafter, though he continued to compose and to publish, his inspiration seemed to falter and fail.

How are Watts's hymns to be characterized? They deal with the central themes of the Christian faith, from that strictly Calvinistic point of view in which he was brought up and which he sincerely held. They emphasize the brevity, weakness, and general unsatisfactoriness of human life apart from God, as in the stanza:

How vain are all things here below,
  How false, and yet how fair!
Each pleasure hath its poison too,
  And every sweet a snare.

They dwell upon the glory of Jesus Christ's incarnation, death, resurrection, ascension, and present intercession, as in the lines:

Jesus, my Great High Priest,
  Offered His blood and died;
My guilty conscience seeks
  No sacrifice beside;
His powerful blood did once atone,
And now it pleads before the throne.

And they picture the fate of the lost in fearsome terms, as in the stanza:

There is a dreadful hell,
  And everlasting pains;
Where sinners must with devils dwell
  In dungeons, fire, and chains.

As might be expected in an author so prolific, the hymns of Watts are of uneven poetical quality. He can be appallingly, almost incredibly, prosaic and can write sheer doggerel, as in such lines as these:

Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
For God hath made them so;
Let bears and lions growl and fight,
For 'tis their nature to; or

Birds in their little nests agree,
And 'tis a shameful sight
When children of one family
Fall out, and chide, and fight; or

The tulip and the butterfly
Appear in gayer coats than I;
Let me be drest fine as I will,
Flies, worms, and flowers exceed me still.

In some cases Watts does not manage his rhymes very gracefully, in this matter comparing unfavorably with Charles Wesley. Thus, he writes:

Not all the outward forms on earth,
Nor rites that God has given,
Nor will of man, nor blood, nor birth,
Can raise the soul to heaven.

The sovereign will of God alone
Creates us heirs of grace,
Born in the image of His Son,
A new peculiar race.

But when every defect in Watts's hymns has been freely admitted, it remains true that he rendered three outstanding services to English hymnody:

1. He, more than anyone else, created for the singing of hymns that place which it has always subsequently retained in English services of public worship. Lord Selborne has called Watts "the father of English hymnody;" and Bernard L. Manning has said that "to Watts more than any other man, is due the triumph of the hymn in English worship. All later hymn-writers, even when they excel him, are his debtors."

Among the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century, there were two quite contrasted views concerning the propriety of singing hymns "of human composition" at Christian public worship. On the one hand, Martin Luther, influenced by his love of German folk-song and his regard for the Latin hymns of the Catholic Church, strongly favored the singing of vernacular hymns by worshipping congregations. He not only composed thirty-seven hymns himself — the most famous of which, of course, is "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott"—but he also began a tradition of hymn composition in the Lutheran Church which found worthy expression in hymnists like Paul Gerhardt (1607–76).

John Calvin, on the other hand, disgusted with the frivolity of contemporary French song, averse to everything which savored of Romanism, and hostile to anything which might seem to detract from the paramount authority of Holy Scripture, from the outset of his ministry in Geneva set his face against the introduction of "human hymns." All that he would permit for use in congregational praise were metrical versions of Bible passages, particularly the psalms.

Under the influence of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, England at the Reformation followed the Calvinistic pattern of public praise, as Scotland did under John Knox and Andrew Melville. From the Reformation down to the end of the seventeenth century, the staple of public praise in England, both in Anglican and Nonconformist churches, consisted of metrical psalms. Of these the most widely used version was that of Sternhold and Hopkins, which, issued in 1561–2, achieved such widespread popularity as to acquire something of the character of "an almost authorized psalm book." This "Old Version," as it came to be called, — despite its popularity — left much to be desired from the literary point of view. Indeed, one authority says that "for literary use, it must be confessed to be almost dead. The likeness to the Hebrew is that of the corpse to the living body." And another critic, hearing a parish clerk sing these psalms, expressed his views in the following epigram:

Sternhold and Hopkins had great qualms,
When they translated David's psalms,
　To make the heart right glad;
But had it been King David's fate,
To hear thee sing and them translate,
　By — , 'twould set him mad.

As can readily be imagined, under those circumstances congregational praise was in a parlous state. Isaac Watts, in the preface to his "Hymns" in 1707, described the situation, probably without much exaggeration, thus: "While we sing the praises of God in His Church we are employed in that part of worship which of all others is nearest akin to heaven; and it is a pity that this should be performed the worst upon earth . . . To see the dull indifference, the neglect and the thoughtless air that sits upon the faces of a whole assembly while the Psalm is on their lips, might tempt even a charitable observer to suspect the fervency of inward religion." "Many ministers and private Christians," he goes on to say, "have long groaned under this inconvenience . . . At their importunate and repeated requests I have for some years devoted many hours of leisure to this service."

To be sure, even before Watts's day some attempts had been made to remedy this deplorable state of affairs. Thus, in 1696 Messrs Tate and Brady issued their "New Version" of the Psalms; but this, though employed in the London area, did not supersede the "Old Version" on any large scale. Again, other portions of Scripture, besides the psalms, were turned into verse; for example, in 1623 George Wither published his "Hymns and Songs of the Church," the first part of which consisted of Bible paraphrases. Even original hymns, which made no pretence of being based upon any particular passage of Scripture, were written and published in the seventeenth century: for instance, Bishop Thomas Ken (1637–1711) in 1674 published a "Manual of Prayers for the use of the scholars of Winchester College," that school with which he was then associated. This "Manual" contained the injunction, "Be sure to say the Morning and Evening Hymn in your chamber devoutly." Though Ken's morning and evening hymns were not included in his "Manual" until 1694, it seems certain that they were in use not long after the Restoration of 1660. Watts himself, in the preface to his "Hymns" of 1707, declared that some ministers had already begun to use "evangelical hymns." But until Watts published his hymns, the employment of such compositions in public worship in England was very much the exception and not the rule. The late Dr. Louis F. Benson was quite right in affirming that "there was no English Hymnody in any effective sense until the eighteenth century" ("The English Hymn," p. 21). The main begetter of this hymnody was Isaac Watts.

Though it would hardly be correct to say that Watts's hymns achieved universal acclaim overnight, before many years had passed their excellence, both from the religious and the literary point of view, won for them widespread recognition and use. Thus, in 1744

Dr. Philip Doddridge could write to his friend Watts thus: "I congratulate you that by your sacred poetry, especially by your Psalms and your Hymns, you are leading the worship and I trust animating the devotion of myriads in our public assemblies every Sabbath, and in their families and closets every day. This, Sir, at least so far as it relates to the service of the sanctuary, is an unparalleled favor, by which God hath been pleased to distinguish you, I may boldly say it, beyond any of His servants now upon earth." (Quoted by Dr. Louis F. Benson, "The English Hymn," p. 124). So strong a hold, indeed, did Watts's hymns take in Independent circles that, as late as the nineteenth century, there were — so it is said — many older Congregationalists who refused to sing any other hymns, and who kept their seats when such were announced! Thus, under Watts's inspiration, hymns secured that place of importance as vehicles of congregational praise which they have ever since enjoyed in services of public worship in England.

II. Watts, both by his precept and by his example, gave a great impetus to hymn-writing in England. Not merely was he an indefatigable hymn-writer himself; but he also set others to write hymns for public worship and thus follow the trail which he had been so largely instrumental in blazing. The best known of these disciples of Watts is Philip Doddridge (1702–51), his friend and later contemporary. Doddridge composed, among others, such pieces as the communion hymn, "My God, and is Thy table spread," and the advent hymn, "Hark the glad sound, the Saviour comes," besides such other popular hymns as "Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve" and "Ye servants of the Lord." Other disciples of Watts in the field of hymn-writing include men like Simon Browne (1680–1732), the author of the hymns, "O how can they look up to heaven," and "Lord, at Thy feet we sinners lie;" Thomas Gibbons (1720–1785), one of Watts's biographers, who wrote such hymns as "Now let our souls on wings sublime" and "Great God, the nations of the earth;" and Samuel Medley (1738–1799), the author of "Come, join ye saints with heart and voice." Though doubtless these disciples of Watts are not well known to modern congregations, since very few of their compositions are generally included in recent hymnals, they made quite a significant contribution in their day and generation to the stock of hymns suitable for public praise in Christian churches.

Watts's influence as a hymn-writer extended even to Scotland. For example, Ralph Erskine (1685–1752), one of the members of a group who broke away from the Church of Scotland in 1733 and set up ecclesiastical housekeeping on their own account as the "Original

Secession Church," published "Scripture Songs" in 1750–2, in which Watts's hymns were laid under heavy contribution.

III. Watts composed a number of hymns which no subsequent collection laying claim to anything like completeness has been able to omit; and some of his compositions are rightly regarded as among the very greatest hymns in the English language. Of course, many other hymns of his composition have long since passed into well-merited oblivion, from which, it is safe to assert, they will never be disinterred, at any rate for purposes of congregational praise. This is due partly to their defects of construction, to which reference has been made above. In part, again, it is due to changed theological conceptions; for instance, present-day church members, among many of whom the fires of hell melt no ice, could hardly be expected to sing with any gusto a hymn in which the licking flames and sizzling flesh of the nether regions are described with gaunt realism. Again, since Watts's day certain other hymn-writers — for example, and in particular, Charles Wesley — have produced hymns whose superior merits have caused them to replace some of Watts's compositions in modern collections of hymns for congregational singing.

But at his best Watts deals with the greatest themes of Christian experience, of "ruin, redemption, and regeneration," with a depth of conviction, a grace and dignity, and a cosmic range and sweep, which few hymn-writers have ever equalled, much less surpassed. Obvious examples of such hymns — which are, of course, included in every modern anthology — are, "O God, our help in ages past," "There is a land of pure delight," "Come, we that love the Lord," "Before Jehovah's awful throne," "Blest morning, whose first dawning rays," "Come, let us join our cheerful songs," "I'm not ashamed to own my Lord," and "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun" — a remarkable hymn, considering that it was written long before the beginning of the great modern missionary movement in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth. Above all, Watts wrote "When I survey the wondrous cross." In the "Life of John Watson," by Sir William Robertson Nicoll, it is recorded that Matthew Arnold, the distinguished English literary critic, on the last day of his life in 1888 attended morning service in the Sefton Park Presbyterian Church, Liverpool, England, in which his brother-in-law, with whom he was staying at the time, was a regular worshipper. The minister of the church, Dr. John Watson, preached a sermon on "The Cross of Christ;" and one of the hymns sung during the service was "When I survey the wondrous cross." Arnold, when he reached his brother-in-law's home after church, repeated the lines of Watts's hymn, declaring it to be the finest in the English language. Such commendation is praise indeed, coming as it does from Arnold, a critic of fastidious literary taste, who, moreover, had no particular sympathy with English Dissent.

In view of these massive achievements of Watts, it is not surprising that he has been hailed as one of the greatest benefactors of English hymnody. And in this age, which delights to remember and to celebrate significant anniversaries, the bicentenary of his death ought not to pass unnoticed or unrecognized by those who believe in the importance of worthy public praise in the Christian Church.

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Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages

by

RUTH ELLIS MESSENGER

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LATIN HYMNS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The religious poetry to which this paper is devoted is not merely an integral section of medieval Latin literature. It is born of medieval life which draws its vitality from religious experience. It is a record of the past and at the same time it expresses the ageless quality of those verities which make up the Christian's faith in the divine. Here we come into contact, not with by-gone and dusty manuscripts, the pages of which speak to us of lost ideas in a forgotten language but with a familiar ethical and spiritual outlook and with a joy, hope and aspiration in which the modern man may find himself at home.

No one can treat this subject adequately within the present limits. There are, for instance, some 42,000 items in the *Repertorium Hymnologium* of Chevalier, the standard catalogue of Latin hymns, proses, sequences and tropes, representing for the most part the literary product of a thousand years between 400 and 1500 A.D. Waldo Selden Pratt estimated that 3500 true Latin hymns from the medieval period were in existence.[1] They originated in every corner of Latin Christendom. They reflect faithfully every development in the worship of the medieval Church and every phase of its theology. Latin hymnody, therefore, must be approached by some path which will provide a general view both truthful and comprehensive as one may purposely approach a scene in nature in order to appreciate its whole beauty and significance where time fails for a nearer study of details.

To a student of literature the original manuscripts possess the first claim and attraction as a path to knowledge. Following this approach we find the so-called *Bangor Antiphonary* of the seventh century to be the earliest known medieval manuscript containing hymns.[2] Thereafter, extant manuscripts of hymnaries or hymnals become more numerous. In addition hymns are found with psalters and among the works of individual authors. As the liturgical books of the Church increase in number and variety the tropary and gradual appear. Breviaries and missals include their appropriate hymns. By the time of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries and in some cases earlier, in all the centers of religious life such as the great cathedrals and monasteries, groups of manuscripts are produced containing the hymns written perhaps in that place or more often selected for use by the clerical authorities. In England there were Winchester, Salisbury and York; in Germany, Mainz, Metz, Cologne; in Switzerland, St. Gall; in France, St. Martial at Fleury-sur-Loire and St. Victor at Paris;

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[1] *Musical Ministries in the Church* (N. Y., Revell, 1901), 53.

[2] *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, edited by F. E. Warren, *Henry Bradshaw Soc. Pub.*, 2 vols. (London, Harrison, 1893–5). For a discussion see *Analecta hymnica*, 51, 259–260.

in Italy, Monte Cassino; in Spain, Toledo. There were many others throughout Europe. Some were clearly more famous than the rest as the quality of their literary product differed. But throughout the length and breadth of Europe manuscript evidence reveals a nucleus of hymns common to universal practice amid a bewildering variety of sacred lyrics related to every possible theme of worship.

Fascinating as the manuscript approach may be and the study of medieval Latin hymns through these great collections, following their travels by land and sea, there is another way which seems more satisfactory. To the present writer the point of view of usage has proved the most rewarding. It may be called the liturgical approach to the study of medieval Latin hymnology. At this point the student of history and the student of literature must unite their forces. All literature should be studied in its setting of real life. If separated from its background of thought and usage, literature is like a canvas torn from its frame. If studied with the culture of the period in mind, literature is capable of conveying a more subtle historical knowledge than history itself.

While we know relatively little about the use of hymns in public worship prior to the fourth century, we do know that the Hebrew Psalms and the canticles of the Old and New Testaments were chiefly employed. The Latin hymn in the sense of a group of poetical or metrical stanzas came into existence in the fourth century as a reflection of the practice of hymn-singing already established in the Eastern Church. An immediate and pressing motive for writing and singing hymns in the West arose from the current theological controversy over the nature of the Trinity. The Arians had their heretical hymns. The proponents of orthodoxy now moved into action, first Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers (c. 310–366), and then Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (340–397). Present-day critics acknowledge three fragments of hymns by Hilary, lengthy and labored, so unsuited to congregational use that they have not survived. Pope Damasus (305–384), a contemporary of Hilary, is also said to have been an originator. Unfortunately, his hymns have been lost with the exception of two, the authenticity of which is in doubt. It remained for Ambrose to create the Latin hymn as we know it to-day and to establish the tradition of congregational song in the West. He was inspired to write hymns by the influence of group singing in the oriental churches which he himself had observed and by the necessity of combating in a like manner the Arian program. His hymns were dedicated to the statement of orthodox belief and the Christian way of life. He wrote simply, his chief inspiration being drawn from the Scripture narrative. He used an easy metrical form, the iambic dimeter. He made it possible for all the people to participate actively in the morning and evening services of worship which he had in mind. Among the hymns of Ambrose special mention should be made of *Splendor paternae gloriae*, "O Spendor of God's glory bright," translated by Robert Bridges (*E. H.* 158);[3] also *Aeterna Christi munera*, "The eternal gifts of Christ the King" (*E. H.* 132).[4]

To-day we have less than twenty hymns known to have been written by Ambrose, but his followers and imitators have perpetuated his style and spirit in a great body of sacred verse.

Just as the hymns of Ambrose are far outnumbered by those of his unknown imitators, so the total number of Latin hymns of known authorship throughout the Middle Ages is only a handful in comparison with the anonymous verse. Moreover, as literary criticism proceeds the number of hymns of proved authorship diminishes. We are left with a few great hymn writers who shaped the form and substance of Latin hymnody, and countless unknown writers who followed their leadership. We must relinquish authorship based upon legendary fame or hearsay, frankly admitting that a given hymn may be attributed, only, to a particular author, if that has been an age-old belief. In liturgical usage which is the chief concern of this study the names of those who composed the prayers, hymns and other non-Biblical parts of the service are for the most part lost or unknown or omitted. In any case they are of little importance in communal worship, however valuable they may be in scholarly research.

At the opening of the fifth century and throughout its duration, Europe was in the process of political and social disintegration caused by the entry of the Germanic peoples and the establishment of new kingdoms where Roman provincial authority had formerly prevailed. Christian worship, however, continued and the new populations were gradually assimilated to the faith in this and the succeeding era. In Spain a revival of Christian literature was in progress at the turn of the century, represented by Prudentius (348–413), a lawyer, a judge and a poet whose devotional writings were influential in his own day and increasingly so throughout the Middle Ages. He wrote a series of hymns for the hours of the day, the festivals of the year and a number of long poems in praise of the most notable Christian martyrs. His Christmas hymn, *Corde natus ex parentis*, "Of the Father's love begotten," was translated by J. M. Neale to reflect the original meter (*E. H.* 20). The Epiphany hymn, *O sola magnarum urbium*, "Earth has many a noble city," translated by E. Caswall (*E. H.* 48), is a cento from a longer poem.

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[3] *E. H.* indicates the Protestant Episcopal *Hymnal* of 1940.

[4] Attributed to Ambrose are *E. H.* 160, 161, 162, Hymns in the Ambrosian style are *E. H.* 61, 89; 159, 164, 171. In certain cases the translators have omitted stanzas from the originals which are cited in this paper.

We owe the preservation of early Christian hymnody to the monasteries. It should be remembered that Latin was the language of the Church which guarded its writings in Latin during the centuries of developing vernacular languages and continued to produce new Latin writings within its shelter. The first monastic founders and leaders in the West, Caesarius (d. 542), Aurelian (d. 551) and especially Benedict (480–543) who established the Benedictine Order, were all interested in hymns and enjoined their use. The Benedictine Rule or constitution of the monks provided for seven daily services, or offices of praise and prayer, called the Canonical Hours. They followed in part the old Roman hours of the day and in the opinion of Paul Lang, may have been based upon the traditions of the ancient secular worship.[5] They were called matins (nocturns and lauds), prime, terce, sext, none, vespers and compline. Primarily the Psalms were used in the offices but a hymn of the Ambrosian type was also sung. The festivals of the Church Year, especially Easter and the Nativity, were commemorated by hymns and also the feasts of the Saints. The texts of the hymns to be sung in one year formed a cycle and were copied in the hymnary or hymnal mentioned above. The earliest manuscript containing such a cycle dates from the eighth or ninth century. A comparison of the lists derived from all sources reveals a nucleus of thirty-four hymns with local variations.[6] In the ninth century the monastic cycles show an increase in the number of hymns used and the variety of themes which they illustrate.

Contemporary with the old Benedictine hymn cycles are the Latin hymns of Celtic origin, produced between the fifth and the ninth centuries. They, too, are largely monastic, some written by known authors such as St. Columba of Iona who wrote *Altus Prosator*, praising God the Creator. A famous Communion hymn from the *Bangor Antiphonary* is in this group, *Sancti, venite, Christi corpus sumite*, "Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord" (*E. H.* 202), also the *Lorica* or *Breastplate* of St. Gildas, *Suffragare trinitatis unitas*. Spain as well as Celtic lands was taking an independent course although the Mozarabic hymnody ran parallel to the Benedicitne. Mozarabic hymns are illustrated by *Vox clara ecce intonat*, "Hark! a thrilling voice is sounding" (*E. H.* 9) and *Alleluia piis edite laudibus*, "Sing Alleluia forth in duteous praise" (*E. H.* 583).

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[5] Lang, P. H., *Music in Western Civilization* (N. Y., Norton, 1941), 43–4.
[6] See *Analecta hymnica*, 51, *Introd.* xx f.

The hymns of Venantius Fortunatus appeared in the late sixth century. Italian born but a man of wide travel and acquaintance throughout the continent, courtier of Frankish kings and Bishop of Poitiers, Fortunatus was also a poet who mingled classical and Christian inspiration in his verse. He recalls in his secular poetry the charm and lyric form of pagan models, and in his hymns imparts to the classical meters a flavor of medieval religious mysticism. For the festival of Easter he wrote a long elegaic poem, the first perhaps to associate the renewal of nature in springtime with the Resurrection theme. A cento from the longer work, *Salve festa dies*, "Hail thee, festival day" (*E. H.* 86), appears also in the form "Welcome, happy morning" (*E. H.* 87). His three hymns commemorating the reception of a relic at Poitiers, reputed to be of the True Cross, were destined to become equally popular. Of these *Pange lingua gloriosi, proelium certaminis*, "Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle" (*E. H.* 66), and *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, "The royal banners forward go" (*E. H.* 63), have been recognized throughout the ages as outstanding hymns upon the Crucifixion theme.

Christian worship outside monastic walls was continuously in progress. I refer specifically to the mass. Hymns in the present sense, however, were not a part of the mass. Regarding the use of hymns in other forms of lay worship at this period we have practically no information and it must be presumed that congregational singing by lay people as it had existed in the time of Ambrose was rarely practiced. It is true that hints of secular worship are found in the early canons of Spain and that the Hour hymns of the Mozarabic Breviary may reflect an original secular usage such as Lang has posited in the comment mentioned above. In the period from the sixth to the ninth centuries we should remember that the Dark Ages, popularly so-called, overshadowed Western Europe. Yet within these years and within the limitations placed upon the development of hymnody were circulated many of the best-loved hymns of the Christian faith, some of which have been in unbroken use to the present day. Some have been mentioned already. Others are *Nocte surgentes vigilemus omnes*, "Father, we praise thee, now the night is over" (*E. H.* 157), translated by Percy Dearmer, and *Lucis Creator optime*, "O blest Creator of the light" (*E. H.* 163), both attributed to Gregory the Great (540–604); the Advent hymns, *Verbum supernum prodiens*, "O Word, that goest forth on high" (*E. H.* 8), and *Conditor alme siderum*, "Creator of the stars of night" (*E. H.* 6); the Easter hymn, *Claro paschali gaudio*, "That Easter day with joy was bright" (*E. H.* 98); the hymns for the dedication of a church, *Urbs beata Ierusalem*, "Blessed city, heavenly Salem" with the more familiar second part, "Christ is made the sure foundation" (*E. H.* 383, 384). Two hymns honoring the Virgin date from this period; *Ave maris stella*, "Hail, Sea-Star we name Thee," and *Quem terra pontus aethera*, "The God whom earth and sea and sky," for by this time the current of Marian hymnology had been added to the stream of Christian verse.

So far, the music of the hymns has not been mentioned although lyric poetry of any type implies music. Hymns may be read and always have been read for literary enjoyment or in a spirit of devotion. They must be sung if they are to serve their true purpose. Unfortunately, we are in complete ignorance of the tunes which Ambrose used for his hymns, although there has been a great deal of speculation upon this subject. An origin has been sought in popular music or folk-song upon the assumption that soldiers sing on the march and that workmen, farmers, weavers everywhere, sing at their tasks. Simple iambics, trochaics or hexameters in the hymns may suggest a folk-song origin. Models in Greek and Semitic music have been suggested which seem more probable. In any case, manuscript evidence is lacking. When the Latin hymns begin to appear in manuscripts with accompanying musical notation we are in the realm of Byzantine liturgical origins and western liturgical music. The earliest manuscript of any kind with musical notation dates from the ninth century.[7] At this period plain song was in vogue and a revival of ecclesiastical music and singing, inaugurated by Gregory the Great in the seventh century, was spreading throughout the Church together with the renaissance of hymnody.

The ninth and tenth centuries were marked by an expansion of cultural interests often associated with the political expansion of the Frankish Empire under Charlemagne, supported by the clerical and lay nobility grouped about him and his immediate successors. The reorganization of the Church, made necessary by the assimilation of new populations and the extension of old political boundaries, was accompanied by a liturgical reform which affected every phase of worship. So far as hymns were concerned, the growth of the Benedictine Order and its increased influence under royal favor were chiefly responsible for the vigorous development which now took place especially in the hymn cycles. The musical development matched and perhaps surpassed the literary, as singing schools and centers for training in liturgical music became famous at Metz, Aix, St. Gall and many other centers, both diocesan and monastic.

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[7] *Antiphonale missarum S. Gregorii*, codex 239 of Laon. See *Paleographie musicale*, X.

At this point it may be well to view or perhaps re-view the existing hymnic literature of the early medieval centuries as a whole. The hymns were objective and direct in their presentation of moral standards, spiritual ideals and Scripture narratives. Literal concepts prevailed. Simplicity and dignity marked the style especially of the basic hymns in the monastic cycles. Praise and prayer underlay all hymnody. There was sufficient reason for this objectivity. The purpose which moved Ambrose was a practical one, both in lessons of doctrine and of uprightness of life. Rules of conduct were straightforward. The Biblical narrative upon which he depended was simple. Above all, he and the other early Christian hymn-writers wrote in the tradition of the Latin not the Greek poetical genius. Again, in a period of history when life was very difficult for the average person and times were hard and dangerous, opportunity perhaps was lacking for a development which came later in a natural evolution. An interesting comparison may be observed between the earlier hymns for saints and the contemporary legends of these saints. The earlier the work, the simpler and more convincing it is.

Metrical forms varied from the iambic dimeter of Ambrose and the sampling of classical meters used by Prudentius and Fortunatus to the deliberate use of Greek and Roman lyric meters by the members of the literary circles surrounding the Carolingian monarchs. Of these, the Sapphic meter proved to be very adaptable and is still in occasional use transformed in modern languages. The Sapphic meter has been preserved in translating *Christe cunctorum dominator alme*, "Only-begotten, Word of God eternal" (*E. H.* 228). Word accent and rhymes were to be found, but their general use and popularity came later in the medieval period.

Hymn writers were almost exclusively members of the clergy, for instance, Paulus Diaconus (d. 799) and Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz (d. 856), the reputed author of *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, "O come, Creator Spirit, come" (*E. H.* 108, 217); also Theodulphus, Bishop of Orleans, whose Palm Sunday hymn will be mentioned in another connection. It is hard to find or identify a lay author of hymns except Prudentius. Again, we are reminded that Latin was the language of the Church, that the European vernaculars were in common use by laymen, but that the cleric was in possession not only of the language of hymnology but also of the musical notation accompanying it. A hedge, so to speak, had been placed around the hymn from the very inception of Christian worship. At first, only Psalms and canticles were in use. When Ambrose and his followers broke away from precedent a struggle began which lasted for many years, marked by the canons of Church councils, between the proponents of the restrictive and the Ambrosian points of view. Finally hymns were generally introduced in Spain, Gaul and elsewhere largely because they were protected by clerical authorship and the Latin language and were enjoined by monastic founders.

Finally in this brief survey of hymns in the first half of the Middle Ages, consideration must be given to the extension of hymn-singing within and without the monasteries. An amplification of the Canonical Hours took the form of the *Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, as these new offices were called. They required and were provided with groups of new hymns, attaining an extraordinary popularity and circulation through the later Middle Ages. In addition, a large number of hymns honoring the saints were produced as well as new hymns for the religious festivals: the Nativity, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Passion, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity; the feasts of the Virgin, Annunciation, Visitation and Purification; the feasts of the Apostles, Stephen and other Biblical saints; Laurence, Vincent, the early martyrs; Agnes, Agatha and the Roman virgin martyrs, and local saints everywhere in England, Gaul, Germany, Italy, Spain, Greece and the Orient.

As we approach the close of this period, medieval Latin hymns spread beyond the monastic walls which had so long sheltered them and were received first by the clergy and choirs of the great cathedrals and then by the Church at large. This does not mean that congregational singing was in vogue. Other centuries were to pass before we can be sure that the Christian laity of Europe possessed any extended knowledge of their heritage of hymns.

One source of knowledge even in the ninth century is to be found in the pageantry of festival processions. It was the custom for the cathedral clergy and choirs to march in procession, not only within the walls and precincts of the cathedral itself, but also to pass into the square and streets of the town, singing some great processional hymn appropriate to the occasion. Such was the Palm Sunday processional attributed to Theodulphus, Bishop of Orleans (d. 821), an Ostrogoth by birth and a member of the literary circle of Charlemagne. The modern version, *Gloria*, *laus et honor*, *tibi sit*, "All glory, laud and honor" (*E. H.* 62), is a short cento from the original.

If I were asked what is the most important event in the history of medieval hymnody, once its triumphant progress was assured, I would reply—the origin of the *sequence*, a new type of hymn. Its beginnings date from the ninth century in France. Its immediate diffusion took place in German-speaking lands. Its return to France and its ultimate reception in every part of Christendom were only the early chapters in a narrative which carries us like a flood through the remaining medieval centuries into the languages of modern Europe and far beyond the boundaries of religious poetry.

The sequence sprang from the liturgy of the mass. A musical chanted interlude, called a gradual, was placed between the reading of the Gospel and the Epistle while the ceremony of carrying the service book, which contained the readings, from one side of the altar to the other was performed. The gradual closed with the singing of an *alleluia* often protracted and complicated in form. To the music of the *alleluia* words were now set. The recurring musical refrains made a structure to support poetical strophes. Merely to recount and illustrate the theories which are associated with the origin of the sequence, both words and music, would fill the entire space alloted to this paper. It must suffice to mention, in addition to the explanation given above, the theory that words were set to the *alleluia* melody to aid in memorizing the music as choirs in those days did not have the music before them and often one musical codex for the choir leader formed the sole supply. Again, it has been thought that the sequence arose in imitation of Greek hymn models which display the strophic parallels now to be used in Latin verse. Differing theories are complicated by the fact that the word *sequence* was applied both to the music and the words. Musical influences from the Byzantine Empire where Greek was spoken are hard to disentangle from the literary. The sequence must, therefore, be accepted as a fact. Its evolution, as a hymn only, can be traced at this time.

We are very ill-informed as to the first steps in sequence writing in France. The story goes that a monk from northern France, whose monastery at Jumiéges in Normandy had been destroyed in one of the ninth century raids of the Normans, fled to central Europe. He arrived at the Benedictine monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland as a refugee, carrying with him a precious book containing the words and music of sequences used in his former home. He was joyfully received particularly by the leaders and teachers of the music school. One of them, a young monk named Notker Balbulus or Notker the Stammerer, thereupon began to write sequences of his own, originating a new religious verse. Due to his poetic genius and his consecrated efforts, the German school of the sequence came into existence with Notker's own sequences as the greatest and most influential.

He wrote a cycle of forty to fifty sequence-hymns for the festival masses of the entire year in a form and meter hitherto unfamiliar. The alternating musical phrases were given a counterpart of balanced strophes with a free metrical flow which reminds us of the antiphonal poetry of the Hebrew Psalms. His subject matter was Biblical. Gifted as a poet, writing from a great center of music and learning, he exerted a lasting influence upon contemporary hymn writers of the tenth century and upon later poetic literature both in Latin and German. Notker is rarely represented in modern hymnals. He wrote great poetry but adapted rather to the choir than to the congregation.[8]

Although the German school of the sequence with Notker and his imitators came earlier in time, the French school under Adam of St. Victor in the twelfth century achieved a greater and more enduring prestige. About the year 1130, Adam entered the Augustinian monastery of St. Victor on the outskirts of Paris. The city of the French kings, a center of economic life, Paris was above all a university town. In the curriculum of the university the study of theology was supreme. Theology as presented by medieval theologians is a difficult and often forbidding subject. Theology, as reflected in the sequences of Adam of St. Victor, is more comprehensible and attractive. Like Notker, he devoted his finest efforts to the great seasonal festivals of the liturgical year. They offered a medium for the interpretation of Biblical sources which, in the twelfth century, were regarded as symbolic rather than literal. Incidents from the Old Testament foreshadowed the New. To Adam, the phenomena of the visible world revealed figuratively the invisible and spiritual realm. His great popularity, however, rests not only upon the mystical beauty of his verse, but also upon its metrical characteristics which were highly favored by poets of his own day and continued to be the prevailing form in Latin religious and secular verse. A group of rhymed trochaic lines of eight syllables is closed with a seven-syllable line and repeated indefinitely. This scheme which is capable of many variations outlived the Middle Ages and is familiar to-day. The sequence for the Evangelists, attributed to Adam of St. Victor, opens *Plausu chorus laetabundo*, "Come sing, ye choirs exultant" (*E. H.* 133 or 134). Three stanzas are here selected from the eighteen original stanzas. Adam is above all the poet of the Virgin, His *Ave redemptoris mater*, "Hail, mother of the Redeemer," is one of the finest illustrations of the imagery and symbolism surrounding this theme.

The extraordinary diffusion of the sequence in the later Middle Ages can be understood only in the consideration of other phases of contemporary history. The universities of which that of Paris has already been mentioned were at their height. Economic development in crafts and commerce and in the expansion of town life and geographical knowledge had not since Roman days offered greater opportunities. The European states had emerged and were already taking on the political characteristics which have differentiated them in modern times. The European languages of to-day were highly developed and known both in their literatures and in the spoken word. Within the Church itself, great Popes had arisen such as Innocent III working toward unity and power of organization as well as spiritual reform. The Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian and other new religious orders rivalled the Benedictine which had itself undergone a process of revival. Pilgrimages and Crusades were the order of the day for two hundred years from 1095 and were never entirely abandoned. With all these forms of renewed vitality we should expect religious literature to flourish and would not be disappointed.

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[8] The *English Hymnal* (London, Humphrey Milford, 1906) contains the so-called *Alleluiatic Sequence, Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc alleluia*, "The strain upraise of joy and praise," translated by Neale, but the authorship by Notker is uncertain.

Hymnology, too, was at a new height of expression. The greater festivals of the ecclesiastical year celebrated by Notker and Adam of St. Victor were multiplied by additional annual festivals and the new feasts for saints, each of which was now elaborated by appropriate hymns. Of those who followed the Victorine tradition Thomas Aquinas, greatest of all medieval theologians, is easily the most notable. Commissioned by Pope Urban IV in 1264 to write the office for the newly established feast of Corpus Christi, he produced a sequence for the mass and a series of hymns in celebration of the Eucharist which achieved world wide circulation, not only in terms of that day but also in the modern meaning of the expression as Christendom has extended its boundaries. *Lauda, Sion, Salvatorem*, "Sion, praise thy Saviour, singing" (*E. H.* 193), is the sequence of the group. It is one of the five sequences of the Roman Missal and is too well-known to require further comment. At this period, the Virgin Mother, the Apostles and other Biblical saints were honored with an additional hymnic literature, comprising hundreds of pieces of every variety. From this new treasury one might select a score of illustrations ranging all the way from an exalted expression of devotion such as the *Stabat Mater dolorosa*, "At the cross her station keeping" (*E. H.* 76), to trivial and defective verse.

The intimate appeal of the *Stabat Mater* makes known its subjective character shared in general by the hymns of the later medieval centuries, as contrasted with those of the earlier. The individual soul of the worshipper is bared as his invocation of the divine becomes more personal and direct. The familiar *Jesu dulcis memoria*, "Jesus, the very thought of thee" (*E. H.* 462), with a second cento from the same original, "Jesus, thou Joy of loving hearts" (*E.H.* 485), belong to this period. Again, one might illustrate the increasing subjectivity of the Latin hymn through the centuries by following the treatment of a single theme such as that of the Crucifixion which offers striking evidence on this point. *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, "The royal banners forward go," was written in the sixth century. Abelard's matchless Good Friday hymn *Solus ad victimam procedis, Domine*, "Alone thou goest forth, O Lord" (*E. H.* 68), translated by F. Bland Tucker, brings us close to the thought of the twelfth century.[9]

The theme of the Holy Spirit also reached a high degree of subjectivity at this time when *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, "Come, thou Holy Spirit, come" (*E. H.* 109), was produced. This so-called "Golden Sequence" was very widely used in medieval times and has had an extensive circulation during the modern era.

Many influences were at work in the later Middle Ages to produce the attitude revealed by contemporary hymnology. A devotional enthusiasm was evident among people of all classes from the Crusaders advancing upon the Holy Land with invincible zeal to the followers of the new religious orders who stressed the life of individual piety. The universities fostered a philosophic viewpoint. Asceticism and mysticism pointed to the other-worldly way of life. A Franciscan friar of the thirteenth century, Thomas of Celano, is credited with the writing of the great Judgment hymn, *Dies irae, dies illa*, "Day of wrath! O day of mourning!" (*E. H.* 468). Expressive of the need of divine mercy common to all humanity, this hymn reveals man claiming the promises of redemption and the forgiveness of his sins. It has preserved its original majesty in a myriad of modern translations into present day vernaculars.

Lyric poetry by virtue of its connection with music is closely related to the fine arts. In the Middle Ages this was well understood inasmuch as the Church had fostered the arts from the beginning of her history. The art of music in the form known as the Gregorian Chant to which reference has been made was developed in the Church and preserved in a multitude of manuscripts. It has been the labor of the Benedictine monks of modern times to study, systematize and edit the musical settings of medieval Latin hymns and make them known to the public.[10]

The pageantry of religious ceremonial is essentially dramatic, but a liturgical drama in a specific sense appeared in the second half of the Middle Ages. Its earliest form was inspired by the Easter festival. One of the earliest dialogues was derived from the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*, "Christians, to the Paschal victim" (*E. H.* 97), of the tenth or eleventh century. From the tiny dramatic episode in this sequence, in which a solo voice and the choir were heard, the Easter play was amplified.[11]

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[9] Abelard is also the author of *O quanta qualia*, "O what their joy and their glory must be" (*E. H.* 589).

[10] Plainsong settings are amply illustrated in the Episcopal *Hymnal* which offers the opportunity to sing medieval hymns to medieval melodies in modern notation.

Art as displayed in the sculpture and stained glass of the Gothic cathedrals and churches is also intimately connected with literary expression. We recognize, to-day, the power of the picture. At that time representative art must have greatly assisted the laity to an understanding of the Latin words which were strange to their native speech. The degree to which Latin hymns were understood by lay persons remains a matter of debate, but evidence exists in addition to visual aids in pageantry and art which favors the affirmative. The clergy who knew Latin included as a group relatively more persons than to-day, many of whom might now be classed as laymen. Elementary education involving Latin was shared by great numbers of young people among the laity. Secular Latin poetry was popular. Poems combining two languages, Latin and a vernacular, the so-called Macaronic verse, appeared in England, France, Germany and Italy. It is familiar now in ancient carols. Books of popular devotion such as the *Books of Hours* which contained Latin hymns were used by the laity. Hymns were sung by Crusaders and pilgrims.

Following this line of thought, it would be impossible to give an adequate idea of the overwhelming influence of Latin hymns upon vernacular poetry which now familiarized the laity anew through translations and new lyrics with the form and content of their hymnic heritage. At the same time, Latin hymns written in the final medieval centuries show a literary deterioration as if the old vitality had passed into the new languages. Since that day in the various branches of Christianity a new and mighty hymnody has arisen. But the continuity of the medieval contribution has been preserved throughout. To-day, the editors of a new hymnal representing any of our major Christian Churches would not and could not ignore the finest medieval Latin hymns in their collections.

After all, no expression of ultimate truth or eternal verity is ever outmoded. We still sing the Psalms in poetic versions. The Latin hymns of the Middle Ages belong to us also. They constitute a canon of hymnic technique and a standard of poetic beauty and solemnity. They crystallize man's thought of God and of everyday duty. In them are perfected the communal ideals of Christian worship in song.

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[11] Young, K., *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1933) I, 275.

In closing this brief survey of the Latin hymns of the Middle Ages it may be appropriate to recall a medieval interpretation of the joys of immortality. About the year 1145 Bernard of Cluny wrote his great poem, *De contemptu mundi*, "Contempt of the World." From it are derived a series of hymns familiar in Neale's translations, "The world is very evil," "Brief life is here our portion," "Jerusalem the golden," "For thee, O dear, dear country" (*E. H.* 595, 596, 597, 598). Of these, *Urbs Sion aurea*, "Jerusalem the golden," although from one point of view, eight hundred years out of date, has been built into the thoughts and affections of Christians everywhere despite differences of religious opinion. The Latin hymn is a part of our great religious heritage from the Middle Ages not to be lightly discarded but to be cherished as a prized possession.

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EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Carl F. Price, a founder and first President of the Hymn Society of America, died on April 12, 1948. He had been editor of the first fourteen papers of the Society and a valued contributor to the scholarship of Hymnology.

XV

Revival of Gregorian Chant

Its Influence on English Hymnody

by

J. VINCENT HIGGINSON

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REVIVAL OF GREGORIAN CHANT

Its Influence on English Hymnody

J. Vincent Higginson

(This paper was read at a meeting of the Hymn Society at Union Theological Seminary on April 10, 1946. It is given here in a revision, with new material and a practical bibliography. For the sake of the general reader, technicalities have been studiously avoided and the material centered around the historical aspects of the 19th century revival).

In 1853 the English music publisher, Novello, issued a reprint of Hawkins' "History of Music." An engraved frontispiece portrays a romantic scene at the Papal court with Guido D'Arezzo as the central figure, explaining to Pope John XIX the system of singing by solmization.[1] The picture accentuates the place in the history of music of the Gregorian hymn, *Ut queant laxis* from the Vespers of St. John the Baptist. The initial syllable of each line of the opening stanza has since the 11th century, become the medium for the turning of musical notation into living melody.

The Gregorian hymns are a part of a voluminous repertoire of chants found in three books, the *Gradual*, the *Antiphonary* and the *Missal*. The Missal chants, few in number, also found in the *Gradual* are given no specific consideration here. The *Gradual* contains the Mass Chants, those for the Ordinary (*Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei*); and the Proper which varies from feast to feast (*Introit*, *Gradual*, *Tract*, *Sequence*, *Offertory* and *Communion*). The Antiphonary contains the antiphons and hymns of the Divine Office for the feasts of the year. Of the two books in common use the more important is the *Liber Usualis*, which, as its name implies, is a compendium of the more commonly used chants of the Gradual and Antiphonary. The other book, the *Kyriale*[2] contains the chants of the Ordinary of the Mass and is also found in the *Gradual*. The *Liber Usualis* which runs to about 1600 pages, gives a general idea of the extensive Gregorian repertoire.[3]

The Chant reached perfection in the 9th and 10th centuries, its golden age; declined slightly in the succeeding centuries, the silver age; and with the 16th and 17th centuries entered a decadent period.[4] In this last era its basic rhythmic principles were forgotten, its melodies distorted and its florid phrases abbreviated.[5] These ancient melodies are based on the principle of free rhythm and the old modal scales, a characteristic which gives them the mark of universality.

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[1] *The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, See the Cover.

[2] Most of these were composed after the revision of Gregory the Great. See Murray, Gregory, *Choral Chants of the Church*, p. 5 (Society of St. Gregory Pamphlet No. 7, Birmingham, England, 1948).

[3] The corpus of Ambrosian Chants must not be overlooked. The Mass Chants were published in 1935.

The hymn as an expression of sung prayer has special significance in religious worship. It enables the singing in the sanctuary and that of the choir, or choirs, to be augmented by the thrilling voice of a prayerful congregation. The Gregorian hymns were intended for congregational singing and an increase in their use assures a higher musical level with the hopeful ideal of congregational singing.[6] The Gregorian hymn melodies, of importance in their own right, have inspired and influenced the music of later ages. The hymn melodies furnished the motives and basis of the collection of hymns for the church year by Victoria (1581), and those of Palestrina published a few years later (1589). They likewise provided motives for the Masses of both these and other composers such as the *Ave Maris Stella* Mass of Victoria, and the *Iste Confessor* and *Aeterna Christi Munera* Masses of Palestrina.

Some Gregorian hymn melodies are associated with specific hymns, while others have a dual purpose and serve for more than one hymn. Because many of the melodies are assigned to hymns for a specific season of the church year such as Advent, Lent, Easter, etc., we have come to associate the melody with the text and think of them as a unit. To sing them apart from their customary periods, to some extent robs them of their special charm.

The last century of tireless search has again made these melodies available in their ancient form. The complete story includes phases not generally known and some that probably will never be revealed.[7] The herculean and successful work of the Solesmes monks is paralleled by the researches of other scholars which if less ambitious and less fruitful, must not be overlooked. The work of such scholars as Gastoué, Gavaert, Peter Wagner, H. M. Bannister, Oberhoffer and

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[4] Johner, D., *New School of Gregorian Chant*, p. 185, (Frederick Pustet & Co., New York and Cincinnati, 1925). See Burney, C., *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, (1773), p. 4-6 for an account of Chant singing in the 18th century. Reprinted in *The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, Item 81.

[5] Some of these have been revived in present day hymnals, *i.e.* those from La Feillée, *Méthode du Plainchant* (1808). It was this edition and not the original of 1782 from which Helmore and others drew their melodies.

[6] Pius X, *Motu Proprio* (1903), Sec. II par. 3; Pius XI *Apostolic Constitution* (1928), Sec. VII and IX; Pius XII, *Mediator Dei* (1947), Pt. IV, Sec. 192.

[7] Donovan, Vincent C. as part of a book review, *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, January 1947, pp. 318-9.

Schubiger, and the studies initiated by such monasteries as Bueron and Monserrat and by the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society are outstanding.

England's part in the story is especially interesting as it is closely connected with the hymns commonly sung today. In fact it began with the translation of the Latin hymns and completed a cycle with the *Hymnal Noted*, which supplied the Chant melodies. Less well known but worthy of mention are the translations of the Breviary hymns in the Catholic Primers of 1604, 1619, 1685, and 1706 wherein about 120 in all were translated.[8] The thread of ancient plainsong was also found in the old Embassy Chapels of London, and in *An Essay on Church Plain Chant* (Coughlin, London, 1782) we find the first printed copy of the *Adeste Fideles*, and such contemporary melodies in chant notation as Webbe's *Melcombe* tune.[9]

Two hymn collections published in 1827 were to have a notable effect on the course of English hymnody. These were Keble's *Christian Year* and Heber's *Hymns*.[10] Each was arranged according to the Church Year, a plan adopted by many future publications. Pusey referred to Keble's *Christian Year* as the foundation of the Oxford Movement.[11] This is a challenging statement but as Pusey explains, it encouraged a restudy of Latin hymnody and aroused interest in the liturgy of the early Christian era. This fervor produced such noteworthy examples as Isaac Williams' *Hymns from the Paris Breviary* (1839)[12], Chandler's *Hymns of the Primitive Church* (1837), and Newman's *Hymni Ecclesiae* (1838). Newman in the series of *Tracts for the Times* called attention to the Breviary Hymns (Tract 75) but in all these instances devotional reading rather than singing was the primary interest. The full title, "On the Roman Breviary as embodying the substance of the devotional services of the Catholic Church," illustrates this. Williams likewise set his translations in metres that made them unsuitable for choral presentation.

The Paris Breviary, the basis of Williams' and Chandler's translations, was used in the belief that its hymns were ancient. Actually they were the original compositions of Charles Coffin (1676-1749) who as editor of the third revision of the Paris Breviary (1736) included one hundred of his own hymns.[13] Those from the easily accessible Roman Breviary, including those of Caswall, were founded on the "revised version" sponsored by Urban VIII at the end of the 16th century. Neale however turned to the Sarum Breviary and other sources which contained the unrevised texts. But with Neale we have an essential change, for he carefully weighed the selection of rhythms and words so that the translations might be sung.[14] The particular interest in the Salisbury Rite in the mid-19th century is accounted for by a reprint made of the *Hymnale* in 1850 and the unfounded belief of the day, that the Sarum rite was a distinctly English rite rather than the rite of Roman origin that it actually was.[15] This period saw the flood tide of translations but those of Caswall and Neale remain among the best examples and the most widely used.

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[8] Shipley, O., *Annus Sanctus* (privately printed, London, 1884).

[9] *The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, cover; Vol. XXV, No. 1, cover.

[10] Faber acknowledges his debt to the *Olney Hymns* (1779) of John Newton and William Cowper. See his *Hymns*, p. XIX (John Murphy & Co., Baltimore, Md., 1880).

[11] Liddon, Henry, P., *Life of E. B. Pusey*, Vol. IV, p. 140 (Longmans Green & Co., London, 1897).

[12] Benson, Louis F., *The English Hymn*, p. 496 (G. H. Doran, New York, 1915). The Paris Breviary was brought to England by Sir John Provost, one of Keble's circle and came to the attention of Isaac Williams. Williams' translations in the *British Magazine* (1833) aroused Chandler's interest.

A search for the tunes of these Breviary hymns was a natural outgrowth of this interest. In 1844 Henry Gauntlett, the well known composer of hymn tunes, in conjunction with Charles Child Spenser published a *Hymnal for Matins and Evensong* which drew attention to the Gregorian melodies.[16] The *Hymnal Noted* of 1852-54, for which Neale supplied the translations and Thomas Helmore the harmonizations of the Sarum melodies, was the crowning effort. Frederick Helmore in the biography of his brother reveals how the collaborators were brought together and the work apportioned.[17] In a supplement, about twenty plainsong melodies from the then recently discovered *Piae Cantiones*, a remnant of the pre-Reformation era, were chosen for a series of original carols written by Neale.[18] These included "Christ Was Born on Christmas Day," "Good Christian Men Rejoice," and "Good King Wenceslaus." Needless to say the effort of the sponsors were not very successful, for the congregations were not at all prepared for such a revival. *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) and the *English Hymnal* (1906) which used plainsong melodies, and those in a more modern idiom, have proved more successful.

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[13] Op. cit., p. 496.

[14] Neale, J. M., *Letters*, p. 173. This is a quotation from an article in the *Ecclesiologist.*

[15] Sheppard, L., "*Cardinal Newman and the Breviary*," *Orate Fratres*, Vol. XIX, No. 7, p. 296. Neale in the Preface to the *Hymnal Noted* speaks in a similar vein. The Sarum *Hymnale* reached the public in two different editions, the first from which Neale drew the texts (*Hymnale secundum usum insignis ac praeclarae Ecclesiae Saisburiensis*, Littlemore, A. A. Masson 1850, Oxford and London, J. H. Parker), being a reprint from a 16th century edition printed in the Low Countries. There is a microfilm of a 16th century edition printed in Antwerp in the New York Public Library. The second appeared in 1851 and contained hymns from several other sources along with the melodies, a likely source for the melodies collected by Helmore.

[16] Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, under Gauntlett. (Macmillan Co., New York, 1935). A collection of harmonized Gregorian Chants for the Catholic Church by Jean B. Benz (*Cantica Sacra*) was published in 1846. This was preceded by Vincent Novello's *The Evening Service* (1822) which contained harmonized Gregorian hymns for the principal feasts.

[17] Higginson, J. Vincent, "*John Mason Neale and the Breviary Hymns*," *The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, p. 12.

In 1850, A. Welby Pugin, the English architect, influenced the revival by a lecture later printed as "An Earnest Appeal for the Revival of Ancient Plainsong." Its basic premise was that plainsong was the complement of Gothic architecture and like other worthy ancient arts of the church, should be revived. An "Oxford Society for the Study of Plainsong" was founded in 1853 and Frederick Helmore speaks of an eager group of ill-informed but interested "Gregorianists" who later were instrumental in founding the "London Gregorian Society" (1871). Besides, during the mid-19th century English scholars were making historical studies of liturgy. Neale's interest in the Eastern liturgies, to mention one instance, has broadened our vernacular hymnody by many acceptable translations from the Greek Liturgy. The Plainsong and Medieval Musical Society, founded in 1881, continued the work on an enlarged scale and published works of permanent value.[19]

As we turn to the continent, particularly to France, it is well to recall that the Solesmes researches did not begin until shortly after 1860. The efforts for a revival before that date set the stage and created conditions which aided materially in fostering a lively interest in the revival that came later in the second half of the century. Among these early pioneers we single out Alexandre Êtienne Choron, the author of a text on plainchant (1818) and a prominent figure of early mid-century French music. In 1824 he founded a school, subsidized by the government, which specialized in the study of religious music. After the Revolution of 1830, the subsidy was discontinued and the school taken over by Niedermeyer and continued along similar lines. The third, Jean-Louis-Felix Danjou, now a forgotten man, whose brief musical career included the position of organist at Notre-Dame, Paris (1840), published his historic essay "De l'état de l'avenir du chant ecclésiastique" in 1844. Through it he hoped to influence the art commission to make a more pronounced effort for the improvement of church music. Here he reveals the conditions of the day and offers suggestions for reform.[20] To encourage others he published a periodical, which like many of that era, soon ceased publication for lack of support.

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[18] Rutta, Theodoricus, *Piae Cantiones*, ed. Rev. G. R. Woodard (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, London, 1910). *The Carols for Christmastide* (1853) and *Carols for Eastertide* (1854) This is not to be confused with an Appendix to the *Hymnal Noted* which supplied about 250 modern tunes as alternates for the Plainsong melodies.

[19] Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, under Plainsong and Medieval Music Society. Several Catholic Societies were also established such as Society of St. Gregory and St. Caecilia, 1876, Catholic Gregorian Association 1882, and English Society of St. Caecilia 1888. Among several others the work of the Rev. Henry Formby for the revival must not be overlooked, especially such essays as *The Catholic Christian's Guide to the Right Use of Christian Psalmody of the Psalter* (1847) and *The Roman Ritual and Its Canto Fermo, Compared with the Works of Modern Music, in Point of Efficiency and General Fitness for the Purpose of the Catholic Church* (1849). Incidentally Fr. Formby published hymnals which have given us such hymns as "Christ the Lord Is Risen Today," and "When morning gilds the skies," etc. See *The Catholic Encyclopedia* under "Formby." Neither could the earlier plea made by the author of *An Essay On Church Plain Chant*, (1782) be forgotten. He writes as follows in the Introduction, "In regard to those parts that are bad, (in the Chant books) and which we must suppose to have been greatly changed from what they originally were, by false copying, mistakes in printing or caprice of the ignorant: it is in the power of superiors to procure amendments or alterations wherever necessary and it is to be hoped, for the glory of the Church, as far as regards her decent discipline, that such necessary amendments and alterations will before long take place."

In 1847 Danjou made the fortunate discovery that should have brought him lasting fame, for it has made plainchant scholars forever his debtors. This was the discovery of the Montpellier Antiphonary, December 18, 1847.[21] Its importance rests on its bilingual notation for the staffless neums were underlined with a series of letters that assigned definite pitches to them. It might justly be regarded as the "Rosetta Stone" in the history of plainchant. A transcription was made shortly afterwards by Abbé Normand under the pseudonym of Théodore Nisard and proved a direct aid in the publication of contemporary Graduals. A third event, the publication of the Mechlin Gradual (1848) based on the early 17th century Medicean Gradual was also a turning point. The original was hardly known outside of Italy and might have been of little importance, but the reprinting sowed the seeds of a controversy destined to continue for the next fifty years.

A French Jesuit, Pere Louis Lambilotte, was another of the leading participants in these early researches. His transcription of the so-called Antiphonary of St. Gregory,[22] a reproduction of a St. Gall manuscript, was published shortly after 1850.[23] This St. Gall manuscript was important in the restoration, for it was a rhythmic edition, letters appearing along with the notes to give these rhythmic indications. Strangely, it was not until the second decade of the twentieth century that an Italian manuscript with rhythmic markings was discovered; a fact that brought a joyous announcement by Dom Mocquereau in a letter to a friend.[24] Here at last was another link in the chain of circumstantial evidence required to establish a rhythmic tradition and interpretation. These were the principal manuscripts (Montpellier and St. Gall) available to Dom Pothier for future studies. It is only just to add that both Abbé Normand and Lambilotte were in close communication with Dom Guéranger while making their transcriptions; they valued even the little light Solesmes could throw on these manuscripts in the dawn of paleographic studies.

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[20] De Brant, Cyr, "Danjou—Reformer and Discoverer," *Fischer Edition News*, Catholic Church Music Series, April-May 1947, pp. 1-5; *The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, p. 186, Item 96.

[21] Johner, D. *New School of Gregorian Chant*, p. 200; also *Paléographie Musicale*, Vol. VIII. This Antiphonary which today might be called a Gradual since it contains the Introits, Offertories etc., was a great aid to Lambilotte in his transcription of the St. Gall Antiphonary. Nevertheless, Lambilotte did not seem to realize its ultimate importance in the revival.

[22] Nef, Karl, *Outline of the History of Music*, p. 18 (Columbia University Press, New York, 1935).

This leads us to the Solesmes revival which presents an historic achievement of unending interest. Solesmes stands today as a name signifying a liturgical revival, a mid-19th century revival, that was followed by another emanating from the Abbey of Maria Laach, which has directly influenced the contemporary liturgical movement.[25] Solesmes' greatest contribution, for which it is especially honored, is the researches undertaken for the restoration of the Gregorian melodies. A short history of Solesmes is necessary to clarify a situation that made it so important in the contemporary picture.

Solesmes is an ancient abbey dating back to 1010 when it was founded by Geoffrey of Sablé as a priory dependent upon the Abbey of St. Pierre of Mans. Solesmes was destroyed by fire during the Hundred Years War and was later rebuilt. In 1791 it was suppressed for political reasons and the buildings passed into private hands, resulting in a course of decay during the next forty years. The Solesmes we think of today was the outcome of a dream of a young priest who grew up in the district, and whose boyhood fancies envisioned the run down property as an active community, once its glory. He was Prosper Louis Pascal Guéranger, who in 1831 when he was but twenty-seven, sought to purchase the abbey property. With the aid of private donations this was accomplished in 1833. Community life began again the following year and by 1837, Pope

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[23] *Antiphonarie de St. Grégorie*, Facsimile du manuscript de St. Gall, (C. J. A. Greuse, Brussels, 1851); also Dom Johner, *New School of Gregorian Chant*, p. 195 for specimen page.

[24] *The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol VI, No. 1, p. 13.

[25] Winzen, Damasus, "Maria Laach-Fifty Years," *Orate Fratres*. Vol. XVII, No. 3, pp. 111-116.

Gregory XVI had raised Solesmes to the rank of an abbey under the rule of St. Benedict, with Dom Guéranger as its first abbot.[26]

The liturgical revival associated with Solesmes was the outcome of a fortunate circumstance. Dom Guéranger was assigned to say Mass in the chapel of the Sacred Heart nuns who possessed a Roman Missal. His interest was quickened by the beauty of the ancient liturgy in contrast with the contemporary diocesan French Missals. The majesty and grandeur of the Roman Missal grew upon him and before long he would say Mass nowhere else and with the permission of the Bishop he was able to adopt the Roman Breviary. The several diocesan Missals which caused a lack of uniformity, gave him great concern. He virtually set as the goal of his life, the adoption of the Roman Missal by the various French dioceses and the restoration of the music associated with it. Before long he saw part of his hope fulfilled, for the Roman Missal finally superseded the other diocesan Missals.[27]

The new community of Solesmes had to content itself with the few Office books it was able to obtain. Since there were different diocesan editions, divergent texts and music caused some hardship in the daily recitation of the Office.[28] Wm. Gratton Flood reports a similar condition in Ireland many years later. He remarks, "In the singing of the offices three distinct schools of plainchant then obtained in Ireland. The older priests had the Roman version, the middle-aged priests had the Mechlin version, and the young priests had the Ratisbon version . . . it was by no means unusual to hear a Requiem Mass at which the three schools were well represented, and at which the exponent of the three traditional chants sang simultaneously their several variants. The results can be better imagined than described."[29] Studies were begun at Solesmes to right this situation and before long the musical researches which were secondary in nature, assumed greater importance and became the foundation for the future studies of the Chant.

Before summarizing the accomplishments of Solesmes in the next half century it is essential to explain two conditions. This will

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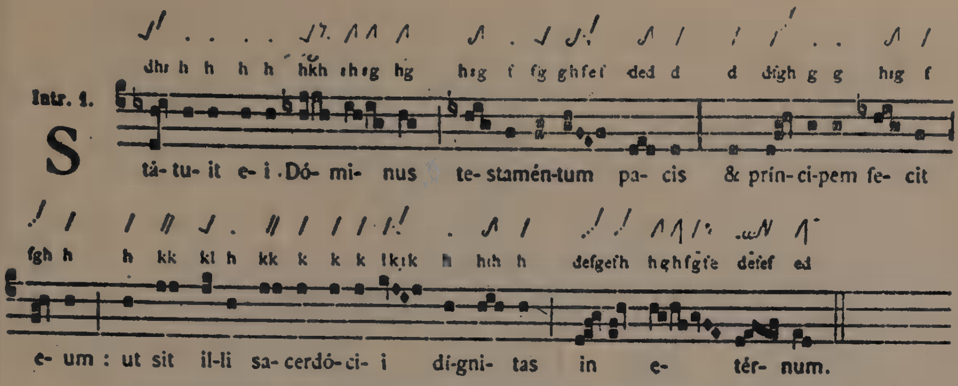
[26] Dean, Aldhelm, *Solesmes, Its Works for the Liturgy and Chant*, pp. 1-10 (Society of St. Gregory, Pamphlet No. 6, Birmingham, England); O'Connor, R. F., "A Benedictine Restoration," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. 20, 1895, p. 592.

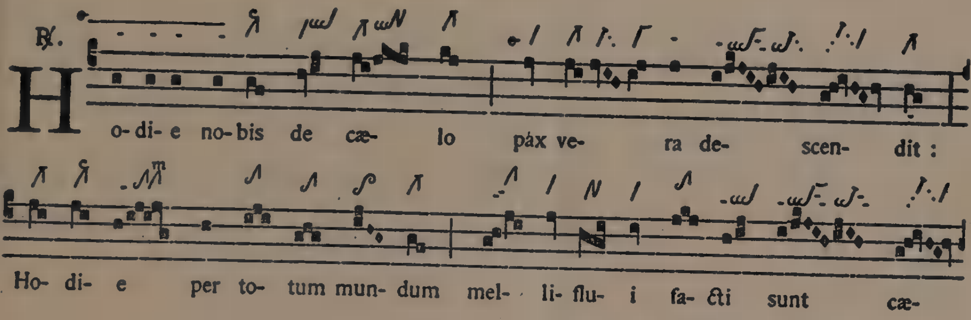
[27] *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VII, p. 357, under Missal (The Gilmary Society, New York, 1913). The Roman Missal was not restored in Lyons until Dec. 8, 1869, see "Rite of Lyons," *Orate Fratres*, Vol. XV, No. 2, p. 64.

[28] *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, p. 578, under Antiphonary; Dean, A., *Solesmes, Its Work for the Liturgy and Chant*, p. 10. See also Roger Capel, "Curiosities of the Breviary," *Orate Fratres*. Vol., XVIII, pp. 261-262.

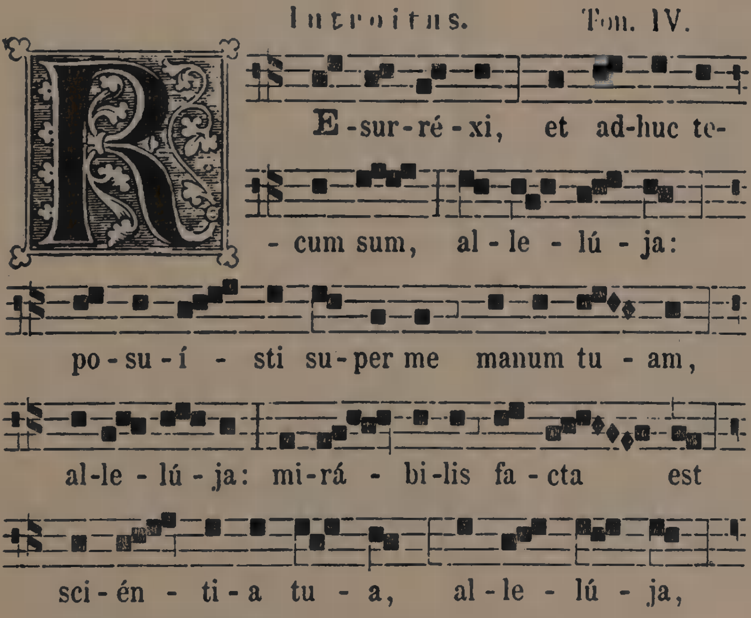
[29] "Church Music in Ireland from 1878 to 1908," *Church Music*, Vol. IV, p. 115.


Intr. 1.
Státuit ei Dóminus testaméntum pacis & príncipem fecit
eum : ut sit illi sacerdócii dígnitas in etérnum.

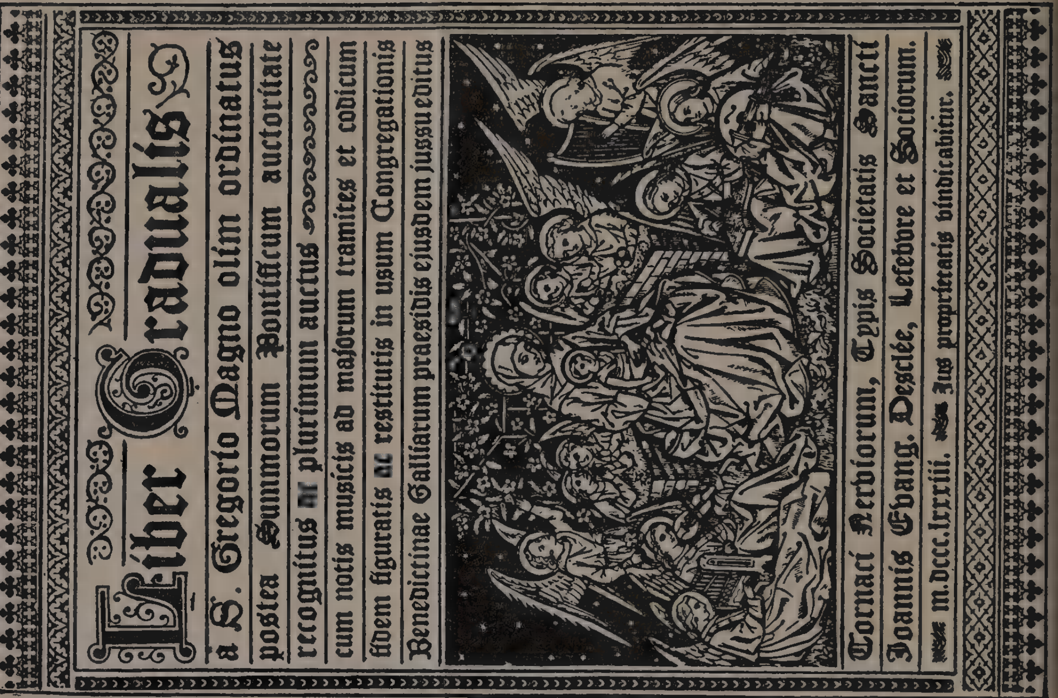
The Montpellier Antiphonary showing bilingual notation and transcription.


℟.
Hodie nobis de cælo páx vera descendit :
Hodie per totum mundum melliflui facti sunt cæ-

St. Gall Codex 390 showing rhythmic indications, e—equaliter, note repeated; c—celeriter, quicker; m—modiocriter, moderately; t—tenere, to hold.


Introitus. Ton. IV.
Resurréxi, et adhuc tecum sum, allelúja:
posuísti super me manum tuam,
allelúja: mirábilis facta est
sciéntia tua, allelúja,

From the Ratisbon Gradual—compare with the following example.

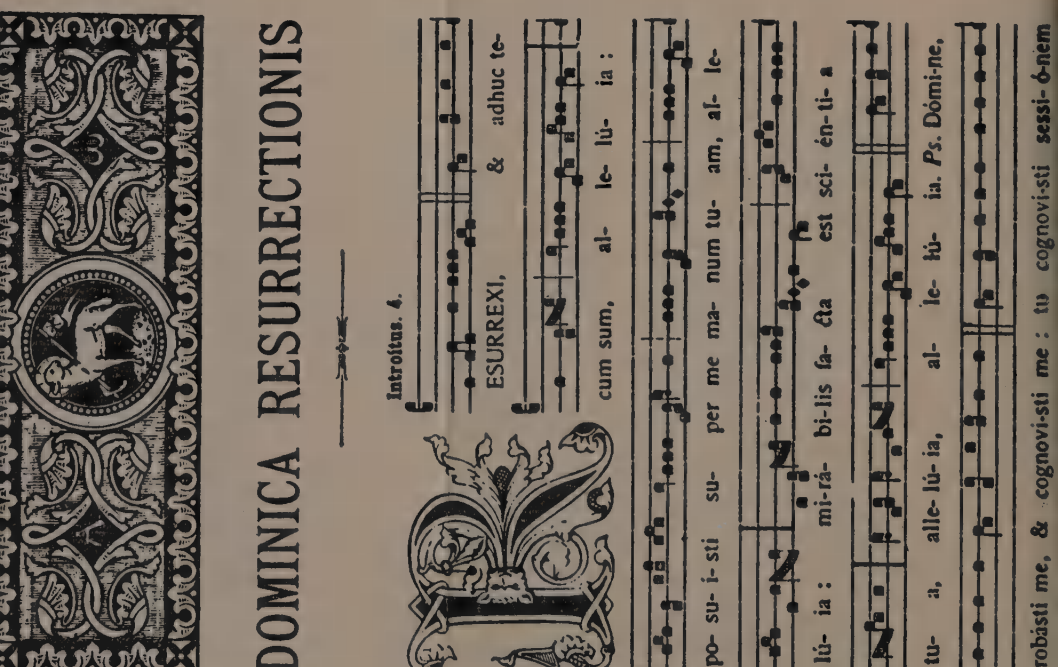


Liber Gradualis

a S. Gregorio Magno olim ordinatus
postea Summorum Pontificum auctoritate
recognitus ac plurimum auctus
cum notis musicis ad majorum tramites et codicum
fidem figuratis ac restitutis in usum Congregationis
Benedictinae Galliarum praesidis ejusdem jussu editus

Tornaci Nerviorum, Typis Societatis Sancti
Joannis Evang. Desclée, Lefebvre et Sociorum.
m.dccc.lxxxiii. Jus proprietatis vindicabitur.

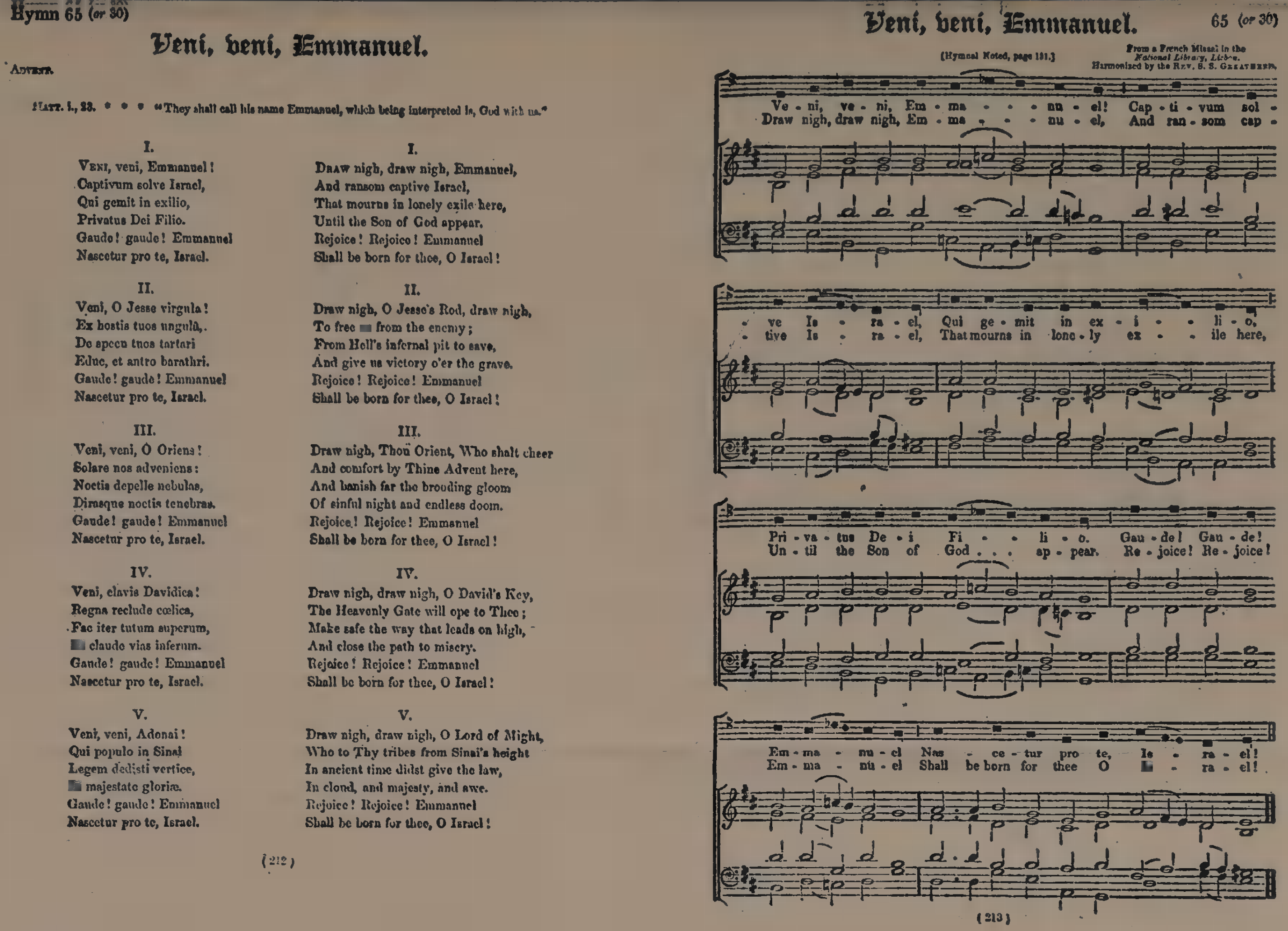
itle page of the Solesmes Gradual (1883). This was also used for Dom Pothier's "Les Melodies Grégoriennes."



DOMINICA RESURRECTIONIS

Introitus. 4.
R ESURREXI, & adhuc te-
cum sum, al- le- lú- ia :
po- su- i- sti su- per me ma- num tu- am, al- le-
lú- ia : mi-rá- bi-lis fa- cta est sci- én-ti- a
tu- a, alle- lú- ia, al- le- lú- ia. Ps. Dómi-ne,
probásti me, & cognovi-sti me : tu cognovi-sti sessi- ó-nem

From the Solesmes Gradual (1895)—The basis of the Vatican Gradual.



Hymn 65 (or 30)

Veni, veni, Emmanuel.

Advent.

Matt. i., 23. • • • "They shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us."

I.
Veni, veni, Emmanuel!
Captivum solve Israel,
Qui gemit in exilio,
Privatus Dei Filio.
Gaude! gaude! Emmanuel
Nascetur pro te, Israel.

II.
Veni, O Jesse virgula!
Ex hostis tuos ungula,
De specu tuos tartari
Educ, et antro barathri.
Gaude! gaude! Emmanuel
Nascetur pro te, Israel.

III.
Veni, veni, O Oriens!
Solare nos adveniens:
Noctis depelle nebulas,
Dirasque noctis tenebras.
Gaude! gaude! Emmanuel
Nascetur pro te, Israel.

IV.
Veni, clavis Davidica!
Regna reclude cœlica,
Fac iter tutum superum,
[illegible] claude vias inferum.
Gaude! gaude! Emmanuel
Nascetur pro te, Israel.

V.
Veni, veni, Adonai!
Qui populo in Sinai
Legem dedisti vertice,
[illegible] majestate gloriæ.
Gaude! gaude! Emmanuel
Nascetur pro te, Israel.

I.
Draw nigh, draw nigh, Emmanuel,
And ransom captive Israel,
That mourns in lonely exile here,
Until the Son of God appear.
Rejoice! Rejoice! Emmanuel
Shall be born for thee, O Israel!

II.
Draw nigh, O Jesse's Rod, draw nigh,
To free [illegible] from the enemy;
From Hell's infernal pit to save,
And give us victory o'er the grave.
Rejoice! Rejoice! Emmanuel
Shall be born for thee, O Israel!

III.
Draw nigh, Thou Orient, Who shalt cheer
And comfort by Thine Advent here,
And banish far the brooding gloom
Of sinful night and endless doom.
Rejoice! Rejoice! Emmanuel
Shall be born for thee, O Israel!

IV.
Draw nigh, draw nigh, O David's Key,
The Heavenly Gate will ope to Thee;
Make safe the way that leads on high,
And close the path to misery.
Rejoice! Rejoice! Emmanuel
Shall be born for thee, O Israel!

V.
Draw nigh, draw nigh, O Lord of Might,
Who to Thy tribes from Sinai's height
In ancient time didst give the law,
In cloud, and majesty, and awe.
Rejoice! Rejoice! Emmanuel
Shall be born for thee, O Israel!

(212)

Veni, veni, Emmanuel.

65 (or 30)

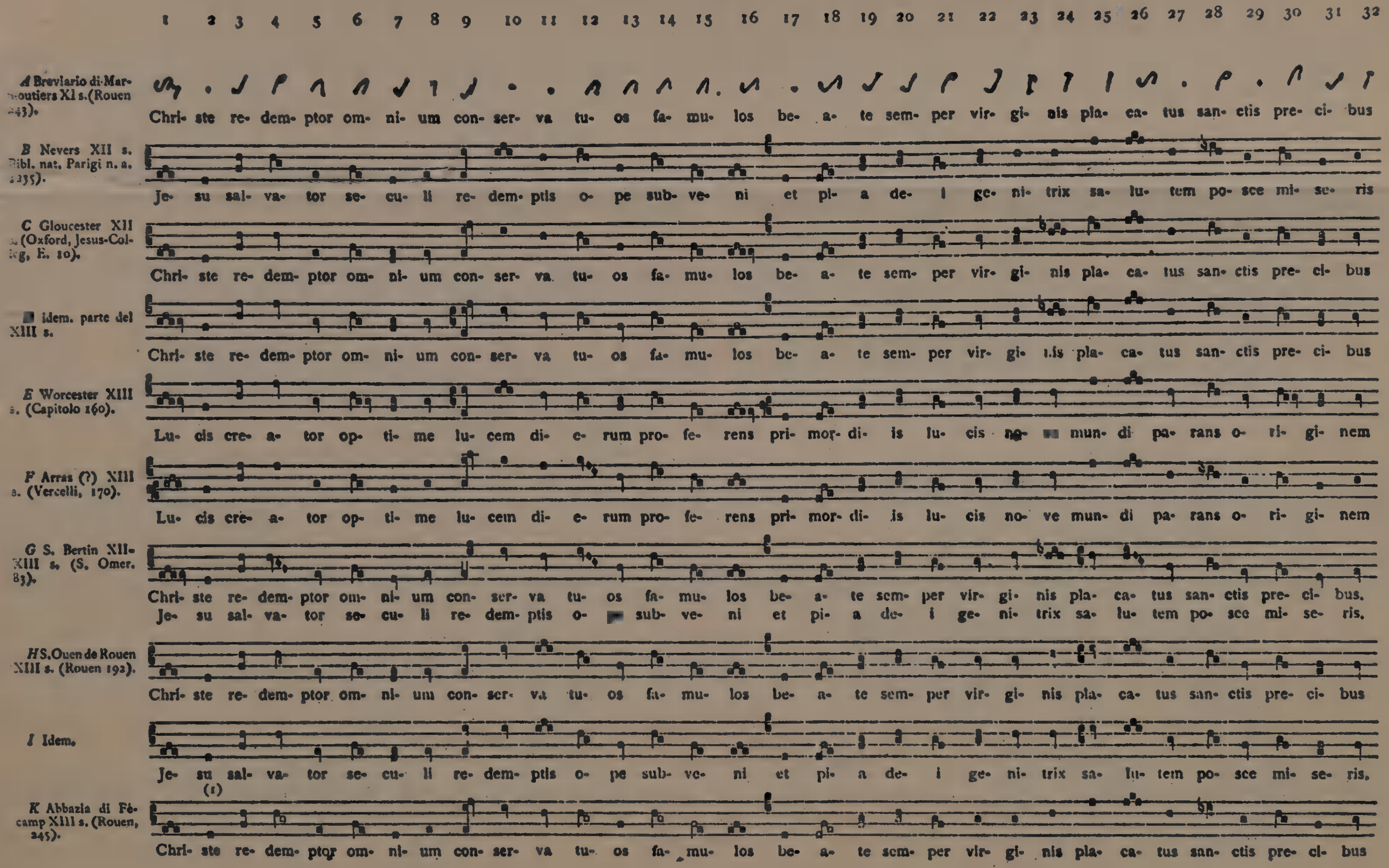
(Hymnal Noted, page 131.)

From a French Missal in the National Library, Lisbon.
Harmonized by the Rev. S. S. Greatheed.

Ve - ni, ve - ni, Em - ma - - - nu - el! Cap - ti - vum sol -
Draw nigh, draw nigh, Em - ma - - - nu - el, And ran - som cap -
- ve Is - ra - el, Qui ge - mit in ex - i - - li - o,
- tive Is - ra - el, That mourns in lone - ly ex - - ile here,
Pri - va - tus De - i Fi - - li - o. Gau - de! Gau - de!
Un - til the Son of God . . . ap - pear. Re - joice! Re - joice!
Em - ma - nu - el Nas - ce - tur pro te, Is - ra - el!
Em - ma - nu - el Shall be born for thee O Is - ra - el!

(213)

Format of the "Hymnal Noted"—two opposite pages. This melody has never been traced to the original source.


1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32
A Breviario di Marmoutiers XI s. (Rouen 243).
Chri- ste re- dem- ptor om- ni- um con- ser- va tu- os fa- mu- los be- a- te sem- per vir- gi- nis pla- ca- tus san- ctis pre- ci- bus
B Nevers XII s. Bibl. nat. Parigi n. a. 3235).
Je- su sal- va- tor se- cu- li re- dem- ptis o- pe sub- ve- ni et pi- a de- i ge- ni- trix sa- lu- tem po- sce mi- se- ris
C Gloucester XII s. (Oxford, Jesus-Coll. E. 10).
Chri- ste re- dem- ptor om- ni- um con- ser- va tu- os fa- mu- los be- a- te sem- per vir- gi- nis pla- ca- tus san- ctis pre- ci- bus
[illegible] Idem. parte del XIII s.
Chri- ste re- dem- ptor om- ni- um con- ser- va tu- os fa- mu- los be- a- te sem- per vir- gi- nis pla- ca- tus san- ctis pre- ci- bus
E Worcester XIII s. (Capitolo 160).
Lu- cis cre- a- tor op- ti- me lu- cem di- e- rum pro- fe- rens pri- mor- di- is lu- cis no- [illegible] mun- di pa- rans o- ri- gi- nem
F Arras (?) XIII s. (Vercelli, 170).
Lu- cis cre- a- tor op- ti- me lu- cem di- e- rum pro- fe- rens pri- mor- di- is lu- cis no- ve mun- di pa- rans o- ri- gi- nem
G S. Bertin XII-XIII s. (S. Omer, 83).
Chri- ste re- dem- ptor om- ni- um con- ser- va tu- os fa- mu- los be- a- te sem- per vir- gi- nis pla- ca- tus san- ctis pre- ci- bus.
Je- su sal- va- tor se- cu- li re- dem- ptis o- [illegible] sub- ve- ni et pi- a de- i ge- ni- trix sa- lu- tem po- sce mi- se- ris.
H S. Ouen de Rouen XIII s. (Rouen 192).
Chri- ste re- dem- ptor om- ni- um con- ser- va tu- os fa- mu- los be- a- te sem- per vir- gi- nis pla- ca- tus san- ctis pre- ci- bus
I Idem.
Je- su sal- va- tor se- cu- li re- dem- ptis o- pe sub- ve- ni et pi- a de- i ge- ni- trix sa- lu- tem po- sce mi- se- ris.
(1)
K Abbazia di Fécamp XIII s. (Rouen, 245).
Chri- ste re- dem- ptor om- ni- um con- ser- va tu- os fa- mu- los be- a- te sem- per vir- gi- nis pla- ca- tus san- ctis pre- ci- bus

An incomplete comparative table used in tracing the traditional melody and rhythm.

clarify the situation existing from 1870 to the early 1900's. There were two objectives: the restoration of the ancient melodies and the rediscovery of the rhythmic principles of the Chant. The first brought Solesmes into conflict with the supporters of the officially approved Ratisbon edition and the second aroused heated arguments from the exponents of the various rhythmic schools. Our principal interest is in the restoration of the traditional melodies, since the rhythmic theories would introduce many technicalities beyond the experience of the general reader.

In order that one might have a clear view of the more important Graduals that played a leading part in this era, we single out three, the parents of many other diocesan Graduals. These are: that of Nivers, the Medicean and the Rheims-Cambrai. The Nivers Gradual was prepared in 1658, approved by Dumont, a leading church composer of the day, and published with the sanction of the King of France. The Rheims-Cambrai Gradual of 1851 commands special notice as it was the parent of the later Solesmes editions.

The Medicean edition, so-called for its sponsor, Cardinal Medici, was hastily prepared by Anerio and Suriano, maestro of St. Peter's at the request of the Italian publisher Raimondi, and appeared in 1614-15.[30] It coincided with the standards of the Renaissance by changing the placing of syllables, altering the melodies and truncating the melismas or florid phrases. Its appearance in 1848, with emendations, as the Mechlin Gradual, revived it and with its tradition of Roman approval it became the basis of the Ratisbon edition of 1871. Pustet, the German publisher of the Ratisbon edition, obtained approval from Rome for the edition with a thirty years privilege as publisher of this official Gradual. As defective as the Ratisbon edition proved to be, one can readily admit that in the midst of multiplied dissimilarity, there was a distinct advantage in an official edition. As a saving grace, the official approbation was limited to encouraging its adoption for it was never ordered for universal use.[31]

In order that the reader may have some idea of the diversity of the French diocesan Graduals we list them for reference.[32] The Nivers Gradual was the basis of the Rennes edition of 1853 and the

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[30] Johner, D., *New School of Gregorian Chant*, p. 190; "Origin of the Medicean Edition," *Tablet* (London) September 6, 1902, pp. 355-7.

[31] Decree of Approbation, May 17, 1873, *The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4, p. 187, Item 101.

[32] Johner, D., *New School of Gregorian Chant*, pp. 191-2; Bouvilliers, Louis, "An Outlook on the Centenary of the Solesmes School of Music," *Caecilia*, Boston, Vol. 62 (wrongly numbered 61) p. 78. This makes no mention of the Paris Gradual, edition of 1846.

Dijon and Digne editions of 1858; the Valfray edition (1669) likewise shows marked similarity to the Nivers Gradual. We can judge the popularity of each of these, for, of the ninety-five French dioceses, the Digne was used in 28 dioceses, the Rheims-Cambrai in 20 and the Rennes in 15.

It is not surprising under these circumstances, that about 1860 Dom Guéranger enlarged the original project of obtaining a proper Office book to include the search for the traditional melodies. Dom Paul Jausions who entered the community of Solesmes in 1856 was directed to make the necessary studies. Dom Jausions is hardly remembered today although he made the earliest Solesmes researches, copying manuscripts laboriously by hand, for the art of photography was not in general use at the time. His calligraphy is of the copper plate variety, akin to the older specimens of the experienced copyists. Some years later Dom Jausions was joined by Dom Joseph Pothier and together they labored for the first fruits.

Meanwhile the Solesmes community developed a style of singing the chant that attracted the attention of Abbé Augustin Gontier, a frequent visitor to Solesmes, and the first to expound its principles. Abbé Gontier presented them at a Congress for Plain Chant held in Paris (1860), the first important announcement outside of Solesmes. Later they were published in a brochure, *Le Plain-Chant, son exécution.*[33]

A few years later Dom Jausions was assigned to other work and while gathering information for a biography of Bishop Bruté, an early bishop of Vincennes, Indiana, (1834-9) and an uncle of Dom Guéranger, Dom Jausions became ill and died at Vincennes (1897).[34] Dom Guéranger lived to see only the first fruits of some fifteen years of research, for he died in 1875. By that time, about 1866, Dom Pothier had completed but delayed the publication of his theoretical study *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes*[35] and the *Liber Gradualis* which gave the traditional melodies in as correct a version as could be attained at the time.[36] In the year of Dom Guéranger's death however, the community was enriched with a new member, a trained musician, who was to become one of the foremost names in the whole school of Solesmes. This was Dom André Mocquereau, who was appointed assistant to Dom Pothier.

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[33] Dean, A., *Solesmes, Its work, etc.* p. 12.

[34] De Brant, Cyr. "Forerunners of the Motu Proprio" *The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, p. 7.

[35] Pothier, Joseph, *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes* (Desclee, Lefebvre, Tournai, 1880). For Brief of commendation by Leo XIII, March 8, 1884, see Romita, Florentius, *Jus Musicae Liturgicae*, p. 280 (Edizioni Liturgiche, Romi, 1947.

[36] Cagin, Paul and Mocquereau, André, "Plain Chant and Solesmes," *Tablet* (London), 1904, p. 722 gives a critique of the preparation of the Gradual.

The first of the Ratisbon books, the *Graduale*, appeared in 1871, and in 1873, and again in 1878, was declared the official edition.[37] The renowned Dr. Francis X. Haberl, known as the editor of a large number of volumes of the complete works of Palestrina and Lasso, was the editor and protagonist for this new edition. He founded the Ratisbon School of Church Music in 1875 and was president of the German Caecilian Society, founded 1868 and approved by the Pope in 1870, which strongly advised and encouraged the use of the official Ratisbon Gradual.[38] These circumstances placed Solesmes at a disadvantage but Dom Pothier and his colleagues did not lose heart. Another discouraging circumstance presented itself, for the anti-clerical spirit in France caused the suppression of the monastery in 1880 and again in 1882 and 1883. This, however, did not prevent the publication of Dom Pothier's *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes* in 1880, a treatise that stirred up discussion in both camps, Ratisbon and Solesmes.

A world-famed Congress of Church music was held in Arezzo in 1882 to study the whole question of plainsong. Actually this was a turning point, because it served to bring before the delegates the claims of both parties.[39] A choir under the direction of Dr. Haberl illustrated the Ratisbon edition and a group of Solesmes monks sang a Mass from proof sheets of the forthcoming Gradual of Dom Pothier. The results had many ramifications but two of them were of importance in the future history of the revival. Dom Mocquereau, a member of the choir, saw only too well the need of further documentation from the manuscripts and envisioned the *Paléographie Musicale* as a simple, if monumental way to conclusive proof of the true traditional melodies. The other concerns a delegate to the Congress, Msgr. Giuseppe Sarto, the Vicar General of Treviso, soon to be Cardinal Sarto, Patriarch of Venice (1895) and eventually Pope Pius X

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[37] Mitterer, Ignaz, *Catholic Church Music*, p. 33 (Catholic Truth Society, London, 1901). The Brief of Pope Leo XIII, November 15, 1878, says, "We recommend it most urgently to the Bishops, and to all who have care of sacred music. In doing so, We are specially prompted by the desire that everywhere and in all dioceses, uniformity with the Roman Church not only in other matters affecting the Liturgy, but also as regards the Chant may be observed." See also citation No. 36.

[38] Apostolic Brief, "Qui movendas animas," *The Catholic Choirmaster* Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, p. 142, Item 17.

[39] *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. 20, 1895, pp. 93-95 "Decree of April 10, 1883, the aftermath of the Council of Arezzo." This will appear shortly in *The Catholic Choirmaster* as it seemingly is unavailable elsewhere.

(1903). One of his first official acts as Pope was the renowned *Motu Proprio* on Church Music of November 22, 1903.[40]

Dom Pothier's *Liber Gradualis* was published the following year (1883) and as noted previously was based on the Rheims-Cambrai Gradual and the Montpellier and St. Gall manuscripts. The Rheims-Cambrai was chosen, for although faulty, it was widely used and with its diocesan approval, Dom Pothier's Gradual was likely to be more acceptable in church circles. Besides, the publisher of the Rheims-Cambrai had been commended by Pope Pius IX. The type faces for the Gradual were designed by Dom Pothier himself and the first printing done at the Solesmes press. In time the printing was turned over to Desclée of Tournai who has printed the Solesmes books since that time.[41]

It was fortunate that the art of photography had sufficiently advanced to make the hand work that plagued the early days a thing of the past. In preparing his *Paléographie Musicale* (1889), a series of facsimiles of important manuscripts furnishing evidence of the researches of Solesmes, and making this knowledge accessible to scholars, the manuscripts and photographs of unavailable manuscripts grew to enormous proportions under Dom Mocquereau's intensive search.[42] The next stage was comparison and study, a task far beyond the work of one man. Fortunately, Dom Mocquereau had prepared for this obstacle by carefully training a small group of young assistants. As these studies proceeded the evidence of a substantial unity in the melodic tradition became more evident. Likewise, it conclusively proved that the Ratisbon Gradual was faulty and indicated that the Ratisbon privilege might not be renewed. The brief of Pope Leo XIII acknowledging the work of Solesmes foreshadowed a return to the traditional melodies.[43]

The next step was the cataloging and collating of the melodic phrases. Here drudgery entered again, for only handwork was adapted to the task. Such was the origin of the synoptic tables which have been so helpful in sustaining the teachings of the Solesmes School. Synoptic tables of this nature were not new, for Bogaerts had already made a limited use of them in 1855 in criticising the Mechlin edition,[44] and Jules Bonhomme, an editor of the Rheims-Cambrai Gradual, used them in a critique of the melodies published in 1857.

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[40] De Brant, Cyr, "Pius X and Church Music," *Fischer Edition News* Catholic Church Music Series, September 1943, p. 1-6. Reprinted in *The Choir Guide*, May 1949.

[41] Cagin, P. and Mocquereau, A. "Plain Chant and Solesmes," *Tablet* (London), 1904, p. 722.

[42] Op. cit. p. 724.

[43] Brief of May 17, 1901. Pope Leo XIII to the Abbot of Solesmes, "Nos quidem," *Tablet* (London) June 8, 1901, p. 893 (Latin); also Letter of Dom Delatte to Pope Leo XIII, *Tablet* (London) June 1, 1901 p. 853.

Dom Mocquereau's explanation of their use is well worth quoting for it is a simple explanation of the plan:

> "Each piece in our repertoire thus had its register or synoptic table made by aligning each version of the passage, one below the other, like or unlike, classified according to the schools or sources, all arranged neum by neum, to be traced either in its persistency, or in variation, or in its corruptions. Thus each table provides at will either the entire history of the passage as a whole or the neumatic account of each of its component parts."

We wholly agree with his conclusion that "no other procedure could leave upon the mind anything better than a vague, disordered incoherent impression. It could give no permanent record, (for reference) . . . of the grounds upon which the text was constructed."[45]

An example of this can be found in the second and third volume of the *Paléographie Musicale*. Here over two hundred separate versions of the Gradual *Justus ut palma* are compared to establish the traditional melody and rhythm. The principle adopted by Solesmes for determining the traditional melody had been established many years before by Dom Guéranger. Briefly formulated it stated: "When manuscripts of different periods and places agree on a version, it can be affirmed that the traditional Gregorian melody had been discovered."[46] The *Paléographie Musicale* is a series of facsimiles of important manuscripts begun by Dom Mocquereau in 1889 to make these documents readily available for scholars and to give evidence for the Solesmes version of the traditional melodies and their rhythmic teachings. At the time of Dom Mocquereau's death in 1930 it had reached thirteen volumes (Series I) and two volumes of Series II.[47]

As a result of these studies of Dom Mocquereau, Solesmes published a second and revised edition of the Gradual, the Solesmes Gradual of

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[44] Bogaerts, P. C. C., *Études sur les livres choroux* (H. Dessain, Malines, 1855). See the appendix of Lambilotte's *Antiphonarie de St. Grégorie* for another type of comparative study.

[45] Cagin, P. and Mocquereau, A. "Plain Chant and Solesmes," *Tablet* (London), 1904, p. 724.

[46] Pothier, Joseph, *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes*, p. 1.

[47] Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Supplementary Volume, (1940). See under Solesmes for the contents of *Paléographie Musicale.*

1895. It was this Gradual which was used as the basis of the Vatican Edition.[48] Although the corrections were of minor importance, Dom Mocquereau could make them with greater surety and confidence. The Solesmes researches as already noted were recognized by Pope Leo XIII in 1901 and again in 1904 by Pope Piux X.[49]

These papal commendations foreshadowed the end of the Ratisbon privilege and Pope Pius X could rightfully say in the decree ordering the preparation of the Vatican Edition, "By our *Motu Proprio* of November 22, 1903, and by the subsequent decree published at Our Order by the Congregation of Sacred Rites on January 8, 1904, we have restored to the Church her ancient Gregorian Chant."[50] Rome also realized that a thirty year privilege granted to a publisher could be an obstacle to progress, for the continued use of the defective Ratisbon edition was guaranteed until the privilege expired. The point was not overlooked and the Vatican Edition was made available to all publishers provided they fulfilled certain conditions to insure the accuracy of their edition.[51]

Another step in the recognition of Solesmes was the "conversion" of the Rev. Angelo di Santi, S. J., a teacher at the Roman Seminary. To further the revival of the Chant he had translated the *Magister Choralis* of Haberl into Italian, but as the years passed he saw the authority of Solesmes and became one of the leading advocates in the cause of reform. He was among those who appealed to Rome to prohibit the Ratisbon edition.[52] Furthermore, he was in a position of influence, and it is strongly believed by some that he was closely connected with the writing of the *Motu Proprio* of Pius X.[53] In 1910, he obtained the approval of Pope Pius X to open a Pontifical School of Sacred Music in Rome which was later directed by Dom Paulo Ferretti (until 1938), and by Dom Gregorio Suñol until his death (1946). At present, the Director is Msgr. Igino Anglès.

It was to Dom Pothier that Pius X turned in 1904 to head the commission for the preparation of the Vatican Edition.[54] The committee met but once and the fear that prolonged scholarly discussions would delay the practical edition sought for, brought about a change in the plan which left the preparation largely in the hands of the President of the Commission, Dom Pothier.[55] In 1904 the thirteen hundredth anniversary of the death of Gregory the Great, from whom the Gregorian Chant received its name, was celebrated with special splendor to signify to the world the revival of the ancient traditional Chant.

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[48] *The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3. p. 137, Item 47, section 6.

[49] Op. cit. Vol. XXIX, No. 3, p. 141, Item 50.

[50] Op. cit. Vol. XXIX, No. 2, p. 91, Item 44.

[51] Op. cit., Vol. XXIX, No. 1, p. 46. Item 32; *Church Music*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Decree of August 11, 1905, pp. 250-4.

[52] Dean, A., *Solesmes, Its Work* etc. p. 17.

[53] Manzetti, Leo P., "Rev. Angelo di Santi, S. J.," *The Catholic Chormaster*, Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 38-40. In spite of these rumors a critical examination of his Pastoral Letter of 1895 (*The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 3, p. 142 Item 51) shows some identical passages.

[54] *The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, p. 47, Item 48.

The new books were issued gradually, the *Kyriale* in 1905, the *Gradual* in 1908 and the *Antiphonal* in 1912. We recall that the Ratisbon edition, although enjoying an official approval was only recommended for use, but the Vatican Edition was made the official Chant of the Church and ordered in all churches.[56]

The rhythm of the Chant has been more heatedly debated than the restoration of the melodies. The fundamental principles were first defined in detail by Dom Pothier in *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes*. They were further developed by the genius and prolonged studies of Dom Mocquereau who produced Volume I of his *Nombre Musical Grégorien* in 1908 but delayed the second volume until 1926. The rhythm of the Chant is free, a principle laid down by the Sacred Congregation of Rites,[57] and not measured as we know it in our modern scores with regular divisions and accents. Diversity of opinion in regard to the rhythm is easily accounted for; free rhythm was a lost art that had to be recovered. Nevertheless, even if Solesmes is not entirely correct, we have a beautiful and scientific method, and, above all, a uniformity in results that is not obtained by other "rhythmic schools." For this reason it is possible to bring choirs together from distant cities and assemble them with an assurance of unanimity in style and interpretation. This is made possible by the rhythmic signs found in the Solesmes editions, signs culled from the ancient rhythmic manuscripts. The Sacred Congregation of Rites has permitted these additions as long as they do not change the shape of the notes and their purpose or meaning as given in the Vatican Edition.[58]

The revival was a costly one. Before the Vatican Edition was published, over a half century of devoted sacrifice, endless research and scholarly study had been devoted to the cause. It has revived the traditional melodies and returned them to use as a sacred trust. This strenuous effort alone should make us realize the priceless value of our heritage.

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[55] Op. cit., Vol. XXX, No. 1, p. 42, Item 58; and Vol. XXIX, No. 3., p. 137, Item 47.

[56] Op. cit., Vol. XXIX, No. 1, p. 43, Item 32.

[57] *White List*, p. 23 (Society of St. Gregory of America, New York, 1947).

[58] *The Catholic Choirmaster*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, p. 137, Item 91.

SUGGESTIONS FOR READING AND STUDY

The following is a practical list. For an extensive bibliography in several languages see Gustave Reese, "Music in the Middle Ages."

GENERAL READING

Catholic Encyclopedia:—Antiphonary, Ambrosian Chant, Ecclesiastical Music, Gregorian Chant, Gregorian Modes, Guéranger, Hymnody, Kyriale, Lambilotte, Motu Proprio (Pius X).

Lexikon fur Theologie und Kirche, herausgegeben von Michael Buchberger, Bischof von Regensburg. (Freiburg im Bresigan, und St. Louis, Missouri, 1930-1938, 10 volumes).

Dean, Aldhelm, *Solesmes, Its Work for the Liturgy and Chant* (Society of St. Gregory, Pamphlet No. 6, Birmingham, England).

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Gajard, Joseph, *The Rhythm of Plainsong*, Translated by Dom A. Dean (J. Fischer & Bro., New York, New York 1945). Highly recommended for the general reader.

Huegle, Gregory, *Catechism of Gregorian Chant*, (J. Fischer & Bro., New York, New York 1931).

Hughes, Anselm, *Liturgical Terms for Students* (McLaughlin & Reilly Co., Boston, Mass., 1940). Out of print.

Johner, Dominic, *New School of Gregorian Chant*, (Fred. Pustet & Co., New York, New York and Cincinnati, Ohio, 1925).

Johner, Dominic, *Chants of the Vatican Gradual*, (St. John Abbey Press, Collegeville, Minn., 1940). This is now published by the Gregorian Institute, Toledo 2, Ohio.

Nemmers, Erwin Esser, *Twenty Centuries of Catholic Church Music*, (Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wis., 1949).

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Benedictines of Standbrook, *Grammar of Plainsong*, (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, London, England, 1934, 3rd edition).

Johner, Dominic, *New School of Gregorian Chant*, (Fred. Pustet, New York, New York and Cincinnati, Ohio, 1925).

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Wagner, Peter, *Introduction to the Gregorian Chant Melodies*, (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, London, England, 1907). Out of print.

Ward, Justine B., *Music Fourth Year*, (Catholic Education Press, Washington, D. C., 1923).

GREGORIAN CHANT ACCOMPANIMENT

Bragers, Achille, *A Short Treatise of Gregorian Chant Accompaniment*, (Carl Fischer, Inc., New York, New York, 1934).

Peeters, Flor, *A Practical Method of Plain-Chant Accompaniment*, (H. Dessain, Malines, Belgium, 1949).

Potiron, Henri, *Treatise on the Accompaniment of Gregorian Chant*, Translated by Ruth Gabin (Desclée & Cie, Tournai, Belgium, 1933).

Potier, Chanoine F., *L'art de L'accompagnement du Chant Gregorien*, (Desclée & Cie, Tournai, Belgium, 1946). A chapter on the history of Chant Accompaniment is valuable.

GREGORIAN CHANT ACCOMPANIMENTS

Kyriale

Bas, Giulio (Desclée & Cie, Tournai, Belgium, 1921).
Bragers, Achille (McLaughlin and Reilly Co., Boston, Mass., 1937).
Desrocquettes, Jean H. and Potiron, Henri (Desclée & Cie, Tournai, Belgium, 1929).
Lapierre, Eugène (Gregorian Institute, Toledo, Ohio, 1946).
Manzetti, Leo P. (J. Fischer & Bro., New York, New York, 1906).
Rossini, Carlo, (J. Fischer & Bro., New York, New York, 1942).

Gradual

Bas, Giulio (Desclée & Cie, Tournai, Belgium, 1922).
Bragers, Achille (McLaughlin and Reilly Co., Boston, Mass., 1947).
Desrocquettes, Jean H. and Potiron, Henri (Desclée & Cie, Tournai, Belgium, 1934).

Hymns and Motets

Bragers, Achille, *Chant Motet Book*, (McLaughlin and Reilly Co., Boston, Mass., 1939).
Rossini, Carlo, *Laus et Jubilatio*, (J. Fischer & Bro., New York, New York, 1942).

These books may be obtained through the following publishers:—

J. Fischer & Bro., 119 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.
McLaughlin and Reilly Co., 45 Franklin Street, Boston 10, Mass.

THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

REV. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, Ph.D. *Editor*

XVI

The Hymn Festival Movement In America

by

REGINALD L. MCALL, Mus.D.

THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA
NEW YORK CITY
1951

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I. INTRODUCTION

A Hymn Festival may be defined as a service of Divine worship, in which spiritual truths are expressed and celebrated chiefly through hymns. In addition to this primary aim, it can promote virile and meaningful congregational singing of familiar and unfamiliar hymns and tunes. For this reason, those services which consist chiefly of practical demonstrations of hymns are included in the present discussion. The emphasis throughout being on congregational participation, the present Hymn Festival movement is, in part, an attempt to raise the quality and significance of the hymns employed each Sunday.

Hymns have been a precious possession of the Christian Church from its earliest days. We have frequent references to their use in those times, but in later centuries, partly due to the fact that Greek and Latin were almost the only languages used in the church, and partly to the edicts which forebade women and, later, men of the laity to share audibly in those parts of the Mass which were sung, there was no singing of hymns by the people. When the Reformation spread it was to the sound of new songs in each native tongue, set to music based on traditional melodies, or to new tunes written as required. Thus came into being the German and other chorales, the Genevan and Scottish metrical Psalms, with their distinctive melodies, and the later hymns and tunes which, as Martin Luther said, "gave wings" to the teachings of the reformers.

The Reformation was aided greatly by the freedom of the people to take part in Divine worship through song in their own language. These new hymns and paraphrases, joined to suitable melodies, touched the hearts of the singers. The last four centuries have witnessed a vast output of versified Psalms, and hymns by Watts, the Wesleys and many later writers in countries where the Reformation took root. The work of these hymnists reflected and sustained the spiritual beliefs of their times, for a hymn always mirrors the spirit of the age in which it is written. With the emergence of these new hymns for the new times came the application of the printing press to both the lyrics and their music. The texts — and to a less degree the tunes also — came into the hands of worshippers everywhere.

The present heritage of Christian hymns has come from many sources, and we are now rediscovering it. Never has there been such a wealth of available hymns as at the present time. Modern hymnological research and the encouragement of hymn writing have produced hymnals containing far more sound material than any one congregation may hope to assimilate; but a combination of hymnic knowledge with continued exercise by actual singing will aid in its exploitation. One fact is clear: a new hymn book does not promote itself. Only constant effort will increase willingness to try unfamiliar hymns and tunes and provide the people with opportunities to master them, so that they may be added to the materials for well-unified worship services.

Informal gatherings for the special purpose of singing hymns have real value. Hymn singing periods during parish meetings are often possible: sometimes the hymns are chosen by those present. Some of us recall the thrill of hearing our own favorite hymns sung at such times. The next step is the holding of practical demonstrations or rehearsals of desirable hymns, and their gradual introduction in public worship. This leads to those services of hymns which we call Hymn Festivals.

II. THE RISE OF MODERN HYMN FESTIVALS

Emphasis on hymn singing is not new. In the past there was frequent use of the hymn book in the home and, under favorable musical as well as spiritual conditions, new hymns and tunes were tried. In public worship, whenever both pastor and organist were alert, hymns have been given their true value.

A test of such alertness is willingness to learn fine new and unfamiliar tunes. A valuable hymn may easily find acceptance, because it not only fills a definite devotional need, but has been matched with a well-known tune. This process, at its best, can be called "mating." Such mating takes into account rhythmic smoothness, mood, melodic fitness and so forth, as well as avoidance of tunes that have associations with many other hymns. But mating is not confined to familiar tunes. Sometimes an old tune deserves rediscovery, and a certain number of new tunes should be created where adequate familiar ones are lacking.

For a conspicuous example of public hymn singing on a high plane, we turn to Wales, and to those communities where Welsh folk are found. In the middle of the nineteenth century Ieuan Gwyllt (Rev. John Roberts) stirred the whole country, organizing practices in churches everywhere, whose people met together periodically for festivals. He organized the Cymanfa Ganu, or singing festivals, to encourage a love for hymns and hymn tunes. These festivals received a great stimulus later from John Curwen, who brought music to every home through his tonic sol-fa notation, thus making part-singing possible as never before. Such mass singing of hymns is practiced by Welsh communities in the United States, and various Cymanfa Ganu are held each year, chiefly in the East. It is a stirring experience to attend one of these gatherings, at which people from hundreds of miles around engage in a whole day of hymn singing exercises.

Shortly after its formation in 1922 the Hymn Society of America recognized the importance of services in which hymns should be stressed. About the year 1930 festivals of hymns in this country were taking on a definite pattern, carried out with great diversity, but always recognizable as hymnic services. In 1934 the suggestion was made to hold such festivals on the Sunday nearest to St. Cecilia's Day, which fortunately fell just before Thanksgiving Day, and many Hymn Festivals were held at that time. But other occasions were speedily found, inspired by the variety of subjects that lent themselves to celebration through hymns. Those with skill and imagination in the field of public worship experimented in designing hymnic services. Many successful programs, chiefly of a thematic pattern, were carried through, and the holding of such services became quite widespread. A committee of the Hymn Society undertook to collect information about them and to make it available for general use, and the next decade saw the movement spread throughout the country. Some churches held Festivals periodically; year by year there was improvement in the character of the programs.

The development of Hymn Festivals in America today follows a general pattern. They are normally undertaken first in a community through the initiative of individuals in a single church, who have scanned the programs of Festivals elsewhere, and are attracted by reports of their success. When only one church is involved, the problems of choosing a subject, employing varied materials effectively and introducing some unfamiliar hymns, are relatively simple.

The success of such a venture may lead to union Festivals with other churches, and today the majority of Hymn Festivals are held by groups of churches. Here the initiative may still lie with the pioneer or host church, cooperation being secured from other churches in its own Communion or locality, or from the American Guild of Organists and other associations of church musicians, together with local councils of churches, women's musical clubs, public school choruses, etc. The planning may be done under the direct auspices of one or more of these bodies, but the leadership of any church that has already had experience with such gatherings will be invaluable. Obviously, new factors are added when Festivals are undertaken by more than one church alone. Different hymnals are used by most of the guest churches, and the attempt to choose what may be found in them all may limit the selection, unless supplementary hymns are added. The goal at present is to have both words and music in the hands of *all who are to sing them.* Other problems arise, which will be dealt with later.

III. ORGANIZATION OF A HYMN FESTIVAL

1. ***Inventory of resources.*** The first step in the organization of a Hymn Festival is an inventory of the vocal resources and hymnic materials at command. In most churches hymns are now a prime element in the Christian training of their children and youth, among whom graded sing-

ing units are generally formed. Following the modern conception of Christian nurture through the church school and related secular activities for youth, music is given a high place in parish and fellowship gatherings, youth conferences and summer camps. The songs used in such worship take on an aura of mystic ecstacy. People may shudder perhaps at the rawness of some of the key songs; but we believe that the present emphasis on choral study for all ages is exposing young folk to finer choices. Christian education is beginning to regard music as highly as does general education. Here is the hymnic nursery of a church, and Hymn Festivals should give junior and youth elements an independent share in the singing. In addition the adult choir will include hymns in its weekly rehearsals, regarding them seriously as part of its responsibility. Thus hymns are given their true place in public worship, and an unfamiliar tune when once heard can be learned with ease.

Next, the hymnal is explored for hymns that are desirable for a festival service. Hymn leaflets are sometimes necessary in order to introduce additional hymns which deserve a place in the growing repertoire of that particular church. Experience has shown that some hymn books can easily yield material for a good variety of Hymn Festivals, while others may only furnish enough for a very few services, unless the practical purpose of enlarging the singing repertory of the church is disregarded.

2. ***A valid design*** for the Festival is a prime requisite. It should have a definite framework and sequence, depending on the specific purpose it fulfills. Three main types of Festivals are described on pages 7 and 8. If thematic in type, a Festival should have definite headings or divisions, illustrated and developed through hymns, with accompanying elements of Scripture, prayer and generally of meditation. Among the subjects chosen for effective programs of this kind are: "Christ in the world," "A perpetual Covenant," "The Apostles' Creed," "In everything give thanks," "Man in God's world today," "The Christian pilgrim," "The Christian adventure;" with some more topical subjects — "Hymn cycle of the day," "Hymns of the nations," "Heritage of folk tunes in the hymnal," and others.

The general arrangement of the Festival is often suggested by the form of worship of the individual church. It may cover briefly the essentials of adoration, confession and thanksgiving, after which the special theme is announced and followed; or the whole service may be devoted to the development of the chosen theme.

3. ***Variety of Selection*** is extremely important in choosing the hymns and tunes suitable for a Festival, both as to mood and form. This demands ingenuity in bringing suitable elements together, both unfamiliar and familiar. While a successful Festival has unity of design, well-varied treatment will prevent it from dragging or becoming monotonous.

4. ***Creative Thought*** is the mark of an inspiring Festival program. A good example is the responsive reading mentioned in example No. 6 on page 9. It consists of selections taken from seven of the Festival hymns. The reading has distinction in every line and compares favorably with similar excerpts from the Psalms. It possesses a startling timeliness as it reviews the Advent theme, as follows: Looking for a Star; Guidance to the infant Redeemer; The present struggle of right against wrong; The rout of evil; The promise of the reign of David's greater Son. This liturgic element was compiled by a minister who was convinced that it would serve to bring the theme home to all those present, partly because they would be reading it aloud together. We discovered recently how difficult it is to prepare such readings when we tried to furnish a similar responsive reading from hymns which had been selected for another Festival.

5. ***Place of the Spoken Word.*** The spoken word is very effective in connection with the subdivisions of a Hymn Festival. It can be in the form of short meditations; these may take three directions. Some of them supply a background for the hymns — their origin, purpose and music. Others illustrate the spiritual ideas that have governed the choice of the hymns. Others again exhort people to sing, and emphasize their share in the music of worship. Such discourses should not try to cover too much ground. We have known cases where two or three five-minute meditations gave character to the entire Festival. In any event, they must be prepared with great care.

6. ***Embellishments.*** Variety in the hymns can be achieved through effective choral and other embellishments. First come descants, with or without changes of harmony. Free organ accompaniment *can* be introduced without creating distraction.[1]

Hymn tunes, especially chorales, have inspired the organ preludes of the past, and free fantasie treatments of tunes are now being composed in great numbers.[2] As preludes for a Festival such compositions are ideal, and they form good interludes when based on chorales that are being used in the service. A caution may be in order. Organists often select lovely but subdued solo tones for the appearance of the melody in a chorale prelude. This melody may be distinguished by those accustomed to attend organ recitals, but it is not so easily recognized by a whole congregation. The entrance of the melody should be perfectly clear, especially when given out by the left hand or on the pedals. In the latter no tones of 16 ft. pitch should be used. In one Festival[3] each of ten hymns was *followed* by an organ prelude based on its tune. This has a real advantage. If the people have just sung the hymn — of course in unison — they will follow the organ embellishment with more satisfaction. It is worth noting that while three of the composers represented in the Festival — Karg-Elert, Kienzl and Reger — were active in this century, all but one of the others lived in the 16th to 18th centuries. That was a golden age for melody.

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[1] Anything which makes people hesitate or stop to listen, when their singing should be an integral part of the total effect, is faulty in either design or execution.

[2] See the listing of chorale preludes in the Episcopal *Hymnal 1940 Companion.*

[3] Hymn-Tune Service, Western Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C., 1939.

Another thrilling embellishment is secured by the use of brass instruments, if only for the congregational hymns. In addition, some churches can attempt compositions for organ ensembles with brass, strings and wood wind instruments. Today composers turn increasingly to these combinations, partly because leaders in the Hymn Festival movement are seeking such works. As a matter of fact, requests for compositions in these musical forms are welcomed by capable composers. In particular the massive chorale melodies seem to appeal to them.

IV. TYPES OF HYMN FESTIVALS

From a study of many programs it is possible to analyze the objectives and content of the worship materials used. As a result Hymn Festivals or services emphasizing hymns are here grouped into three general types. These may be defined as thematic and programmatic types, while the third type includes services which consist chiefly of public demonstrations or rehearsals, when all those present study well-selected hymns and tunes.

Type I. The *Thematic* Type is an actual service of Divine worship, quite specialized in design, in which hymns receive major emphasis. It has a distinct thematic sequence, based on a spiritual concept, perhaps suggested by the seasons of the ecclesiastical year.

Type II. This is the *Topical* form of Festival, presenting an arrangement of material according to some classification which is not primarily thematic. It may have such a subject as hymns by English, continental or American writers, or hymns selected from certain periods in the history of the Church. This pattern of service has a connecting sequence, but it is not so much an act of worship as a setting forth of hymns in such form as will attract and inspire the people.

These two types may overlap; they have no clear dividing line. It may be repeated that in either of them one or more brief meditations are entirely appropriate.

Type III. The *Demonstration* Type is a congregational hymn rehearsal or demonstration. The late Canon Charles Winfred Douglas was a master in conducting such programs. Dean Robert G. McCutchan, Dr. Earl E. Harper, Dr. Hugh Ross, Dr. H. Augustine Smith and others have had marked success in directing such periods of congregational hymn study. Sometimes a congregation is given practice in its hymn singing at a regular Sunday service devoted to this purpose.

In these forms of Hymn Festivals congregational participation is encouraged by giving the people the thrill of sturdy unison singing of familiar hymns, by varying the treatment of the hymns, and by the compelling sequence of a service which allows the whole congregation a substantial share in its exposition. Such virile singing is aided by the leadership given by the choir.

V. ILLUSTRATIONS OF TYPES I, II, AND III

The following examples of Hymn Festivals of thematic type (I) will illustrate their organization and content.

A Festival on the theme "A Perpetual Covenant" took place in a small church[4] which had always held its hymn singing in high esteem, beginning with the smallest children in the Bible School. The divisions of this theme were as follows: Established in youth; Strengthened in worship; Expressed in service; Fulfilled in eternity. After the hymnic prelude the choir entered the church to the sound of well-paced organ music. Short passages of Scripture were read or recited between the hymns; a very brief pastoral meditation headed each section. One hymn was read. Two strong descants were used — one with unchanged and the other with changed harmonies. The congregation participated in the singing of eleven hymns. The only separate choral number was the setting by Stainer for the ancient hymn "Hail, gladdening Light," in chant form. Each division of the Festival was a well-rounded unit.

"The Christian Adventure" was the subject of another program.[5] Following an appropriate element of general worship which included an effective litany the theme was developed under these headings: Resources for the adventure; Courage for the adventure; Victory through adventure. Each division was commenced with a meditation. This service was inter-denominational and was enriched by three Hebrew elements. The call to worship was the Shofar Song; the anthem "All Thy works praise Thee" used a traditional Hebrew melody, and the second meditation was given by a Rabbi attached to the student body of the neighboring University.

A good example of a Festival devoted entirely to the chosen theme — which in this instance was that of the Advent season — took as its title "Hope and Expectation in the Hymns of Advent."[6] The program was developed to include the following: the Advent responsive reading, referred to on page 7; three Advent hymns by the whole congregation; Bach's prelude on Nicolai's FRANKFURT which preceded the singing by the forty choirs present of the English version used with this tune — "O Morning star, how fair and bright." Finally, "Once to every man and nation" was allotted to the entire assembly. All the music was hymnic, including three organ numbers based on hymn tunes. The congregation sang five hymns and the massed choirs sang four. The congregational hymns were all in the hymnal of the host church. A hymn pamphlet which gave *all* the hymns and tunes to be used throughout the service was provided in advance for the choirs, so that the hymns could be studied at their separate rehearsals. This was an impressive celebration through hymns of a universally observed season of the Christian year. The service was remarkable for its simplicity and the strength and spirituality of its content.

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[4] Church of the Covenant, N.Y.C.

[5] Indianola Methodist Church, Columbus, Ohio, 1937, sponsored by Central Ohio Chapter, A.G.O.

[6] The fourth annual hymn festival in Toledo, Ohio, 1940, sponsored by the A.G.O. and the Hymn Society of America. Responsive reading prepared by the Rev. A. Herbert Haslam.

The thematic type is also well exemplified by a series of six Festival services designed and sponsored by one very active church.[7] The first two programs were given in 1941: each contained a general worship sequence, followed by a specific theme developed in hymns. Each service allotted half a dozen hymns to the congregation. This church then decided to promote an annual Hymn Festival on a larger city-wide scale. The first of these, in 1943, was based on "Hymns of the Church in wartime." It had three somewhat topical divisions, each with appropriate Scripture; the congregation, accompanied by a brass quartet, sang a dozen hymns. The choir singers, numbering 250, were distributed in the chancel, nave and rear gallery, where the youth choirs were placed. There was real variety in the treatment of hymn stanzas. The service created great enthusiasm: a crowd which more than filled the church sang "without restraint — with spiritual force." No programs were left in the pews. Each choir felt a stimulus toward more emphasis on hymns, as did the entire congregation. The following year the subject was "Hymns of the Nations," featuring three Christian goals in citizenship, treated in thematic fashion. Time was allotted for an address on hymn singing.

A year later, with the end of the Second World War, the Festival had for its theme "Songs in the night." This was divided most naturally thus: The voice of evening; The song of the stars; The light of dawn. A five-minute meditation linked the message of the hymns, showing how, though often born out of bitter struggle, pain and affliction, their writers had found God in the shadows and the music of victory in pain. These were songs of triumph. Two new hymns were read responsively with telling effect. If choral music had found a place in the Festival how appropriate would have been Huntington Woodman's anthem setting of the text "A song in the night." The fourth and last annual service of the series was entitled "Credo — in song." It attained a real correlation of thematic divisions with their hymnic illustrations. For example, under the heading "In Jesus Christ" occur the hymns "Hail to the Lord's Anointed," "Fairest Lord

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[7] Second Presbyterian Church, Washington, Pa., Edward H. Johe, organist.

Jesus," and "When I survey the wondrous Cross." Later in the service the hymn "Come, labor on" was read responsively. Treatment of the hymns by antiphonal stanzas and occasional unison singing was effective. An offering was received, to be devoted to Christian social work.

From such a series of Hymn Festivals as this, prepared and carried out year after year by the same experts in worship and music, and with about the same choral units each year, valuable lessons may be gathered. In this case there was improvement in the integration of material under the chosen headings, culminating in the service which celebrated the Apostles' Creed in song. Giving stanzas of various hymns to different groups was found effective. Some stanzas were carried by men's or women's voices in unison, some by the choirs alone, others by the congregation alone. A few hymns were printed without any directions, allowing part-singing for those who preferred it.

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Festivals of the Topical type (II) differ from those of Type I chiefly in their objective. In Festivals of Type I the purpose is to vary the usual form of public worship by developing the spiritual subject through hymns. Festivals of Type II are well described through concrete examples such as the following:

"Worship through music."[8] This contained three divisions: hymns of praise, hymns of unusual musical interest and hymns of contemporary Christianity. The service had real dignity as well as marked worship value.

"Festival of hymns of faith, hope and brotherhood."[9] The service opened with a short liturgical element.

Hymn Festival[10] demonstrating the following: hymns for general use; hymns both ancient and modern, chorales, less familiar hymns. This is the first service described in these pages which emphasized unfamiliar tunes.

"The treasures of our hymnal".[11] In this service, after a brief address came four groups of hymns — ancient, of the reformation period, nineteenth century and modern.

"Hymns from New England,"[12] under these headings: Christian patriotism, the Pilgrim fathers, the eternal God, God's Son is born, inner peace, justice, freedom and social progress, the house of God — the Church. While the hymns were all chosen geographically, they were used under valid subject titles. The senior and youth choirs were heard separately.

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[8] Seminar on Worship, First Methodist Church, Erie, Pa., 1949.

[9] Central Presbyterian Church, Montclair, N.J., 1947. Eight choirs.

[10] Brown University Choir, 1949.

[11] St. Peter's Evangelical—Reformed Church, St. Louis, Mo., 1949, sponsored by the E. and R. organists' guild of St. Louis.

[12] First Congregational Church, South Haven, Mich., 1949.

Several other services of this type can be summarized briefly. One important program[13] featured hymn texts from nine countries, all with helpful annotations. In another service, under the theme "One world in Christ", hymn tunes from ten countries were employed to good advantage. The texts of four of the hymns, not being in the hymnal, were printed. The choir singers included 150 juniors from 6 to 17 years old. In yet another program[14] there was choral singing of three lesser known hymns, while seven countries contributed to a hymnic meditation called "A family of nations through Christ."

One excellent festival of American hymns included three Christmas Carols. Another was based on the chief types of hymn tunes — plainsong, carol, folk song, chorale, Psalter, ending with modern congregational tunes. Real originality was shown in a service entitled "A heritage of folk tunes."[15] The music of three of the hymns which had just been sung was heard again, in choral or organ numbers.

Many services today follow historical outlines. In one case "Hymn singing through the centuries" included hymns from the Reformation period, largely with contemporary tunes. Christian hymns, stemming — so far as possible — from every century since Christ, have been collated. Dr. H. Augustine Smith has devised a varied service program of this order, in which some hymns are read by the minister or narrator, a few are allotted to the choir, half a dozen are sung by all present, one may be read responsively. A list of many alternative hymns is added. This pattern of festival has proved attractive. When suitably annotated it reveals much about the earlier hymns of Christendom, the countries they represent, the circumstances under which they appeared, the personal experiences of their authors, the special purposes for which they were written, their place in the public worship of Christians. Equally interesting facts can be related about the tunes.

We have described the way in which a Hymn Festival may replace a part or even all of the usual order of worship, but sometimes the liturgic structure is retained, various elements of it being replaced by hymns. Two interesting examples may be cited, both in Episcopal churches. The first was an afternoon service[16] at which hymns were used in place of the canticles and anthem. Twenty choirs from churches large and small took part, and ten congregational hymns were distributed throughout the service. It was sponsored by The Commission on Music of the Diocese.

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[13] First Presbyterian Church, Greensboro, N.C., 1947.

[14] First Presbyterian Church, Wilkesbarre, Pa., 1946.

[15] Church of the Covenant, Erie, Pa., 1939, Edward H. Johe, organist.

[16] Church of St. Michael and All Angels, Baltimore, Md., 1947.

The other, combining features of the second and third types, was held in place of the regular morning service.[17] It was for the purpose of "Acquainting the congregation with the new Episcopal *Hymnal 1940.*" Instead of the three usual canticles hymns were employed, and the sermon consisted of the singing of six hymns directed by the organist who gave comments on each of them. Five of the tunes were unfamiliar, including the exquisite setting by Parratt for "I need Thee every hour," No. 438 (2). (On inquiry it was learned that the rector occupied the organ bench for the "sermon" hymns.) Employing fourteen hymns altogether, this service afforded a good opportunity for exercise in using worship music. Similar substitutions have been observed in service programs received from Lutheran churches.

In Type III the element of instruction is the distinguishing characteristic, for it consists of services in which hymns and tunes are to be studied.

The conduct of these congregational rehearsals calls for special qualifications in the leader. Among them are knowledge of the techniques of handling massed singing and singers, and a clear and spacious concept of the individual hymns and tunes. His selections always include some unfamiliar tunes, for the rehearsal gives ample opportunity to teach such tunes, thereby encouraging some in the congregation to add to their repertoire. The man in the pew is surprised to find how easy it is to grasp an unfamiliar tune, and he becomes more inclined to trust the judgment of the expert in their selection. Lastly, such a conductor understands the function of the organ in accompanying the voices. This requisite for success is often overlooked; many an important Hymn Festival has been handicapped by too rapid, too loud, or muddy and mechanical organ playing. As a rule the organist of the host church is best fitted to be the service accompanist.

A few Festival programs of hymnic rehearsals or demonstrations (Type III) will indicate their scope and methods.

At a demonstration of hymns both familiar and unfamiliar, in Canada[18], the Precentor of the Diocese was in charge, with the assistance of a fine choral society. The parish hall of the host church was used — a very large auditorium, but with only a piano available. (It is recorded that while its present church building was being erected and the Sunday worship was held in this same hall for many months without an organ, the congregational singing actually improved.) The choral leadership of course was effective, but the absence of a large organ did not seem to militate against the singing of the hymns. Organ accompaniment of hymns is designed, not for people to "lean on," but to give crispness to rhythm, variety of color and volume to suit the text, reinforcement to the bass notes — judiciously, — and only at major climaxes to dominate, for a phrase or two.

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[17] St. John's Church, Yonkers, N.Y., 1950.

[18] St. Paul's Church, Toronto. The Tallis Choir, John Cozens, Conductor.

Another Diocesan festival,[19] conducted by the late Canon Charles Winfred Douglas, took the form of a shortened Evensong, followed at the third collect by the study of eight hymns with tunes, reprinted from the proof sheets of the Episcopal *Hymnal 1940.* A four-page program contained all stanzas of the hymns, while photo-offset sheets gave the melodies with the first stanzas. The selection of these hymns showed great skill. Three quite unfamiliar tunes were used, while several of the texts were new. An evening hymn, with some stanzas divided between men only and women only, was followed by the exquisite hymn "Dost Thou in a manger lie?" in which boy choristers personified the Saviour in the intercessory second stanza. The service ended on a note of real grandeur, "God of our fathers" being sung to VATER UNSER, climaxed in turn by Mendelssohn's organ variations on this chorale as the postlude.

Two annual Episcopal Conventions in Los Angeles[20] featured Hymn Festivals under a Diocesan Commission on Church Music. Each of them was a genuine demonstration, for the conductors and organists were eminent church musicians. On the programs the names of authors and composers were given, as well as the names of the tunes. About a dozen hymns were studied each year, one-third of them being unfamiliar. This proportion has proved satisfactory elsewhere.

Another demonstration[21] deserves mention here if only because of a comment by its conductor. The congregation, said he, became quite responsive after some practice, and "the full *soft* effect of the massed singing on the Passion Chorale was *very moving.*" Such flexibility is a testimonial to the quality of well-conducted mass singing. We are apt to be content with thrilling fortissimos, while we fail to explore the less common beauty of soft singing; a pianissimo effect may be a revelation of true spiritual emotion. Perhaps we under-estimate the capacity of lay groups to sing with musical expression. Yet with an inspired conductor nearly all things are possible.

From the experience of those who have prepared and conducted Hymn Festivals the following practical suggestions may be added. The trained singers from the various churches rehearse the music in advance, and any descants have adequate rehearsal by all the sopranos assigned to them, under the same conditions as at the Festival. It may be noted that the visiting adult choirs are generally distributed over the body of the church. In some Festivals they are separated into four or more groups so as to reinforce the rest of the congregation. In this case, the chancel or sanctuary choir space is occupied by the host choir, with selected voices for descants, etc.

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[19] St. John's Cathedral, Denver, Colo., 1940.

[20] St. Paul's Cathedral, Los Angeles, Calif., 1939-1940.

[21] Church of the Ascension, Washington, D.C., Hugh Ross, conductor.

Full particulars of all the hymns and tunes to be sung are given in the program. In addition, some programs contain the names of the hymnal, the organist and conductor, and the visiting choirs with their leaders and the ministers of their churches. Such a record has added value, for there is a steady demand for programs of Festivals already held.

VI. JOINT HYMN FESTIVALS

There are real advantages in the holding of inter-church Hymn Festivals. Fine hymns and tunes are to be found in the books used by different communions which may not be familiar to all of them. Each can thus share its distinctive treasures with the others. For example, one book contains the text, "God be with you till we meet again," to the setting, RANDOLPH, by Vaughan Williams; another has the late Carl Price's fine tune, THE MORNING WATCH, to "Awake, my soul." Such additions to the repertoire of the other churches should be made possible. Here we face questions about reproduction and the right to reprint. Many of those who issue hymn books are willing to grant permission for the use of hymns in Festival programs, with due credit and mention of the copyright, or they will aid in securing such permission. Sometimes they will lend the plates, for use in printing a special program.

Sharing of leadership stimulates choirs and organists alike. Small churches are proud to have their choirs mingle with others, and the larger choirs are increasingly willing to take part in a Festival in which massed congregational singing with some embellishment replaces choral music as the main objective.

VII. ELEMENTS OF COOPERATION

Consultation with ministerial associations and Councils of Churches will enlist their hearty cooperation for these united Festivals. It is important to have the year books or directories of the churches in the community; these carry the names of organists and choir directors. Their names are just as important as others on the church staffs.

The American Guild of Organists has become increasingly influential among the church musicians of the country. It now issues a distinctive choirmaster's certificate for both Catholic and Protestant directors of choirs, in addition to its recognition of the attainments of organists through the Associateship and Fellowship certificates. In 1942 the pamphlet of information issued to its Chapters for their local programs contained a page of suggestions for hymnic activities contributed by the

Hymn Society: this stressed the importance of holding Hymn Festivals. Since that time about thirty Chapters of the Organists' Guild have sponsored such services, sometimes making them annual events.

The National Federation of Music Clubs has a strong department of church music, in which hymns are featured. Member clubs frequently plan hymnic programs, sometimes joining with other groups for community-wide Hymn Festivals. "Hymns of the Month" are suggested, and each month they are given vigorous promotion. In many communities carillons play each Sunday the current "Hymn of the Month." Local "Hymn of the Month" Chairmen notify the churches in their communities, many of which feature it. It is also included in the repertoire of seasonal community "sings" and is usually given a place on local radio programs of religious music. Perhaps the most effective and dramatic use of these Hymns of the Month has been on musical programs presented under Federation auspices at State and County Fairs. In such instances a participating audience of many thousands is often gathered together and generally the whole hymn-sing is broadcast on a statewide network.

Another factor in promoting the singing of hymns is the present emphasis on them in the Salvation Army. It began with the use of brass bands for familiar and other rousing songs in street meetings. Composers are trained from the Army's own talented musicians, and they are building up a repertoire which includes many hymn arrangements. A comprehensive hymn book has been issued in England, containing 600 standard hymns and mission songs, both new and old. The new hymns, matched with original music, are vigorous and timely. In large cities music Festivals are becoming quite frequent. Recently at the Centennial Memorial Hall in New York programs were given on "Carols of America" and "Carols of the deep South," the congregation taking active part. The quality of the mass singing deserves mention. It was well supported by the brass players, who used effective arrangements of the vocal score.

Music in the public schools of America has long been a matter of real accomplishment. For two or three decades high school choruses have given programs of increasing value, and in recent years public school orchestras and bands have had a remarkable development. Local competitions have led to statewide contests, and now leading public school student musicians from all over the country strive for national honors. The trend in school choral work is guided by the insight and experience of the music supervisors. In one city, Evansville, Indiana, we recall a mass Hymn Festival for which a public school music supervisor had trained a large group of high school girls in two descants: their singing left a lasting impression on all those present. In another city the high school choruses joined in an entire program of hymns.[22] Public school groups, specially of junior age, take a distinctive part in the programs of some church-sponsored Hymn Festivals. Christmas carols and hymns are given a place on such programs everywhere. Sometimes portions of Handel's Messiah are produced by massed public school choruses, occasionally with orchestral accompaniment by their own players. It must be noted that several of our best-known hymns can be sung anywhere, by anyone who believes in a loving God: some of them are used constantly in the public schools. These choral events are often made possible by cooperation with such organizations as those described above. The one just mentioned was planned by the local Chapter of the American Guild of Organists, which is inter-faith and inter-racial. Sponsorship often comes from the local music club affiliated with the National Federation of Music Clubs, which is in touch with the whole musical life of the community.

An added reason for the use of children's groups is that they can easily be trained to sing alone. Under favorable conditions they can make a descant unexpectedly lovely. Junior and youth groups are often placed in a gallery over the entrance to the church; this enables them to sing antiphonally with good effect, and their conductor may stand within their view without being conspicuous.

VIII. HYMN FESTIVALS FOR ANNIVERSARIES

While Hymn Festivals have for their subject spiritual concepts or related topics, they are also employed for the celebration of special events, of which general and hymnic anniversaries are the most important. Examples of the former are the Festival service held at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, in 1948 for the fiftieth anniversary of the Greater City, and the observance of the 250th anniversary of the City of Detroit, Michigan, in 1951. At Detroit new hymns together with new musical settings were secured by competition, and many churches joined in using these new hymns, which were also heard on the radio. The first choices were first used in a television celebration program. Such hymnic anniversary celebrations are now being widely observed through the country. They combine thematic and topical elements, for they not only contain the significant hymns and tunes produced by one man or in a single movement, they emphasize the spiritual message which evoked the events themselves.

The Tercentenary of the Bay Psalm Book of 1640 was the first of such anniversaries to be observed in the present festival movement. For this Dr. Henry Wilder Foote wrote an excellent brief Paper[23], and in New York and elsewhere Festival Services were held.

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[22] Roanoke, Va., 1949. Festival sponsored by S.W. Virginia Chapter, A.G.O., Robert M. Griffey, conductor, Supervisor of Music in the public schools of Roanoke.

[23] "An Account of the Bay Psalm Book," *Paper VII,* Hymn Society of America.

The sesquicentennial of Lowell Mason's death, observed in 1942, provoked enormous interest. There was a new recognition of his valiant and many-sided advocacy of congregational singing, and his realization of the need for an advance in musical knowledge and its use in singing which underlay improvement in singing by people at worship. The celebration was focussed by numerous Festivals of hymns, many of them promoted by the Hymn Society, in which the public school leaders had a great share. This was appropriate, for Mason's efforts were largely centered on the public schools. The Hymn Society also contributed to the observance of 1942 by securing from Mason's grandson, Henry Lowell Mason, a pen portrait of the "father of church music in America" as he was so often called.[24]

The Bicentennial of the death of Isaac Watts was celebrated on a nation-wide scale in 1948 by American churches, as well as by those in Great Britain and elsewhere. The best biography of Watts[25] was restored to circulation. His whole career as Christian, poet and scholar was reviewed in countless papers and addresses. One result was a great wave of hymnic services all over the world, in which American Churches had a large share. The special festival order of worship prepared jointly by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America with the Hymn Society of America was used by hundreds of churches and in addition was adapted by thousands. Eighty-five thousand copies of it were printed. A list of settings of Watts' hymns in anthem form was compiled. Half of them employ original hymn melodies composed for them. The Hymn Society also issued Dr. Norman Vincent Hope's *Isaac Watts and his Contribution to English Hymnody* as Paper No. XIII.

The Tercentenary of the Scottish Psalter of 1650 provoked a similar effort during the year 1950. For this event a leaflet was issued, containing ten metrical psalms from that Psalter. Dr. Millar Patrick of Scotland contributed a highly informative historical account of *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody,*[26] which gave the necessary historical background for the first time in compact form. Attention was called to the 1929 edition of the Scottish Psalter, and the admirable *Church Hymnary,* edition of 1927. The Scottish order of worship with its distinctive prayers was incorporated in many commemorative Hymn Festivals in America. Three of these Festivals were held in New York, an aggregate of about eighty choirs with upwards of 1,200 singers participating. A brief address was given at each service.[27]

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[24] "Lowell Mason: an Appreciation of His Life and Work," *Paper VIII,* Hymn Society of America.

[25] Arthur Paul Davis, *Isaac Watts: His Life and Works,* British Independent Press, London.

[26] Oxford University Press, 1950.

The response of the country to the announcement of this Tercentenary is indicated by the fact that 40,000 Psalter leaflets were distributed to churches, sometimes for choir use, but also for the whole congregation, thus supplementing the metrical psalms in the regular hymn book. It has been gratifying to observe how numerous have been the Scottish Psalter celebrations both in Canada and the United States. Lutherans, Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists have equalled the Presbyterians in their interest and desire to hold special Festivals of commemoration. The celebration has been equally spontaneous in churches of conservative and liberal theology.

The selective use of materials from the Psalter in terms of the worship needs of Christians, a study of the way in which Watts and those who came after him bridged the gap between the terminology and ethical thinking of the Davidic Hebrews and of the followers of Him who gave us a new commandment — all this has been brought before the consciousness of earnest Christians. As a result, our use of the Psalms in responsive reading, in prose chanting or in metrical versions, has become more intelligent and selective.

The Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Genevan Psalter of 1551 claims world-wide emphasis in the year 1951 as a theme for Hymn Festivals. To aid in its observance "The Music of the French Psalter of 1562" by the late Professor Waldo S. Pratt,[28] and his brief monograph "The Significance of the Old French Psalter" are available.[29] In order to assist churches in their celebrations of this anniversary, the Hymn Society of America has prepared a leaflet of practical suggestions. It contains materials suitable for various types of observance and specially for Hymn Festivals, giving some organ compositions and anthems based on Genevan melodies. In addition there is a pamphlet of tunes from the Genevan Psalter of 1551, with well-matched hymn texts, ranging over "fifteen centuries of the church's song." This anniversary has had wide support from the Reformed churches, as is to be expected in view of its great significance.

IX. EXCEPTIONAL COMMUNITY-WIDE HYMN FESTIVALS

Such services are the result of expert planning and cooperation between local Councils of Churches and the guilds or associations of church organists and choir directors. Because they draw upon churches of all the major communions, they have often attracted very large attendance. Two or three may be described here.

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[27] Fort George Presbyterian Church, N.Y.C., Jan. 28, 1950, sermon by Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin; Riverside Church, N.Y.C., Apr. 23, 1950, address by Dr. Robert J. McCracken; Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, N.Y.C., Nov. 12, 1950, address by Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell.

[28] Columbia University Press, N.Y., 1938.

[29] *Paper IV,* Hymn Society of America.

1. On November 28, 1937, in the Metropolitan Methodist Church, Detroit, Michigan, the Detroit Guild of Church Musicians sponsored a union Thanksgiving Festival of hymns. From 62 churches came 1,450 singers to lead the congregation. This enormous group of choirs was seated in reserved seats according to a careful plan, their locations including the side and rear galleries. Descants and antiphonal singing were employed and the singing by the whole congregation of over 3,000 was long to be remembered. The Methodist Hymnal was used. The chief inspiration for the Festival came from an able church musician, Dr. Nellie Huger Ebersole, aided by loyal friends among the churches.

2. A unique Festival was held in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1944. For several years previously a Hymn Festival had been held, — sponsored primarily by the church musicians of the City. Each year it grew in volume, until in 1943 the city auditorium was required to hold the large number of cooperating church choirs and the interested public. The following year, the response to the invitation had expanded to such proportions that no one auditorium was large enough. The city was therefore divided into a dozen regions, in each of which one church was made the host, and simultaneous Festivals were held in all of these churches. Monday evening, November 13, 1944 was the date chosen for this city-wide celebration. The hymns were all printed in full on one large four-page program. The service was based on the One Hundredth Psalm, the hymns falling into five thematic divisions. For all choir members in each church two pages of annotations were provided in the hymn sheet, with its own form of service. For example, in the host church of one zone, St. Luke's Episcopal, the annotations were read before each hymn and responsive sentences were inserted in the short liturgical service.

The total number attending all the services was conservatively estimated at 10,000. This was the result of wide-spread cooperation and skillful planning. Following the initial letter of invitation to ministers, signed by the Georgia Chapter of the A.G.O., the Atlanta Music Club (N.F.M.C.) and the Christian Ministers' Council, a sheet of instructions was issued to the general zone leaders, and final instructions for the Festival were sent to each choir director. The wide publicity received both before and after the Festival included a tribute to it by the music editor of the Atlanta Journal, who referred to the impact it had made on the whole community.

Annual Hymn Festivals at Portland, Oregon, are sponsored by the city Council of Churches. Because of the very large number in attendance, they are held in the municipal auditorium. In 1948 there were 85 choirs from churches of fourteen communions, and the total number present was over 5,000 people. The conductor has been Dr. Earl E. Harper.

In the city-wide Festivals designed and conducted by Dr. H. Augustine Smith in many sections of the country, hymns are dramatized through pageantry. They employ materials derived from his *Lyric Religion.*[30] Of equal value in such interpretation of hymns is the work by Albert Edward Bailey, *The Gospel in Hymns* (Scribner's).

X. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HYMN FESTIVAL MOVEMENT

What is the significance of this recent development of mass hymn singing? Its effects are clear and demonstrable. Through it people hear and learn inspiring hymns in their own and other hymnals; many a church has been stimulated in its quest for a new book through such services. In one church[31] where a highly successful commemorative Festival was held, the congregation was convened the very next evening to make plans for the purchase of new hymnals, — with immediate success.

The possession of the new hymnal in turn has been the occasion for healthy expansion of the church's appetite for the best — or at least better — hymns. Churches quicken their interest in hymns through stories and annotations which increase their power of hymn appreciation. Virile singing raises the spiritual alertness of a congregation, and the enthusiasm engendered by a Festival of hymns is carried over into other worship experiences. The creedal value of hymns has been referred to: the faith of a Christian becomes more vital when clothed in well-remembered hymns.

Hymns breathe the worth and sanctity of the personality of each worshipper, and in equal measure, because all men are sons of the one Father. The use of hymns in all worship, and specially in a Festival, is a means of fostering Christian democracy, of breaking down man-made barriers, including the present barriers of creed, that keep men apart. At a recent ecumenical conference of students in the United States, they were considering how they might be brought closer together. This conviction grew among them — that "as Christians we are essentially one in spite of our differences." Witness the almost universal use of carols at Christmas. Some of them no doubt breathe the quaintness and gaiety of those days of old when there was less distinction between holiness and humor, but others proclaim, in terms that seem more applicable today than ever before, the reign of Him who was once a Babe.

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[30] Fleming Revell Co.

[31] Presbyterian Church, Hudson, N.Y.

Hymn Festivals have a further significance. By stimulating people to let hymns fulfill their true function in worship, they help to make the whole of worship more real. For worship itself is at the center of the life of the Christian Church. It celebrates the filial relationship between all men and God, their Father, but equally does it celebrate the fellowship that binds people everywhere through Jesus Christ, His Son.

HYMN FESTIVAL PROGRAM MATERIALS

I

Hymns and Chorale Preludes in a Service featuring German hymn tunes (See page 7, note 3)

Prelude—Variations on "Mein junges Leben hat ein end"	Sweelinck
"Light of Light, enlighten me"	melody by Ahle
Organ—"Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier"	Karg-Elert
"Majestic Sweetness sits enthroned"	Johann Cruger
Organ—"Nun danket all und bringet ehr"	Kienzl
"Now thank we all our God"	Cruger
Organ—"Nun danket"	Karg-Elert
"Good Christian men, rejoice"	14th century
Organ—"In dulci jubilo"	Bach
"Ah, dearest Jesus, holy Child"	Luther
Organ—"Vom Himmel hoch"	Pachelbel
Offering—Pastoral from *Christmas Oratorio*	Bach
"Ah, dearest Jesus, how hast Thou offended?"	Cruger
Organ—"Herzliebster Jesu"	Brahms
"O Sacred Head, now wounded"	Hassler
Organ—"Herzlich tut mich verlangen"	Kellner
"We come unto our fathers' God"	Luther
Organ—"Nun freut euch lieben"	Bach
"A mighty fortress is our God"	Luther
Organ—"Ein feste burg"	Kienzl
"Now woods and trees are sleeping"	Isaak
Organ—"O welt, ich muss dich lassen"	Brahms
Postlude—Chorale prelude on "Lobe den Herren"	Reger

Organist, JEAN SLATER APPEL, A.A.G.O.

II

TEXT OF RESPONSIVE READING FOR ADVENT

(Mentioned on pages 7 and 9)

Minister: Watchman, tell us of the night, what its sign and promise are.

People: *Traveler, o'er yon mountain height, see that glory beaming star?*

Minister: Watchman, does its beauteous ray aught of hope or joy foretell?

People: *Traveler, yes, it brings the day, promised day of Israel.*

Minister: Brightest and best of the sons of the morning, dawn on our darkness and lend us Thine aid. Star of the East, our horizon adorning, guide where the infant Redeemer is laid.

People: *Vainly we offer each ample oblation, vainly with gifts would His favor secure; Richer by far is the heart's adoration, Dearer to God are the prayers of the poor.*

Minister: Come, Thou long-expected Jesus, born to set Thy people free. From our fears and sins release us; let us find our rest in Thee.

People: *Israel's strength and consolation, hope of all the earth Thou art; Dear Desire of every nation, joy of every longing heart.*

Minister: O come, O come, Emmanuel, and ransom captive Israel that mourns in lonely exile here, and let the Son of God appear.

People: *Rejoice! Rejoice! Emmanuel shall come to thee, O Israel.*

Minister: Though the cause of evil prosper, yet 'tis truth alone is strong; though her portion be the scaffold, and upon the throne be wrong,

People: *Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown, standeth God within the shadow keeping watch above his own.*

Minister: O Morning Star, how fair and bright Thou beamest forth in truth and light! O Sovereign, meek and lowly. Thou root of Jesse, David's Son, my Lord and Master, Thou hast won my heart to serve Thee solely.

People: *Thou are holy, fair and glorious, all-victorious, rich in blessing; rule and might o'er all possessing.*

Minister: Hail to the Lord's Annointed, great David's greater Son! Hail, in the time appointed, His reign on earth begun!

People: *He comes to break oppression, to set the captive free, to take away transgression, and rule in equity.*

III

THE GLORY OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

Processional Hymn—"For the beauty of the earth" ...... Dix

Call to Worship

Hymn—"Let all the world in every corner sing" ...... Herbert
(Tune by J. Sebastian Matthews)

Prayers with Responses

Offertory and Doxology

I Discovering Life's Glory

Hymn—"With happy voices singing" ...... Berthold

Unison Scripture Reading

Hymn—"Fairest Lord Jesus" ...... Crusaders' Hymn

Meditation

II Revealing Life's Glory

Hymn—"Once to every man and nation" ...... Ton-Y-Botel

Meditation

Hymn—"O Son of Man, Thou madest known" ...... Brookfield

The Lord's Prayer

III Making the World's Life Glorious

Hymn—"Where cross the crowded ways of life" ...... Germany

Meditation

Hymn—"The world's astir, the clouds of storm" ...... All Hallows

Responsive Scripture Reading

Prayer of Consecration

Hymn—"Father of all, from land and sea" ...... Riseholme

Vesper Hymn—"The Day Thou gavest, Lord" ...... St. Clement

Benediction

Recessional Hymn—"In Christ there is no east or west" ...... St. Peter

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The Meditations were given by the Reverend Philip S. Watters; a loan copy of these addresses is available from the office of The Hymn Society of America.

Note: "The Worship Life of the Christian" was the subject chosen for one of the yearly conventions of the Council of Churches of Fairfield County, Connecticut, when it was held in 1936 at Bridgeport. This was the theme of an address in the morning, followed by a demonstration of "Our heritage of hymns." In the afternoon there were five simultaneous discussion groups on techniques in preparing and conducting worship for adults, young people, and children. In the evening choirs from forty churches throughout the County joined with a large congregation in a Hymn Festival. Because the desired hymns were not all to be found in any one hymnal used by the choirs, a special leaflet containing eleven hymns was reprinted from two books issued by one publisher. The theme of the day was carried on throughout the Festival, as will be noted above.

IV

SERVICES PLANNED BY WOMEN'S MUSIC CLUBS

A. Summary of hymns used in the Festival at Burlington, North Carolina, May 14, 1944, as part of the National Music Week observance, sponsored by the Burlington Music Club, a member of the National Federation of Music Clubs.

"Worship in Crisis"

I. God and the Church—"Onward, Christian soldiers," "All praise to Thee, my God, this night," "Thru the love of God the Father," "The church's one Foundation."

II. For the Facing of this Hour—"God of grace and God of glory," "Watchman, tell us of the night," "Our God, our help in ages past," "Christian, dost thou see them?"

III. Faith and Courage—"Faith of our fathers," "A mighty fortress," "Lead on, O King eternal," "Grant us Thy peace."

B. Hymn Festivals have been sponsored by the Maine Federation of Music Clubs, also affiliated with the National Federation of Music Clubs, at Portland, Maine, for many years. Until her death, they were arranged under the guidance of Mrs. Foster Haviland. Both adult and junior choirs have taken part, representing the leading churches of that city.

V

A WELSH HYMN FESTIVAL

Welsh hymn tunes can furnish the material for an entire Festival. Most recent hymnals contain a selection of suitable tunes. The Welsh organist at the First Presbyterian Church of Ottumwa, Iowa, Mr. Emlyn Owen, with the choir director, Mrs. Paul R. Stoltz, prepared such a Festival on St. David's Day, March 5, 1944, using the following tunes, sung in groups of four:

TON-Y-BOTEL—"Once to every man and nation"
BLAENHAFREN—"We are living, we are dwelling"
AR HYD Y NOS—"God that madest earth and heaven"
HYFRYDOL—"Not alone for mighty empire"

ABERYSTWYTH—"Jesus, Lover of my soul"
LLANLLYFNI—"Make me a captive, Lord"
MEIRIONYDD—"O Jesus, we adore Thee"
FFIGYSBREN—"Thou Life within my life"

DRING I FYNY—"Jesus, Friend of Children"
RHUDDLAN—"Judge Eternal, throned in splendor"
CWM RHONDDA—"Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah"

VI

MORNING PRAYER

A SERVICE TO ACQUAINT THE CONGREGATION WITH *The Hymnal*, 1940
(SEE PAGE 13, NOTE 17)

Processional Hymn—"A mighty fortress"

In Place of the Venite—"Breast the wave, Christian" .... FORTITUDE

In place of the Benedictus Es—"Lord, speak to me" .... WILDERNESS

In place of the Benedictus—"He leadeth me" .... AUGHTON

Sermon Hymn—"Eternal Father, strong to save" .... MELITA

In place of the Sermon—Selected Hymns, directed by the Organist, with the Rector at the organ:

"Father eternal" .... LANGHAM
"Remember all the people" .... FAR OFF LANDS
"Lord Christ, when first" .... BOHEMIAN BRETHREN
"I need Thee every hour" .... PARRATT
"In Christ there is no east or west" .... MCKEE
"What a Friend we have in Jesus" .... ERIE

Offertory Sentence, Hymn—"Holy offerings rich and rare" .... HOLY OFFERINGS

After Blessing—"Lord, dismiss us with Thy Blessing" .... SICILIAN MARINERS

Recessional Hymn—"Ten thousand times ten thousand" .... ALFORD

VII

A HYMN FESTIVAL IN PIEPING, CHINA

"The place of hymns in the Church, in the Nation, and in the New World Brotherhood" was the subject of a unique Hymn Festival held by the Christian Fellowship of Yenching University, Peiping, China, in 1936. The organist and choirmaster was the Reverend Bliss Wiant, M.A. The program gave the titles of the hymns in English, but the hymns were all printed in Chinese. The whole program is significant.

Processional Hymn—"The highest heavens with deep reverence adore"
Call to Worship

Hymn—"May the Spirit's sword"
Scripture Lesson

Hymn—"The strain upraise of joy and praise"
Prayer for the Church in China

Hymn—"O Christ, our great Foundation"
Prayer for the Republic of China

Hymn—"O God of earth and altar"
Prayer for International Friendship

Hymn—"These things shall be"
Prayer for the coming of God's Kingdom

Hymn—"A new Jerusalem we seek"
Second Scripture Lesson

Hymn—"God is working His purpose out"
Prayers for Church unity and world peace

(The hymns are from the *New Hymns of Universal Praise.*)

VIII

FESTIVAL EVENSONG

Commemorating the Genevan Psalter of 1551

St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City, April 22, 1951

Prelude—"Two Bourgeois Psalm Tunes"
Old Hundredth .... Purcell
Psalm Forty-two .... McKay
Dr. Clarence Dickinson

Introit—"O Gladsome Light" .... Nunc Dimittis
Tune from Genevan Psalter

Processional—"Shall not the Judge of all the earth" .... Old 124th

Prayers and the Lord's Prayer .... The Reverend Paul Austin Wolfe

Choir Response—"To Thee of right belongs all praise" .... Nunc Dimittis
(3rd stanza of "O Gladsome Light")

Greetings from the Church .... The Reverend Anson Phelps Stokes, Rector

Hymn—"We seek Thy Mind" .... Donne Secours

The Four Hundredth Anniversary of Old Hundredth
1551 — 1951

Hymn—"All people that on earth do dwell" .... Old 100th

Anthems—"Arise, O ye Servants" .... Sweelinck
"All people that on Earth" .... Bach-Holst

Organ—"Variations on Old Hundredth" .... Lee Hastings Bristol, Jr.
(Composed for this Festival)
Harold Friedell

Doxology—"Praise God, from Whom all Blessings"

Prayer of Thanksgiving for Old Hundredth ...... The Reverend Deane Edwards

Choir Response—"Hear us, Father" .... L'Omnipotent

Organ—"O man, bewail thy grevious sin" .... Bach
Dr. George William Volkel

Hymn—"Joy and Triumph everlasting" .... Psalm 42

The Offering

Anthem—"I greet Thee, my Redeemer" .... arr. Clarence Dickinson
Chancel and Gallery Choirs
Conducted by Dr. Dickinson

Hymn—"My Spirit on Thy care" .... St. Michael

Prayers

Orison Hymn—"The Day Thou gavest, Lord" .... Les Commendemens
Congregation and Choirs antiphonally

Benediction

Response—Nunc Dimittis, sung in French

Recessional Hymn—"Hark, hark, my soul" .... PILGRIMS
(In the style of a Genevan Psalter tune)

Postlude—Improvisation of the musical themes of the Festival
Dr. Volkel

Harold Friedell, organist of St. Bartholomew's, was service organist. Dr. Reginald L. McAll and the Reverend George Litch Knight gave the historical commentaries on Old Hundredth.

For further information on the planning and content of these services consult the author, chairman of the Hymn Festival Committee of The Hymn Society, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

REV. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, Ph.D. *Editor*

XVII

Recent American Hymnody

by

HENRY WILDER FOOTE, D.D.

THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA
NEW YORK CITY
1952

PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

I. **The Hymns of John Bunyan**
Louis F. Benson, D.D.

II. **The Religious Value of Hymns**
William Pierson Merrill, D.D.

III. **The Praise of the Virgin in Early Latin Hymns**
Ruth Ellis Messenger, Ph.D.

IV. **The Significance of the Old French Psalter**
Professor Waldo Selden Pratt, L.H.D., Mus.D.

V. **Hymn Festival Programs**

VI. **What is a Hymn?**
Carl Fowler Price, M.A.

VII. **An Account of the Bay Psalm Book**
Henry Wilder Foote, D.D.

VIII. **Lowell Mason: an Appreciation of His Life and Work**
Henry Lowell Mason

IX. **Christian Hymns of the First Three Centuries**
Ruth Ellis Messenger, Ph.D.

X. **Addresses at the Twentieth Anniversary of the Hymn Society of America**

XI. **Hymns of Christian Patriotism**

XII. **Luther and Congregational Song**
Luther D. Reed, D.D., A.E.D.

XIII. **Isaac Watts and his Contributions to English Hymnody**
Norman Victor Hope, M.A., Ph.D.

XIV. **Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages**
Ruth Ellis Messenger, Ph.D.

XV. **Revival of Gregorian Chant: Its Effect on English Hymnody**
J. Vincent Higginson, Mus.B., M.A.

XVI. **The Hymn Festival Movement in America**
Reginald L. McAll, Mus.D.

XVII. **Recent American Hymnody**
Henry Wilder Foote, D.D.

Copies may be obtained from the Hymn Society of America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. Papers I-XV, 25 cents each: Papers XVI and XVII, 35 cents. Papers I, II, VI, VII, VIII, out of print.

THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS have seen the publication of more well-edited American hymn books than appeared in any like period in our earlier history, several of them accompanied by very serviceable Handbooks. This rise in editorial standards was largely stimulated by the excellence of the English *Songs of Praise* (1931), and of the Scottish *Handbook to the Church Hymnary* (1935) edited by Dr. James Moffatt and Dr. Millar Patrick. The labors of more recent editors in this country have further increased the large amount of fresh materials, both hymns and tunes, which are now available. And The Hymn Society of America has played no small part in stimulating interest and furnishing facilities for constructive work in this field.

In my book, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody,*[1] I included a long chapter on "Hymns of the Twentieth Century" in which I recorded many of the hymns produced in this country which had come into some measure of use in the first four decades of this century, and I followed it with another chapter entitled "Retrospect and Prospect" in which I discussed the trends in hymnody as shown in the then most recent hymnals. Today there is neither available time nor space to repeat in detail the broad introduction to the present topic given in those chapters, nor is it necessary to do so, since we all are well acquainted with at least the better-known productions of the period. Therefore, in this Paper I shall consider a number of hymns by American or Canadian writers which had not then come to my attention or which have since come into use, and comment on certain other hymnals which illustrate the wide range of denominational usage in America or which have made notable contributions to American and Canadian hymnody since I wrote my longer survey of the scene.

A study of the higher grade hymnals published in recent years discloses many hymns of fine quality written in this country in the course of the first half of the twentieth century. *Hymns of the Spirit,* published in 1937, included at least 63 such, by 36 authors representing several different denominations, probably a larger number than in any previous book, though perhaps equalled in one or two later ones. To compile an exhaustive list from the many books published would be a tedious if not impossible task at the present time, since in many hymnals the Index of Authors fails to record either the nationality of the writers or the dates of their hymns.

Let me comment first on a number of excellent hymns of the first four decades not mentioned in my book. One of the earliest is Mrs. Julia Cady Cory's fine thanksgiving hymn,

We praise Thee, O God, our Redeemer, Creator,

written in 1902 for the Netherlands folk tune known as KREMSER, and first sung in the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York. The hymn has since found place in many hymnals. Dr. Frank Mason North's widely used,

Where cross the crowded ways of life,

was written in 1903, and was followed by two later ones,

O Master of the waking world,

and,

The World's astir! The clouds of storm.

An "Appreciation" of Dr. North and his work was printed in THE HYMN, April, 1950. Dr. Hugh Thomson Kerr was the author of several hymns, of which perhaps the most useful and widely accepted are,

God of our life, through all the circling years,

and,

Come Thou, my Light, and let me see,

published by The Hymn Society in 1942. Kathryn Munro wrote a fine prayer for airmen in 1918,

O Thou within whose sure control
The singing planets onward roll.

Dr. James Gordon Gilkey wrote a Palm Sunday hymn in 1915 which has had wide use,

Outside the Holy City
  Unnumbered footsteps throng,

and a hymn giving utterance to the ideal of America's call to service in the world,

O God, in Whose great purpose
  An age is but a day.

Rev. Marion Franklin Ham and Rev. John Haynes Holmes, each of whom began hymn writing forty or more years ago, continue in advanced age to produce hymns which should find a place in future books. Dr. Ham has recently printed a little pamphlet entitled *Songs at Sunset*[2] containing a dozen lyrics written since 1940, with notes giving the occasion for each poem and the date of first publication, an admirable practice which, if generally adopted by hymn writers, would greatly aid hymnal editors. None of these later hymns has yet found a place in a hymnal but his fine "Hymn of Freedom" beginning,

Freedom, thy holy light,
Shining in earth's long night,
Foretells the dawn of the coming day;
Like a resplendent star
Shedding its beams afar,
Thy glory lights our darkened way,

with words beautifully adjusted to the tune of ST. ELIZABETH (erroneously called CRUSADERS' HYMN) was widely circulated on printed sheets for use on United Nations Sunday in 1950. It appeared in THE HYMN, January, 1951, and was printed again on the cover of *The Pastor's Journal* of the Methodist Church.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes in the course of the years has written more than thirty hymns, many of which have found their way into various hymnals. In his later hymns Dr. Holmes generally continues to sound his familiar trumpet call to social righteousness, human brotherhood and good will. A fine hymn for the dedication of a church in Dallas, Texas, 1950, begins,

Accept, O Lord, this temple,
  An offering to Thee,

and includes the challenging lines,

Let no man here be stranger,
  No heart by hate undone,
Jew, Gentile, Christian, pagan,
  Negro and white be one.

His vigorous hymn,

Onward still and upward,

was written for the tune ST. GERTRUDE and seems to many a far better interpretation of modern ideals than the traditional words of "Onward, Christian Soldiers." Similar in theme are his hymns,

To earth's remote horizon,

and,

O God of field and city,
  O Lord of shore and sea.

Another fine hymn, written for the installation of his successor in The Community Church, New York, but beautifully fitted for the installation or ordination of any young minister, begins,

Thy voice, O God, in every age
  By prophet souls is heard.

Dr. Ham and Dr. Holmes remain two of America's foremost living hymn writers, and no editors of future hymnals can afford to overlook their contributions.

Two other hymns on different themes may be mentioned. One is Horace Westwood's hymn of consecration which has found its way into some hymnals,

Spirit of Love Divine,
We give ourselves to Thee.

The second is a lovely hymn of nature beginning,

O Lord of stars and sunlight,
Whose wind lifts up a bird,
In marching wave and leaf-fall
We hear Thy patient word.

written by John Holmes (not to be confused with John Haynes Holmes), a young poet and professor of literature at Tufts College. It was sung at a convocation of the American Unitarian Association, May, 1950.

In 1947 The Hymn Society published a pamphlet entitled *Twelve New Hymns of Christian Patriotism.* These were chosen from 62 hymns submitted by 35 writers who, more than three years earlier, had been invited to offer unpublished lyrics on this theme. Quite naturally, most of them suggest something of the wartime atmosphere in which they were written, but the patriotism to which they summon the singer is that love of country which would make it the inspired servant of mankind. All these hymns are of good quality, but four stand out as having superior merit,

God, Who hast set us in this time
Of storm and wreck and tears,
Be near, be near, that we may bear
The burden of the years.
— Hermann Hagedorn

Shed Thou, O Lord, Thy light
On this strong land:
Firm in the ways of right,
Strong may she stand.
— Georgia Harkness

America the promised land,
The child of all the nations,
Thy fathers left their native strand
And faced the desolations
Of wilderness and stormy sea
To find a land that should be free.
— Caroline Hazzard

Long ago a prophet sang
  Of a nation that should be
Servant unto God and man,
  And should set the nations free.
God our Father, by Thy grace
  May our country fill that place.
— William Pierson Merrill

"Hymn Contests" which are held from time to time are likely to call out a large amount of mediocre verse, sometimes little better than pious doggerel, but they are well worth while for the fine lyrics they occasionally produce. One held in Detroit is reported in THE HYMN, October, 1951, with the four prize-winning hymns, chosen from those submitted by 72 contestants upon the theme of human brotherhood and peace which had been selected for the contest. There is little to choose among the four, but perhaps Mary Hallet's,

In this our time, when every man
  Must choose the evil or the good,

is the one best adapted for widespread use.

Turning now from individual writers to hymn books, let me report the outstanding characteristics of certain hymnals, published in this country in the earlier part of the century, but not mentioned in *Three Centuries of American Hymnody,* which illustrate the hymn usage in widely different groups in the religious life of America.

Two of these books, *St. Basil's Hymnal*[3] and *The St. Gregory Hymnal*[4] have been called to my attention as perhaps the two collections of hymns in the vernacular most widely used by Roman Catholics in this country. *St. Basil's Hymnal* contains about 200 hymns in English, of which more than a quarter are by F. W. Faber and E. Caswall. *The St. Gregory Hymnal* contains 150 English hymns. Rather more than half of each book is given to Latin hymns and liturgical settings.

In *St. Basil's Hymnal* the "Liturgical Instructions" limit the occasions when English hymns may be sung. "Vernacular hymns if used must be outside the liturgy altogether. The custom of singing non-Catholic hymns or songs in the vernacular, such as 'Nearer, My God, to Thee' (at a Requiem Mass) is prohibited in any case." In both books the hymns are limited to those by Roman Catholic authors, except for a few translations from the Latin by non-Catholics.

This, of course, means the exclusion of every familiar hymn of American origin written in the last 150 years, even of "My

Country, 'tis of Thee." Indeed, most Protestants are acquainted with only a few of the English hymns presented (chiefly those by Faber or Caswall), since the contents of the books are, throughout, devout expressions of Roman Catholic dogmas and practices, approximately a quarter of them in each book being addressed to the Virgin or to saints, and the Christian life is presented chiefly in these terms. *The St. Gregory Hymnal* states that "Many new hymns have been especially written for this collection," and *St. Basil's Hymnal* contains a good many anonymous hymns, some of which may be by modern American authors. Neither book, however, gives any clue to the nationality of the writers or to the dates of the hymns, for neither book contains an Index of Authors (or an Index of Composers). This makes it impossible to distinguish these more recent productions.

From other sources, however, I have learned that fourteen hymns in *The St. Gregory Hymnal* are translations or originals by American writers of the last half-century. Eight are from the pen of the distinguished Catholic hymnologist Rt. Rev. Msgr. H. T. Henry, three of them translations from the Latin. Of his original hymns perhaps the most interesting are the ones addressed to St. Jeanne d'Arc,

> The Maid of France, with visioned eyes,
> Saw messengers from Paradise,
>
> * * *
>
> O blessed Maid, the chant we raise
> That tells the meaning of thy praise;

and the "Hymn for the Pope,"

> Long live the Pope! His praises sound
> Again and yet again:
> His rule is over space and time;
> His throne the hearts of men.
>
> * * *
>
> All hail! The Shepherd King of Rome,
> The theme of loving song:
> Let all the earth his glory sing,
> And heav'n the strain prolong.

Two hymns by other authors may be mentioned. Eleanor Donnelly has a hymn for the Sacred Heart,

> Sacred Heart in accents burning
> Pour we forth our love of Thee;

and Rev. C. Pise a hymn for St. Cecilia,

> Let the deep organ swell the lay,
> In honor of this festive day:

Let the harmonious choirs proclaim
  Cecilia's ever blessed name.

References to the organ as an aid to worship are curiously slight and few in our hymnody, indeed the only parallel to this hymn for St. Cecilia which comes to my mind is the fine hymn for the dedication of an organ written by Henry Ware, Jr., 130 years ago,

O teach its rich and swelling notes
  To lift our souls on high,
And while the music round us floats
  Let earth-born passion die.

The two books naturally have a common outlook but there are some surprising differences in their contents. Of the total number of about 350 English hymns included in the two books only about 45 are found in both, and these are often given in differing versions, in some cases are attributed to different authors, and in almost every instance are set to different tunes. This seems to indicate an unexpected diversity of usage among Roman Catholics in this country.

The music of the two books differs as widely as do the hymns selected. That in *St. Basil's Hymnal* is drawn from a wide range of sources, secular as well as ecclesiastical, some of them familiar. In other cases, there is no indication as to origin. The book, which bears the Imprimatur of the Archbishop of Toronto, was, in an earlier edition, drastically criticized by at least one Catholic reviewer, as to both hymns and tunes, for "unchurchliness, musical incompetence, and depravity of taste."[5] Inasmuch, however, as more than 600,000 copies were sold years ago, and its popularity continues, it must be regarded as representing the taste of many American Roman Catholics.

The music in *The St. Gregory Hymnal,* which has been carefully edited by Nicola A. Montani, contains only tunes which come "from traditional sources and, so far as known, are truly Catholic in origin." It has, however, some modern tunes, notably those written or arranged by Mr. Montani. I am informed that it is very widely used, that it is commended by high authorities in the church for its superior qualities, and that an edition has been issued in Braille.

The Moravian Hymnal[6] is a large volume containing nearly 950 hymns and chants. It is well edited, with the most complete "Index of Authors and Translators, with Biographical Notes" that I have ever seen. It is conservatively evangelical, drawing heavily upon the English and American hymnody of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but also with many translations from the German hymnody of the Moravian tradition. It includes only a few hymns written since the third quarter of the last century and I have noted only two written in this century by Moravian authors, one a missionary hymn beginning,

To Thee, most holy Lord,
  We sing with hearts and voices,

by Rev. M. F. Oerter in 1909, and a hymn for a church dedication,

Come, join the throng, on this glad day,

written by a layman, H. E. Fries, in 1915.

A smaller book, *The Moravian Youth Hymnal,* which appeared in 1942, includes another hymn by H. E. Fries, beginning,

Come now, O Lord.

There are, however, a good many translations from the German to which the name of the translator and the date of translation are not attached, and it is quite possible that some of them may have been made in this century for use in this book. The editors presumably were unacquainted with the lovely Christmas hymn, beginning,

Veiled in darkness Judah lay,
Waiting for the promised day,

written in 1915 by a Moravian student in the Harvard Divinity School, Douglas Le Tell Rights, who has been for many years pastor of Trinity Church in Winston-Salem. The hymn appears in *The Mennonite Hymnary* and *Hymns of the Spirit.*

The general impression made by *The Moravian Hymnal* is that the fires of inspiration which burned so brightly in the eighteenth century hymns of Count Zinzendorf and his immediate followers have died down and that the Moravians of today gratefully accept their inheritance without attempting to add to it.

Following the union of a large majority of the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in Canada to form the United Church of Canada, more than a quarter-century ago, a strong committee was appointed to prepare a hymnal which should blend harmoniously the quite distinctive hymnic traditions which had come down in the three denominations. The committee produced in 1930 *The Hymnary of the United Church of Canada,*[7] an admirably edited book of nearly 700 hymns and psalms which has wide acceptance and use. The skill with which the blending of the three traditions was accomplished is indicated by the inclusion of 30 hymns by Watts and 9 by Doddridge; 49

hymns by Charles and 13 by John Wesley; and 50 psalms from *The Scottish Psalter*. With these are mingled a considerable number of gospel songs, a fine selection of the familiar English hymns of the nineteenth century, and a rather limited number of the better-known American hymns of that period, with a few of those written since the beginning of this century.

There are not many hymns with which the hymn lover is unacquainted and since the Index of Authors gives no clue to nationality, it is possible to identify only a few of these with assurance as the productions of Canadian authors. I mention the following. There is the hymn "O Canada," beginning,

> Lord of all lands, beneath thy bending skies,

and one for "Newfoundland," beginning,

> When sun rays crown thy pine-clad hills.

A fine hymn for pioneers by W. H. Adams,

> O'er the trackless ocean guided
> By Thy hand our fathers came,

and the hymn by Robert Murray,

> From ocean unto ocean
> Our land shall own Thee Lord,

indicate Canadian origin in their text, as, perhaps, does a good hymn by D. L. Ritchie, beginning,

> As comes the breath of spring,
> With light, and mirth, and song,
> So does God's Spirit bring
> New days, - brave, free, and strong.

The book contains Kathryn Munro's fine hymn for airmen,

> O Thou within whose sure control,

mentioned earlier, and there is a second one for airmen, by Rev. Richard Roberts,

> For them whose ways are in the height,
> Lord, hear our anxious prayer.

The music is also of high standard along familiar and rather conservative lines, and *The Hymnary*, taken as a whole, deservedly ranks with the outstanding hymnals of this country.

I turn now to a number of other hymnals, taking them in chronological order.

The New Church Hymnal[8] (1937) is perhaps the best of the currently available hymnals which are commercial publications, as distinguished from denominational collections. It was edited by the late H. Augustine Smith, with three competent associates, and the general level of the nearly 500 hymns included is high.

The great majority of them are familiar to anyone well acquainted with English hymnody, though the Foreword speaks of "one hundred new hymns appearing for the first time in any American hymnal." Since these are not specifically designated it is not always easy to distinguish them, but a number are by British writers or composers who have become better known to us in the last fifteen years. Most of the American productions of this century which are included have already been noted, but the following additional hymns should be mentioned,

O young and fearless Prophet
  Of ancient Galilee,
Thy life is still a summons
  To serve humanity.
    — S. Ralph Harlow

Thy kingdom, Lord, Thy kingdom,
  All secretly it grows;
In faithful hearts forever
  His seed the sower sows.
    — Vida Scudder

More light shall break from out Thy word,
  For pilgrim followers of the gleam,
Till, led by Thy free Spirit, Lord,
  We see and share the pilgrim dream.
    — Allen Eastman Cross

and another hymn for those who fly,

Now, Lord, upon Thy sea of air
  We trust the strength of new-found wings,
And seem toward nothingness to dare,
  Adrift from dear and anchored things.
    — Mary Louise Anderson

The editors have also ventured to include Vachel Lindsay's striking verses, which are a religious poem rather than a hymn, beginning,

An endless line of splendor,
  These troops with heaven for home,
With creeds they go from Scotland,
  With incense go from Rome.

The Book of Common Praise[9] (1938) of the Church of England in Canada is a revision of an earlier book compiled in 1908. It is a large volume containing over 800 hymns besides 40 "Ancient Office Hymns," other liturgical settings ,and some 900 tunes from widely varied sources. The editing is first-rate. Each hymn is dated, the author named, and the first line of the original is given where the hymn is a translation. The Index of Authors with Acknowledgments is very detailed and accurate, giving dates of birth and death, nationality, church affiliation, title, and, when acknowledgment is required, the name of the copyright holder.

The note of conservative churchmanship and of "Catholic" tradition is strongly emphasized. About 100 Latin hymns of the Middle Ages are presented in translation as compared with 26 from the German, and the great majority of the English hymns are those of the eighteenth century and of the nineteenth century Anglican authors. Very few hymns of British origin in the twentieth century are included, and it is interesting that four of these should be by the Methodist Thomas Tiplady, whereas there is not a single hymn by Canon George W. Briggs and only one original hymn by Robert Bridges, although there are several of his translations from the Latin. There is a slender representation of American hymn writers of the nineteenth century, not always of the best, and a still smaller number of the better known American hymns of this century. In a word, the book is far more a treasury of the faith once delivered to the saints than a forward-looking volume for the new day.

It does contain, however, a few fine new hymns of recent Canadian origin, some of which have not yet gained currency on this side of the border. Among these I cite,

There's a voice in the wilderness crying,
A call from the ways untrod,
Prepare in the desert a highway,
A highway for our God.
— James Lewis Milligan

God of the prairies, by Thy boundless grace,
Give us the strength to build a worthy race,
That shall not lose its stedfast faith in Thee,
Through all the winds and hails of destiny.
— Cyril C. Richardson

God, who touchest earth with beauty,
Make my heart anew;
With Thy Spirit re-create me,
Pure and strong and true.
— Mary S. Edgar

There are two or three good hymns for the Dominion and an interesting translation of a Huron Indian account of the birth of Jesus in terms which the Indian could understand,

Within a lodge of broken bark
The tender Babe was found,
A ragged robe of rabbit skin
Enwrapped his beauty round.

The Mennonite Hymnary[10] (1940) is the latest of a long succession of hymn books used by the Mennonites in Europe and in this country since the earliest one appeared in 1565. Until the publication of *The Mennonite Hymnal* in English (1894), all these books were in German, though several were printed in this country. It is written of that book that it had "nothing of distinctiveness or distinction,"[11] nor did its successor published in 1927. The present volume is of far superior quality, and is accompanied by the *Handbook to The Mennonite Hymnary* (1949) admirably edited by Rev. Lester Hostetler.

Previous to 1894 the Mennonites were almost entirely dependent upon the traditional German hymnody for both words and music. This tradition is preserved by the inclusion in *The Hymnary* of a section containing nearly 70 of the great German chorales, generally set to translations of the original words, but the book is in the main a conservatively representative selection of standard English and American hymns and tunes and gospel songs — almost as many of these last as there are German chorales — including a number of hymns written in this century which are already widely accepted.

The Mennonites in this country have, as Mr. Hostetler points out, "produced no important hymnody of their own."[12] The book, however, has a considerable number of fresh translations from the German which I have not found elsewhere and which are well worth examination for wider use. There is no space to enumerate all these, but Mr. Hostetler's own translation of "Lobe den Herren,"

> Praise thou the Lord, O my soul,

Margaret Münsterber's translation of Gellert's,

> *Wie gross ist des Allmacht'gen Gute,*
> How great, Almighty, is Thy goodness,

and Professor Herman Brueckers,

> O Pow'r of love, all else transcending,

(set to the Russian tune KOL SLAVEN), are among them.

Christian Worship[13] (1941) was compiled by a joint committee representing the Northern Baptist Convention and the Disciples of Christ, for use in the churches of those denominations "under the influence of the epochal changes in thought and life caused by world-engulfing war and social revolution." It was presumably this influence which gave the book its most noticeable characteristics: a lesser emphasis on the dogmatic aspects of Christianity and a larger number of twentieth century hymns of the "social gospel" type than is the case with most of the hymn books we are considering. Aside from these features the book is in no way notable, though it appears to be well adapted to the need which it was intended to meet. It includes most of the more familiar classics of the English hymnic tradition, and nineteenth century American writers and composers are well represented. Most of the hymns of this century and country have already been mentioned, but I call attention to a fine hymn by Dr. Winfred E. Garrison, set to LOBE DEN HERREN, which I have not noticed elsewhere,

> God of our fathers, the strength of our people and nation,
> Gladly we come to Thy presence with true adoration,
> Seeking Thy face,
> Trusting Thy love and grace,
> Thou art our health and salvation.

There is also a good hymn, set to FINLANDIA, by Henry D. Robins,

> Eternal Spirit, evermore creating,
> Throughout Thy living universe far-flung,
> Thy purpose throbs in pulses unabating,
> Thy glory by the morning stars is sung—
> Yet this fair earth is in the shadow waiting,
> Where human hearts by bitterness are wrung,

and another, set to the same tune, by Rolland W. Schloerb,

> O Church of God, our solitude forsaking,
> We now unite with all who seek Thy way.

Both these hymns appear to be of recent American authorship, though undated.

The Lutheran Hymnal[14] (1941) is the successor of a number of hymnals with English words published by local Lutheran synods in this country and is the first which has been jointly authorized by them in the name of The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. It contains the liturgical offices of the Lutheran Church, followed by 644 hymns and 16 "spiritual songs," most of which are accounted "hymns" in other collections. Two hundred and sixty-seven hymns are of British origin, 45 are American, and 347 are translations, 248 from the German, 46 from the Latin, 31 from Scandinavian sources, the rest scattering.

The book, therefore, rests heavily upon continental European sources, and is theologically extremely conservative, in keeping with the tenets of the Lutheran Church.

Most of the hymns date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the earlier years of the nineteenth, with a sprinkling of hymns written in the latter part of that century, and very few written in this century, except for recent translations of much older German chorales. The American hymnody of the last one hundred years is almost completely lacking. Phillips Brooks' "O little town of Bethlehem" appears among the "spiritual songs," but not Sears' "It came upon the midnight clear," nor a single hymn by John Greenleaf Whittier, Samuel Longfellow, Frederick L. Hosmer, Washington Gladden, William P. Merrill or Frank Mason North. It should be further noted that a great many hymns, whether of English origin or translated, have been very freely altered.

Within these limitations the book has excellent qualities. It is probably the best available collection of translations of classic Lutheran hymns from many sources, some of them hitherto unknown to Americans, like the Slovak hymns translated by John Bajus. No less than 73 from the German are credited to Catherine Winkworth (often centos or altered) and 21 to August Crull (most of them made in this country near the end of the last century). A dozen translations or original hymns by Dr. W. G. Polack, the very competent editor of the *Handbook,*[15] with other translations, including many called "composite," are to be accounted American productions of this century.

The book is also notable for its presentation of a large number of German chorales. Indeed the editorial committee claims that it "has not omitted a single chorale suitable for congregational singing." Congregations outside the Lutheran tradition have generally been slow to accept chorales, except a few well-known ones, but future hymnal editors will do well to examine carefully the musical treasures here presented.

Both *The Hymnal* and *The Handbook* which accompanies it are well edited, save in one respect: the Index of Authors in both volumes gives only their names and dates, with no number references to their hymns, while the names of translators are not included. The same is true of the Index of Composers, so that neither index is of any use in finding a given hymn or tune. An inquirer wishing to know what hymns are attributed to a given author, or what tunes to a given composer, is obliged to search for them through the book, unless he is fortunate enough to possess *The Handbook,* in which authors, translators, and composers receive adequate notice in alphabetical order with the necessary references to their productions.

The Hymnal[16] of the Evangelical and Reformed Church (1941) contains 481 hymns, besides canticles, responses, and other service materials. It is a well-edited book along conservative lines with a limited representation of the American, or indeed, of the British hymns of the last half-century. The dependence is chiefly upon hymns and music of the earlier periods of Protestant hymnody but a number of good hymns dated in this century not noted elsewhere appear in this book. Among them are:
E. D. Kreamer's,

> His was no regal splendor, of purple and fine gold,
> They brought no jeweled sceptre, for his strong hands to hold,
> But at a humble work-bench he toiled with saw and plane,
> Where olive trees were lifting their boughs to sun and rain;

F. Q. Blanchard's,

> Before the cross of Jesus
> Our lives are judged today;

J. G. Eldridge's,

> God of years, Thy love has led us,
> Thou hast been our bulwark strong,

widely sung as the "Centennial Hymn" during the Anniversary celebration of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1937, and a striking metrical version of the Hymn of the Hungarian Galley Slaves, beginning

> Lift thy head, O Zion, weeping,
> Still the Lord thy Father is,

by G. J. Neumann, who also contributes several other hymns. The Index of Authors gives no information as to the nationality of these writers, but the copyright notices seem to indicate that the hymns were written in this country.

The book commonly known as *The Hymnal 1940,*[17] because it was approved by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in that year, though not actually published until 1943, is the outstanding hymnal published in this country during the last decade. And *The Hymnal Companion* (1949), ably edited by Rev. Leonard Ellinwood, Ph.D., is a worthy guide to its contents. The earlier hymnals of the Episcopal Church were timid imitations of the English *Hymns Ancient and Modern,* but the present book has been edited with a vigorous independence of judgment, based on a broad knowledge of available resources, which places it in the top level of current American hymnals. It is recognized as probably the best collection of hymns and tunes published by the Anglican communion throughout the world.

The Hymnal 1940 is marked by two quite distinctive features. The first is the inclusion of about forty plainsong melodies set to close translations of Latin office hymns and sequences. Here the influence of the late Canon Winfred Douglas is evident. The presentation of this heritage (both words and music) from the ancient church is to be welcomed, so far as it can be made available for modern use, but it will require a good deal of education to enable most congregations to enjoy the unfamiliar musical idioms, even though these come from what Canon Douglas called one of the greatest artistic treasures bequeathed to us from the past.

The second feature is the inclusion of a much larger number of tunes of American or Canadian origin than have hitherto appeared in any of our hymnals. Two of these are well-known Negro Spirituals; a number are gospel hymns; but many more are fine tunes recently composed, 48 of them for this book, selected from many hundred tunes submitted by organists in Episcopal churches all over the country. Time and use will test the lasting value of these tunes, but they make the book a treasure-trove for editors of future hymnals.

While it is true that *The Hymnal 1940* has, rather surprisingly, omitted some of the finer American hymns written in the last 100 years which we might have expected to find in it, a considerable number of others are presented, written in this country or in Canada during the first half of this century, but not noted in my *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* because they had not come to my attention, some of these appearing for the first time in this collection.

Two outstanding Episcopalian clergymen make major contributions, Rev. Howard Chandler Robbins, D.D., with six hymns (one a translation) and Rev. Francis Bland Tucker, D.D., also with six, of which four are translations. The finest of these by Dr. Robbins are his striking one for Ascension Day,

> And have the vast immensities,

(in which he suggests conceptions of modern astronomy not unlike those in the greatest of Canon George W. Briggs' hymns,)

> Lord of all majesty and might

his prayer for unity of spirit,

> Put forth, O God, Thy Spirit's might;

and his excellent translation of St. Francis of Assisi's "Canticle of the Sun,"

Most High, omnipotent, good Lord.

Dr. Tucker's translations, or, more accurately, paraphrases, are rather better than his original hymns. The best two are his version of one of the earliest Greek Christian hymns, by St. Clement of Alexandria, beginning, in an earlier translation,

Bridle of colts untamed,

which he renders in vigorous verse beginning,

Master of eager youth;

and his fine paraphrases of a prose passage from the Epistle to Diognetus (c. 150 A.D.), beginning,

The great Creator of the worlds.

Dr. Walter Russell Bowie, already known through his hymn,

O holy City, seen of John,

contributes another striking one on the crucifixion,

Lord Christ, when first Thou cam'st to men.

Several other clergymen are represented by one hymn each. Of these the following may especially be mentioned: Bishop Robert Nelson Spencer's hymn for confirmation,

O heavenly grace, in holy rite descending,

is loving and tender.

There are two fine new hymns of brotherhood, Rev Charles H. Richards,

Our Father, Thy dear Name doth show
The greatness of Thy love,

and Rev. Francis J. Moore's hymn for children,

Father of mercy,
Lover of all children.

Two authors associated with Canada each contributed a hymn apiece: Rev. Joseph Simpson Cook, a tender little Christmas lyric,

Gentle Mary laid her child,

and Professor R. B. Y. Scott, a fine summons to work for peace,

O Day of God, draw nigh.

Rev. Bates G. Burt has a vigorous hymn for youth,

O God of youth, whose Spirit in our hearts.

There are a number of hymns by hitherto unrecorded women writers, of which perhaps the finest and of greatest universal appeal is the prayer of the overburdened heart by Mrs. Mildred Whitney Stillman,

Now once again for help that never faileth.

These new hymns, and others too numerous to be cited, with the new tunes, make *The Hymnal 1940* an outstanding contribution to American hymnody.

Brief mention may be made of *Christian Hymns*[18] (1945) which contains 492 hymns and choral responses, followed by Responsive Readings arranged topically, corresponding with the topical sequence of the hymns. The book includes a good selection of the standard hymns of the English tradition, with a fair, though by no means remarkable, representation of hymns by American authors of this century. Most of those included in this book have already been mentioned, but there are two by Thomas Curtis Clark which I have not noted elsewhere,

> Our faith is in the Christ Who walks
> With men today, in street and mart,

and,

> Thou Father of us all,

which is copyrighted by The Hymn Society.

The Union Hymnal for Jewish worship (revised 1948) [19] is the latest edition of a collection which first appeared some sixty years ago with many hymns originating in this country earlier in the nineteenth century. The present edition contains 292 hymns, besides the words and music for various synagogal practices. Hymns by Christian authors expressing ideas common to the Judaeo-Christian tradition are included in considerable numbers. Watts, Montgomery, Robert Grant, Bickersteth, Whittier, Samuel Longfellow, Merrill, J. H. Holmes and several others are represented by one or more hymns apiece, or by metrical versions of the Psalms in the case of John Milton and John Quincy Adams. By far the larger part of the book, however, consists of paraphrases of the Psalms or translations from more modern Jewish sources, many of them made by American writers in the last century. Since the Index of Authors does not give their dates of birth or death, nor report their nationality, and the hymns are not dated, it is impossible in most cases to select with certainty those produced by American writers in this century.

Throughout the book a high level of worship is maintained and most of the hymns are couched in terms which we could all sing with heart and soul. Others, of as fine quality, are interesting in their adaptation to the various occasions of the Jewish year. But the collection as a whole gives the impression of being dominated by an ancient tradition, with few noticeably fresh or vivid expressions of religious insight and with a more restricted range of thought and emotion than we find in most of the hymnals we have been examining, except perhaps those of the Roman Catholic Church.

I am not competent to comment upon the tunes beyond saying that many of them are drawn from traditional or liturgical Jewish sources and offer an interesting field for examination.

The *Book of Worship* [20] (1950) of the Church of the New Jerusalem, published two years ago, contains 403 hymns, following the services which include a good deal of liturgical music and fourteen short anthems. The classic hymns of earlier periods are well selected, and those of this century are represented in fairly adequate numbers. Some of these have already been mentioned. Others may have been written in this country and century, but the nationality of authors is not given in the Index and the hymns are undated. Among the hymns about which there may be some uncertainty on these points are the following:
H. S. Hering's,

> Trust the Eternal, when the shadows gather,

Nancy Byrd Turner's,

> O Son of Man, Who walked each day;

and a stirring hymn for youth by Berton Braley,

> Lord, we come with hearts aflame.

The Brethren Hymnal[21] (1951) contains nearly 700 hymns and chants, well edited along rather conservative lines. The standard English hymns of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are included, with a rather widespread representation of those of this century, among them some written in this country. The collection shows slight traces of the German origins of the Brethren except for a few translations from the German of the eighteenth century, but perhaps its most interesting feature is the inclusion of a considerable number of more recent hymns and tunes by Brethren authors or composers, some of them appearing in this book for the first time. Among these writers, Kenneth S. Morse is outstanding, with seven hymns of good quality on varied themes. Two of his best are,

> God of the moving years,
>   God of the marching days,
> Thy music on our ears
>   Shall turn our fears to praise,

and,

O Christ, we climb the hill with Thee,
  Thou Master of the upward way,
We scale the heights that we may see
  Thy vision of the coming day.

Paul M. Robinson has a finely spiritual hymn of communion,

Here in an upper room with Thee,
  Around Thy hallowed table, Lord,
May we with deep humility
  Fulfill the precepts of Thy Word.

Other hymns from recent sources are Edwin M. Poteat's

Eternal God, whose searching eye doth scan
  Ages and climes no limits can confine,
Broaden Thy vision in the eyes of man
  Till he shall share the vision that is Thine,

an adaptation of Arthur Guiterman's "House Blessing,"

Bless the four corners of this house,
  And be the lintel blest;
And bless the hearth, and bless the board,
  And bless each place of rest.

and a number of others.

A rather larger number of the tunes of the English "Cathedral school" of the last century, and of the contemporary American composers, have been retained than is the case with most hymnals, the Index of Composers crediting Dykes with 21, Barnby with 26, Sullivan with 10, Lowell Mason with 18, and W. B. Bradbury with 10, (with some repetitions). Taken as a whole, the book is a very creditable production.

I have sought, in this necessarily brief and inadequate survey, to call attention to some of the hymns of superior quality which have been written in this country or Canada in the last half century, more particularly to those which have been made public in the last decade; and also to give an account of some of the outstanding hymnals of the period, especially those which illustrate the great range of outlook and usage in the several branches of the Christian church for the use of which they have been prepared. The conclusion which I have reached is that the books published in the last decade-and-a-half, and the steady stream of noble lyrics of the religious life which flows undiminished through the first half of this century, afford good grounds for believing that the standards of worship song in our churches are moving to higher levels of praise.

FOOTNOTES

1. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1940.
2. Beacon Press, Boston, 1951.
3. Compiled by the Basilian Fathers, Chicago, 1920; revised edition, 1935.
4. St. Gregory's Guild, Inc., 1705 Rittenhouse Sq., Philadelphia, 1920; Supplement, 1941.
5. *The Catholic Choirmaster,* Special issue, Apr. 1923, p. 19.
6. *Hymnal and Liturgies of the Moravian Church* (Unitas Fratrum), Provincial Synod, Bethlehem, Pa., 1920, copyright 1923.
7. United Church Publishing House, Toronto, 1930.
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9. *The Book of Common Praise,* being the hymn book of the Church of England in Canada, revised 1938, Oxford Univ. Press, Toronto.
10. Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas.
11. *Handbook to the Mennonite Hymnary,* p. xxxii.
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13. *Christian Worship: a Hymnal,* Christian Board of Education, Bethany Press, St. Louis, 1941.
14. *The Lutheran Hymnal,* Concordia Publishing Co., St. Louis, 1941.
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16. *The Hymnal,* authorized by the General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Eden Publishing House, St. Louis, 1941.
17. *The Hymnal* of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, prepared by the Joint Commission, N. Y., Church Pension Fund, 1943.
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19. *Union Hymnal:* Songs and Prayers for Jewish Worship, 1932, revised 1948. Central Conference of Jewish Rabbis.
20. *Book of Worship,* containing Services, Chants, Sacraments, Rites, Prayers, and Hymns, Church of the New Jerusalem, New-church Board of Publication, N. Y., 1950.
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THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

WILLIAM WATKINS REID, *Editor*

XVIII

Hymnody in the American Indian Missions

by

J. VINCENT HIGGINSON

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To

Gustave Reese

Who directed my first steps in musical research.

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I. Introduction

TO SOME THIS MAY sound like an unusual topic. Nevertheless the singing of hymns played an important part in the religious instruction of the American Indians. The Indians enjoyed singing and when it became part of a religious service or a grand ceremonial such as High Mass, it was all the more inviting. Actually, if anything is at all unique concerning the Indians and the hymnody they learned from the missionaries, it is the several methods conceived or invented to bring the message of Christianity to them. These ingenious systems, inspired by the missionaries — one of them surprisingly by a Cherokee Indian — originated in the search for a scheme to make reading a simple problem.

The conversion of the Indian and his development in the ways of a truly Christian life were tasks demanding heroic sacrifices and often death or martyrdom as the price of disheartening results. These sterner phases of missionary life are practically omitted here but one must not lose sight of them in the complete history of missionary work among the Indians.[1]

A semblance of the task facing the missionaries, especially the first ones, the pioneers that trudged the trails and followed the rivers into unknown lands to contact the Indians, can be approximated only if we put ourselves in their places. Here they were in a primeval forest among savages who had no written language and whose gregarious ways were not conducive to learning to read, or for that matter any form of book learning. Fundamentally the problem reduces itself to one of communication. Until that obstacle could be overcome no progress could be hoped for. Naturally no hymns could be taught until the various languages were learned, dictionaries compiled and the hymns translated. Since hymns are meant to be sung as well as read, there was a further obstacle, for the words had to be fashioned to the musical accents.

In languages like the Indian tongues which are agglutative in character, this adaptation of text to music could be a knotty problem. It could be as simple, as in the Cherokee tongue (which we shall observe later) or as intricate as in a language where ten or more syllables were employed for a simple idea. Thus, John Eliot used a word of thirty-nine syllables, and Experience Mayhew gives an example of an Indian word of fifty-eight letters and twenty-two syllables.[2] Another pioneer, Edward J. Peck, who labored among the Eskimos, delighted his audiences by unrolling a scroll two and a half yards long to illustrate a simple idea.[3]

In this general survey we are limiting ourselves to two aspects of this subject: first, schemes used to bring the hymns to the Indians, which of course applied to other religious instruction; second, a general survey of the hymn books with a more detailed report on certain examples. The earliest hymn books and hymns are in manuscript and few of them have survived. Printed ones came later and are fairly numerous but in many cases they are a blank page to the investigator unless he is familiar with the Indian tongues and the scheme used in printing them, for many give no clue either through English, French or other equivalents. The need of having one book for instruction and religious services led to the printing of hymns as sections of prayer books, books of instruction, and to a limited extent, Indian primers.

Printed hymn books with the Indian text below the music are a rarity. Expense and the difficulties in having them printed account for their small number. In any case, they were not absolutely necessary since the Indians sang only the melody. The excellent Indian collection in the New York Public Library has only a few, perhaps a dozen. One of these (1845) has melodies by a Narragansett Indian, Thomas Commuck, harmonized by Thomas Hastings. English words are used and the tunes are appropriately named after Indian chiefs, Indian names of places and so forth.[4]

Today when one can journey over the vast territory of the United States and Canada with little if any trouble caused by difference of language, it is hard to think back to the colonial period when so many tribes, with so many different languages, roamed the territory. The average person is familiar with a few of these tribal names but as one gets closer to the subject he is confronted with an overwhelming amount of literature relating to these and numerous tribes he never dreamed of. So many different languages meant more difficulties for the missionaries to overcome. Then too, local differences and migrations resulted in dialects among the same tribe. These Indian languages were living languages which changed considerably, like any others, in the course of time. There were for instance two Cree dictionaries, a Plain Cree dictionary and a Wood Cree dictionary. John Eliot in a report that recounts his experience in a limited territory speaks of "every part of that country having its own dialect differing much from the other."[5] In the nineteenth century an ancient Abnaki manuscript was found and compared with the dictionary of Sébastian Râle, S. J. (Rasles) made years later. The investigator found that "Its striking difference from the language of the dictionary of Fr. Râle and any existing dialect, corroborates the opinion that the original Abnaki language is lost and at present we merely have dialects of it."[6] In time however, the missionaries were anxious to have the Indians learn English and many Indians desired it since it opened a wider field of literature.

Nevertheless there were some basic likenesses in the various languages and ethnologists have broken them down into three large groups: the Algonquin, Iroquois and Sioux. These in turn are divided into several units in the *Bibliographies* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology. The Algonquin was the largest of them. Originally, the Algonquin territory extended roughly from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River and from James Bay in Canada to the Carolinas.[7] If we gauge from these *Bibliographies,* the literature of the Algonquin languages is about twenty times as abundant as that of the Iroquois which seemingly is the next largest.

As the tribes came closer together because of trade with the white man, there developed several trade languages, a common tongue or jargon. In the southern part of the United States, around the Gulf of Mexico, the so-called Mobile jargon was in common use. As the whites were interested only in trade and gave little attention to the advancement of these Indians, the Mobile jargon was never written down and today we know nothing beyond the fact that it once existed. The Chinook jargon, of which more will be said later, originated in the far west, largely in Canada, gradually becoming a common language from Oregon to Alaska. Although the Indian tribes in this region preserved their individual languages, the Chinook jargon was a means of communication until the various languages could be studied and recorded. Naturally this common language was a special help to the missionaries in making contacts with the numerous tribes in this extensive territory.[8]

II. EARLY METHODS OF TEACHING THE INDIANS

Besides the difficulty posed by the lack of written language, Indian ideas of the supernatural were on the plane of totemism and animism and new words had to be created or invented to supply those lacking in their vocabulary. Likewise, tribal governments, lack of agriculture and limited number of permanent communities impeded progress.[9] At first instruction by rote was the only solution until the missionaries had learned the language. This was the approach in New France as well as the Spanish missions. In the latter the Indians lived in closely established communities which lightened the task. Evidence from early mission manuscripts used by the missionaries to teach the Indians show that hymns formed a part of these early instructions.[10] Slow as the process was, it had the advantage of having the prayers learned and the hymns sung and passed from one group to another. Pierre Biard, S. J., an early missionary, in speaking of the Indians of New France, remarks that they had a good memory for material things, "But to learn by heart, there is the snag: there is no way to get into their skulls an ordered sequence of words."[11] "However, they did learn tunes as well as words. Lota Spell, from her study of the *Jesuit Relations* points out that at first Indian melodies were used for the hymns and after they had become familiar with the Christian words, European melodies were introduced. [12]

In the beginning the missionaries also made use of the crude means of communication found among the Indians themselves. These might better be called "aids to memory" for they were a means of recalling what had already been learned. They include the *quipii, order of songs,* the *notched stick* and the *rebus.*

The Quipii, a scheme based on a knotted cord, is a very interesting one. It was used to convey a message made by a peculiar interweaving of various colored and knotted strings woven into a braidlike pattern. The diverse manner of tying the strings formed the record, the knots and the loops signifying definite ideas and their combination the connection of these ideas. The Jesuits in Peru used them to teach the Latin prayers, and we may conjecture that hymns were taught by the same means. On the other hand, Clark Wissler, the American ethnologist disagrees with this theory and does not concede that the *Quipii* were used to record any historic narrative or any mnemonic system.[13]

The Order Of Songs offered another means. These were pictures suggesting the subject of each hymn stanza, the order of pictures preserving the sequence of the stanzas. This antedated by centuries the "comic book" of today.

The Notched Stick offered still another early device. The Jesuit missionary, de Smet, speaks of its use among the Kickapoo and the Potawatomi. He describes it as a stick about eight to ten inches long and a half inch in breadth upon which arbitrary characters were graven. The Indians followed these as a guide for their prayers and hymns. Such likewise was the *Walam* (red) *Olum* (marked or scored tally stick) found among the Delaware Indians and first brought to light by Constantine S. Rafenesque. These pictographs were founded on "gesture speech" which in the beginning was burned on the stick or bark and later painted in color, the color itself having a meaning. The *Jesuit Relàtions* of 1646 speak of the missionaries of Canada using such sticks to teach the Indians their prayers, and again, we might conjecture their hymns.[14]

Fourth in this group of mnemonics used by the early missionaries was the *Rebus,* sometimes referred to as a form of hieroglyphics or ideograms. We find some references to it in Mexico but more complete and comprehensive were the hieroglyphics of the Micmacs, a group of Indians living in the Gaspé district of Eastern Canada.[15]

To the surprise of many in a period when mnemonics such as the above were commonly used, a phonetic alphabet used in religious teaching was found among the Indians of Yucatan, attributed to Diego de Lando, first Bishop of Yucatan. A book employing this alphabet, accidently discovered in 1863, was published in 1864.[16]

Finally, the most important method of teaching the Indians to read, was the syllabary which must be considered in a separate section.

A. *The Syllabaries* While we find the Indian words printed with Roman letters in many hymn books, there was still another widely used scheme, the syllabary. In a syllabary arbitrary signs are used for the sounds, a sign for each syllable, so that a word contains as many signs as there are syllables. The invention was a great step forward for it obviated teaching the Indians English, French or other languages, a task that the missionaries found discouraging and impractical. With the learning of a simple syllabary they were ready to read without learning an alphabet and then spelling out the syllables and words. The earliest of these, mentioned above, was invented by a Cherokee Indian, Sequoyah, for his tribe about 1820.

More widely used with several variations was the Cree syllabary invented by the Wesleyan Methodist minister, James Evans, in 1840. Three others also will be spoken of but their scope was limited. These include the Tukudh syllabary of Archdeacon McDonald used in Alaska, the Déné syllabary of Adrian G. Morice, O.M.I., used in northwestern Canada, and that of Jotham Meeker used in the midwest. All of these will be explained more fully in their proper place. While not exactly a syllabary, there is still another interesting use of shorthand in British Columbia, the inspiration of Jean Marie Le Jeune, O.M.I.

All the devotees of the syllabaries emphasize the ease with which they could be learned by the Indians. Instances are mentioned where they have been learned in a day or two. How many were really capable of such an accomplishment can not be determined but it proves that the syllabaries made the chore of reading a simpler problem.

The possibility of errors in printed books for the Indians is obvious. The unfamiliar words, the stenographic signs of the Cree syllabary, pages of jumbled letters as they appear in the Cherokee and Meeker syllabaries, must have tried the patience of the typesetter and bedevilled the proofreader. In the final copy many errors were still found which led to confusion for the missionary and the Indian alike. Eugene Vetromile, S. J., brings up this point in a series of four letters written to the Rev. J. M. Finotti, the originals of which are in the New York Public Library. He complains bitterly of the errors still found in galleys after the third proof. In another case the complaint arises because the books were printed in England under the supervision of one not sufficiently long in the mission field to acquire as thorough a knowledge of the syllabary and the language as was needed for this delicate task.[17]

B. *Overcoming Early Obstacles* The learning of the Indian languages was not an easy task. Fr. Râle complained that he "had only savages for teachers." Besides progress was impeded because the Indians, well aware of the "blackrobe's" ignorance, were not beyond playing jokes on him.[18] In Fr. Râle's case this necessitated many changes in his dictionary when he became cognizant of the Indian trickery. Silas Rand, a missionary who was well versed in several languages, nearly gave up in despair but at a fortunate moment he found a sailor who knew the Micmac and French.[19] John Eliot luckily found an Indian who had picked up some English. [20] Others like Isaac Jogues, S. J., learned much from the Indian children and James E. Peck used the same means to learn the Eskimo language.[21] Later missionaries were fortunate for they were instructed or were able to avail themselves of what had been acquired by earlier missionaries.

After the missionaries became acquainted with the various Indian languages, manuscript copies were made of dictionaries, grammars, as well as catechisms, Bibles, and the Book of Common Prayer. They were recopied and perfected by other missionaries as the languages became better known. To aid the neophytes in the missionary field, books for their use might be written or printed in Latin, French or English, languages familiar to them, with the Indian language or languages in the opposite columns or pages. Thus the missionary was aware of what he was teaching and the Indian could be taught in his own tongue. A manuscript of Francois X. Créspieul, S. J., had the instructions and prayers in Algonquin, Mohawk, Abnaki and Eskimo, on two opposite pages. John Eliot's *A Christian Coventry Confession,* and the *Catechism* were in Indian with a second column in English. Fr. Vetromile, in his *Indian Good Book* first gave the English followed by a repetition in Penobscot, Passamaquody, St. John and Micmac. At one place he informs us that "The rules of pronunciation and the English translation of the catechism are intended for the convenience of the missionaries. Therefore I have preferred to overlook the elegance of the English in order to give as faithfully as possible, the literal meaning of the Indian."[22]

As the languages were learned, the problem of committing them to writing offered a further difficulty. Charles Hicks, a Cherokee, when urged to translate the prayers into his language declared it impossible with English sounds and after much effort abandoned the project. Jacques Bruyas, S.J., wrote his dictionary in Latin and Mohawk with the meanings in French. In recording the Micmac, Fr. Vetromile stressed the advantage of the Latin since it was a dead language. He also, like several other commentators on Indian languages, points out how closely the Indian languages resemble the ancient Hebrew. Adrian Morice, O.M.I., makes the same observation in regard to the Déné language. In his Abnaki dictionary, Sebastian Râle used the French alphabet "with the letters pronounced like a Frenchman would." But he used additional signs for other sounds.[23]

These introductory remarks furnish a general survey of the physical means developed by the missionaries to carry the message of Christianity to the Indians. As fascinating as they appear in summarized form the details in relation to the hymn books are even more interesting.

C. *Hymns And Hymn Books* It would be impossible to discuss all the numerous hymn books and their reprints. Many of those on which we would like to comment are printed only in Indian and are a blank page to the average reader. However, there are a sufficient number which give some clue to their equivalents in English and other languages, making possible some comparison with the hymnody of the white man. The historical background of those chosen is often of special interest and this will be referred to. In many of the books the hymn text is given in the Indian language with the tune indicated in a modern language. A majority of the Catholic hymnals are of this type. Hymns from Latin originals have the tune indicated in that language but with others, the *cantiques,* many of which appear in most hymnals, the tune is not always named since they are largely drawn from a common source. The Protestant hymn books in some cases parallel their European equivalents. One can also trace in these books the transition from psalmody to hymnody and the gradual introduction of the hymns of English hymn writers. Of course there were also many original hymns and some Gospel songs besides, but in the case of the former it was quite unlikely they would become popular save among the Indians for whom they were written.

III. THE EAST

In the following pages, for the sake of convenience, we are grouping the tribes in four divisions: those inhabiting the East, Midwest, West and Far North.

A. *Picture Writing* There are only a few instances where picture writing developed to a high degree among the American Indians. One of the most notable is found among the Micmac tribes in Acadia (Nova Scotia) in eastern Canada. Chrestien Le Clercq, a Recollect, a member of a Franciscan Order, was responsible for the innovation. His efforts to teach the Indians to read the Roman letters was unsuccessful but in the second year of his mission he came upon the scheme which led to the development of pictographs:

> "I noticed some children making marks on birch bark with coal and then pointing to them at every word of the prayer which they pronounced. This made me think that by giving them some form which would aid their memory by fixed characters, I should advance more rapidly than by

teaching on the plan of making them repeat over and over what was said."

Once begun it was still an arduous task, for after making the first set of pictographs others had to be made by hand. The characters are arbitrary ones although a few are suggestive. For example, an equilateral triangle represents God, a star, heaven. He felt rewarded however, since the Indians preserved these pages, their *Kignamotinoer* or *Kateguenne,* as they called them, in little bark cases adorned with wampum beads and porcupine quills.[24] Abbé Pierre Simon Maillard who labored among the Micmacs from 1735 to 1762 saw their value and made a collection of them. He was regarded as their originator as Fr. Le Clercq's connection with them had been forgotten. Abbé Maillard edited a catechism, prayer book and hymnal that was still in use in 1850 although no single person had a complete set.

It was Fr. Charles Kauder, a German by birth, who came to America in 1844 and to the Gaspé in 1856 who was responsible for having the book printed. He learned the Micmac language, made a complete collection of the pictographs and requested a grant from the Leopold Verein, an Austrian mission society, to defray the cost of publication. The request was granted and to speed up the process he went to Europe in 1862 but it was 1866 before the book was published. Needless to say this was no small task for it entailed in all the casting of 5703 pieces of type and an accurate setting of the pictographs.[25]

There were still disappointing days ahead for only half the copies ever reached the Canadian mission, the other half being lost in a shipwreck. Time took its toll and by 1900 the books were a rarity. About 1920 the Capuchin Fathers in charge of this mission decided to reprint the book and financial aid was obtained from their brethren in the United States. The new book undoubtedly entailed the casting of new type since the first set seemingly was not sent to America. It appeared in 1921 at a cost of $2200 although the first printing cost only $750.[26]

A copy of Fr. Kauder's book was sent to Longfellow after its publication, the poet whose interest in Acadia is a household word. As far as the hymns were concerned, they number about fifty in all. Many of them were the Latin hymns for Vespers and these are given by their Latin titles in the table of contents. The hymnal is divided into sections for Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter and Vespers.

B. *Other Hymn Books Among The Micmac And Maine Indians* The Micmacs comprise only one of the tribes that occupied Maine and the adjacent territory. We have already referred to Sebastian Râle's work among the Abnaki. He was already aware of the scheme of pictographs and we find some scattered among the pages of his writings.[27] Gabriel Druillettes, S. J., who preceded Fr. Râle, came into the Kennebec country in 1646 and established the mission which later grew into the town of Norridgewock where Fr. Râle was slain. Although we have no hymn book from his pen we mention him here not only for his remarkable knowledge of Indian languages[28] but as an agent sent to the Puritans of New England to arrange a treaty. He was received with kindness and was the guest of John Winslow[29] and at another time, of John Eliot.[30]

The Wesleyan Methodist minister, Silas Rand, was a figure of importance in this region. He was a fluent linguist, the author of a few hymns and above all, the Micmac dictionary. Fortunately at a despairing moment he met Joe Brooks, a widely travelled Frenchman brought up among the English, a man who had adopted the Indian way of life. With his help and that of other Indians he was able to compile his dictionary. Although he did not use the pictographs he was familiar with them and translated Fr. Kauder's book into Micmac and English and also made a shorthand copy.[31] Unfortunately these were never printed.

In Fr. Vetromile's *Indian Good Book* which went through several editions the hymns, largely from the liturgy, were in the Passamaquody tongue. His *Prayer Song Book* published in 1858 is of special interest.[32] This is one of the exceptions to the use of the Indian vernacular in the liturgy, to which we will refer later. It contains a first section of some twenty pages explaining the theory of Gregorian Chant (English). He points to the love of the Indians for plainsong because of its pure melody. Harmony was found too complicated for them. In addition it contains a few hymns with melodies in a chant notation. The preface tells us that its purpose was to record several Indian melodies which were unwritten but preserved by tradition.

One other missionary among the Abnaki deserves mention, the Rev. John Cheverus, later the first Bishop of Boston, and Archbishop of Bordeaux, France. He came to the Abnaki in 1794 and found them assembled on Sunday to chant the Mass and Vespers without a priest present.[33] He records the thrill of hearing the Royal Mass (chant) of Dumont resounding through the forest. Later under his direction and sponsorship a hymn book was published in Boston in 1807. Another, with words only, the seventh in Catholic hymnal-Americana, dated 1811, is in the New York Public Library but not so recognized as the title page is incomplete.[34]

C. *The Indian Vernacular And Liturgical Music* One of the most interesting sidelights upon the whole picture of Catholic Church music in America is found in eastern Canada. As is well-known, Latin is the official language in the Roman Rite for the liturgical services, such as Mass, Vespers and so forth. However by a special Indult the Indians of this region were granted the privilege of singing these liturgical services in their own tongue. The Rev. Clement J. McNaspy, S.J. has written a lengthy study of this exceptional privilege in connection with the history of the present mission of St. Francis Xavier at Caughnawaga near Montreal. He speaks of it as one limited to a small area and a few missions but two other books with chant melodies underlined with the words of the liturgy or liturgical hymns in the Indian language have been found. As these were some distance from the mission center this suggests a question yet to be fully answered. Besides, other hymn books with words only contain the Latin hymns in Indian translation but these were not necessarily used for Vespers, yet they might have been.

The privilege dates from 1668 when a mission for the Iroquois was established at La Prairie, in the vicinity of Montreal. Possibly the most unusual feature of the whole subject is that the document authorizing this use of the vernacular has not as yet been located. The search for the Indult, in spite of Fr. McNaspy's inquiries in the Canadian archives and in Rome, has been unsuccessful. Consequently we know of its existence only through indisputable secondary sources.

A mention of it appears in the Preface of a book of Gregorian Chants and hymns prepared by Nicolas V. Burtin, O.M.I., in the Indian tongue, the Iroquois with a Mohawk base. The Preface written in 1878 refers to the book as the work of Francois Marcoux, O.M.I., edited by Fr. Burtin. The translation reads:

Hymn Book Indian
Mass, Vespers, Benediction and some hymns for the Church and home use

These were obtained from St. Regis, Montreal
Publishers: E. Senecal et Fils, 1890

The free translation of the Preface reads in part:

> "Nevertheless the Church, like a tender Mother who knows how to conform to the weakness of a certain number of her children, has authorized, or at least tolerated in certain missions, above all among the savages, the use of the chant in the native language during the services; the Holy See has even authorized this practice by an Indult accorded to the missions of the savages in the New World. It was after this Indult and the consent of our Lords the Bishops that this usage of the chant in the native tongue was conserved and preserved, particularly in the three villages of the Catholic faithful Iroquois in Canada. By means of this tolerance of the Church, the chant, for which these peoples have so much attraction and disposition, became like the complement to the sermon, the support of faith, the nourishment of piety among the savages. . ."[35]

The Oka mission founded in the last quarter of the seventeenth century among the Montagnais has similar books. Oka or the Lake of the Two Mountains was in the vicinity of Montreal but there was another Montagnais mission up the St. Lawrence at Sillery and one on the Saguenay, at Tadoussac. From this we can see that the Montagnais as well as the Iroquois made use of the privilege. Books containing hymns for the Montagnais are numerous; one dates from 1830 and another dated 1890, the year of the publication of Fr. Burtin's book, also, contains Gregorian Chant music. Unfortunately, no reference to the Indult is made in its pages.

We especially point out in the translation of the Indult that which seems to refer to the extension of the privilege to a wider area. While it speaks of the authorization by the Bishops for a restricted area it also mentions that "The Holy See has even authorized this practice by an Indult accorded *to the missions of the savages of the New World.*" Fr. Vetromile's *Prayer Song Book* used in Maine has been discussed. Another edited by Médéric Prévost for the Chippewa and used in the midwest in the lakes region has been found.[36] Neither must we overlook others used for singing, with the Latin hymns in the Indian tongues. The whole problem will bear further investigation.

Fr. Burtin's book has since been superseded by one based on the chants of the now official Vatican Edition of 1908, at present the only edition of chant permitted in the Roman Rite. The new book with the Indian text for the Caughnawaga mission is in the course of preparation by Conrad Hauser, S. J., who is well versed in the language.

It is of interest that what is generally regarded as the first American Christmas Carol, "Jesous Ahatonhia," written in the Huron language (1641?) is the work of the missionary Jean de Brebeuf, S.J. (1593-1649). It was later given a French translation. The English rendition by Middleton is not authentic. A new translation from the Huron has recently appeared with the original French Noel.[37]

Among the few printed hymn books with music we mention three in common use in connection with the Indult. Two of these were from the Montagnais and one from the Iroquois. All of these contain Gregorian Chants with the Indian words underlining the music of the Mass, Vesper hymns, and a few motets. The cantiques appear in the more common form,—a heading giving the name of the tune. In many cases one can see from following the divisions of the liturgical year, the proper tunes as well as the name of the cantique. The earliest of these collections, 1847, mentions the name of Fr. Flavin Durocher as editor and is limited to the essential needs of Mass Chants and hymns.[38]

Another dated 1866, with Fr. Louis-Marie Lebret as editor is called *Recueil de Prieres et de Cantiques (Nina aiame masinaigan). . .for the use of the Indians of the Lake of the Two Mountains and Fort William in the Algonquin-Nipssing dialect.* [39] It contains 42 pages of hymns, about 170 hymns in all, in addition to some 13 Vesper hymns in Latin, appearing in an earlier section. A similiar book published for the same mission in 1854, probably translated by the Rev. J. C. Mathevet, was less extensive. These two books, exemplifying the basic examples, were divided into hymns for the seasons of the Church year, the Eucharist, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints. Jean-André Cuoq's book of 1865, a "paroissien" for the Seven Nations is a similar compilation but the cantiques (without music) are in Algonquin and Iroquois and are given in separate indices.[40] Still another book, with music, mentioned above as appearing in 1890, the same year as that of Fr. Burtin's book, unfortuntely does not contain the valuable Preface. It is described as "in Mohawk, Iroquois with a Mohawk base." The liturgical hymns in the vernacular are all listed in the index with Latin titles.

The Protestant mission at Caughnawaga used a nicely mimeographed hymnal of forty pages (1938) which contained a mixture of some fine hymns and common Gospel hymns. A unique hymn is "Kora Kowa" (The Great King) described as an old tribal hymn revived by Rev. Thomas Whitbean of the mission. The old tribal melody to which it was sung is unfortunately not included.[41]

D. *The Cherokee Syllabary* The Cherokee tribe lived in a territory bounded by what is now, roughly speaking, Kentucky, northern Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. The Moravian Brethren after a discouraging period abandoned the mission and were followed by the Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Baptists. However, the Moravians' first convert, the Indian, Charles Hicks, prominent in the later history of the tribe, declared it impossible to transcribe the language with the sounds of the English alphabet and abandoned the attempt after his first efforts. The invention of the Cherokee syllabary is a story that would delight any newspaper reporter for its inventor was an uneducated Indian, Sequoyah (1770-1842), sometimes called the American Cadmus. He was a half-breed, the son of a Dutch trader, hence his family name of George Gist or Guess.[42]

Sequoyah was intrigued by the writing of the white man which made it possible for others at a distance to learn the message by simply deciphering the writing. He was determined to find a scheme to make this possible for his people. Lameness kept him from participation in the chase and the ordinary activities of youths of his own age, but his affliction proved to be a factor in his success. An English speller that he came by was forever a mystery to him but it served indirectly in organizing his syllabary. He began by studying the sounds of the Cherokee and and recording the different words by ideograms of his own design. After he had collected several thousand of them he himself forgot what they meant. The work was looked upon as useless and he was regarded as a fool by the members of his tribe. Nevertheless it was not a total loss for it made him more sensitive to the sounds of his language. It was not long before he realized that many sounds were repeated and this suggested the cataloging of the different syllabic sounds.

At this stage he had reduced the sounds to 200 but realized the need of a more exact recording. With the aid of his daughter he finally reduced them to 82. It is amazing that in a later day others more skilled than Sequoyah were able to add only three others. For a means of identifying these sounds he turned to his English speller and since there were not sufficient letters for the 83 sounds (the added "s" made 83) he turned them in various directions and added a few others.[43]

He had to convince the Cherokee Council that this was the long looked-for scheme. A series of tests were organized but the one that turned the tide was the reading of several letters, written in the syllabary, by a group of Indians in a distant village. The Council was convinced and in a short time Sequoyah became an honored man. His syllabary was recognized by the whites and missionaries as well. The years of trial and error from 1809 to 1821 were at last crowned by success.

The American Mission Society saw the possibilities of the new syllabary and through the efforts of Dr. Samuel A. Worcester, type was cast in the Cherokee syllabic characters by Messrs. Baker and Green of Boston. Bibles, prayer books and hymn books with words only as well as a hymn book with music were printed with these signs. It was Dr. Worcester who established the press in the Cherokee country and the first book printed with these characters is thought to have been a hymn book of fifty pages by Elias Boudinot and Samuel A. Worcester, 1829. [44] The *Cherokee Phoenix,* a newspaper, was started in 1829, and two others of less importance, the *Advocate* and the *Messenger* were published in 1844, all in Cherokee characters.

In 1825 Sequoyah was awarded a silver medal "for his ingenuity in the Invention of the Cherokee Alphabet," and a pension was also awarded him. In 1911 a statue of Sequoyah was ordered by the Oklahoma legislature for the Hall of Statuary in the Capitol at Washington, where it was unveiled in 1917.

The most interesting of the Cherokee hymn books published by Worcester and the Indian Boudinot appeared in 1846 shortly after the death of Worcester. Its title, *The Cherokee Singing Book,* does not identify it as a hymn book nor are the names of Worcester or Boudinot mentioned. It opens with an Introductory section, a singing instructor in the elements of music in the Cherokee symbols. The remainder of the book is devoted to hymns in four parts on four staves, with the melody in the tenor. We find such common tunes as ARLINGTON, ATWOOD, BANGOR, BOYLESTON, BURFORD, DUKE ST., DUNDEE, FEDERAL ST., GERMAN HYMN, HAMBURG, HARMON, LYONS, MENDON, NAOMI, MISSIONARY HYMN, NUREMBURG, OLIVET, PORTUGUESE HYMN, ST. MI-

CHAEL, ST. THOMAS, SILVER ST., TALLIS, UXBRIDGE, WAREHAM, WATCHMAN, YARMOUTH and others. The fact that the book was published in Boston indirectly explains the appearance of several tunes by Lowell Mason.[45]

IV. The Midwest

A. *The Cree Syllabary* The Cree Indians are one of the largest branches of the Algonquin group. They occupied a large part of midwestern Canada in the modern provinces of Athabasca, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The inventor of this widely used syllabary was the Wesleyan Methodist missionary, James Evans. He was born in England in 1801 and arrived in northwestern Canada in 1825. In 1830 he was among the Chippewas where with a few other missionaries he prepared a uniform spellling book of the Chippewa language. In 1837 he went to New York to prepare books for publication in the Chippewa tongue. In a letter to his wife from New York he says, "The spelling book has cost $151.00, the hymns $554.91 and the music $1,000." A letter of July 4, 1837, the day he left New York for the West tells his wife, "I have nine large boxes of books, seventeen boxes of sterotype plates of music."

Evans went to Norway House at Rossville in the Hudson Bay region in 1840. The Cree Indians in this region were forced to go deep in the woods for food and furs, and only for short periods, and generally in small groups were they available for instruction when they came to trade at the post. Evans sought a solution, a simple way for the Indians to read so that they might have some religious contacts even though far away from the mission.

After about a year's study Evans felt that the principal sounds of the Cree language could be reduced to thirty-six and these with some variations and a few affixes could express the whole language. After a period of revision he arranged these sounds systematically and since he was familiar with shorthand, he composed a series of arbitrary signs to represent them.[46]

His first type was made from birchwood, his paper from thin sheets of bark, and his ink, soot from chimneys, mixed with fish oil. [47] His request for the introduction of a printing press was not granted by the Hudson Bay Company since they thought it might produce reading matter prejudicial to their interests. Later the request was approved on condition that only matter of a religious nature be printed. [48] Evans made a second crude set of type from bullets and the lead sheets that lined the tea chests imported from the East.

The course of trial and error is fortunately recorded in detail in his well-kept journals. On September 30, 1840, he records, "I cut type in lead of two characters, and I took moulds in clay, chalk, putty and sand, and I tried some fruitless experiments." [49] By October some progress was made and on the 13th his entry reads, "I cast a plate of hardened lead, polished it and commenced cutting the Cree alphabet, making a sort of sterotyped plate." On the 15th he adds, "Last night I finished the alphabet plate and today a few sheets."

The diary entry for November 11th records, "My type answers well. The hymn beginning 'Jesus my all to heaven is gone,' is in press." A few days later, November 17th, he struck off fifty copies of the same hymn and also "Behold the Savior of Mankind." On December 3rd he printed "Blow ye Trumpets Blow," and notes "the Indian children sing these well and several read with some fluency." Evans' syllabary was soon widely adapted to other Indian languages and books for the use of the missionaries using these signs later appeared in Chippewa, Sauteux, Moose, Mooseonee, Eskimo and Chippewayan. Some of these Cree syllabaries differed in the number of characters used and a few symbols were changed. [50]

William Mason, a missionary associated with Evans went to England to have type cast for the syllabary and to print the books prepared for the Indians. The Wesleyan Missionary Society in London agreed to sponsor the project and a good hand press with type and a quantity of ink was sent to Evans for his own use.[51] Meanwhile Mason carried on the printing in London with the British and Foreign Mission Society and through some confusion Mason for a time was looked upon as the inventor. That was righted and later Evans, broken in health, returned to England where he spent his last days lecturing and basking in the honors duly accorded him. His invention has been a boon to both Protestant and Catholic groups, and his name will ever remain a leading one in the work of improving the status of the Indian.

Since the Cree syllabary was used for many different tribes, there is a large number of hymn books found in this category. Evans was aided by the Indians, Peter Jones, George Henry, and others, in enlarging and in correcting the books. Jean Ross Hunter was another who translated many hymns using the Cree syllabary. Without a knowledge of the language and the syllabary these books are meaningless to the casual reader since only Cree symbols are used. Fortunately Orrin German's *Methodist Hymns,* Toronto Mission Rooms, (1885), uses Roman letters and gives the hymns as translated by those already mentioned. The Blackfoot tribe was also familiar with the Cree syllabary and a hymn book edited by Rev. H. W. Stocken for the Calgary mission (190-) containing thirty-eight hymns bears a close resemblance to our modern hymnals in its organization. [52]

The Catholic books follow a pattern already referred to several times: Latin hymns and the cantiques with the designated *airs*. That of Albert Lacombe, O. M. I., and Jean B. Thibault, O. M. I., are representative. In the latter the cantiques occupy pages 73 to 180. [53]

B. *The Meeker Syllabary* Jotham Meeker (1804-1850), a Baptist missionary who learned the printing trade in his teens is reputed to have brought the first printing press to Kansas. He labored among several Indian tribes in the Indian Territory. In 1832 he was at Sault St. Marie among the Chippewas where he arranged his first syllabary on a new principle. In this system the characters of the syllabary are divided into two groups in which "some of the characters indicate sounds, others merely show the position of the organs of speech." As the Indian languages with which he was familiar revealed many likenesses he adapted his syllabary for several of them. For practical reasons he used Roman letters which were at hand in the printing office rather than arbitrary characters. To the original, the Chippewa, he later added the Delaware, Potawatomi, Shawanoe, Ottawa, Otoe and Choctaw languages.[54]

Meeker's diary gives a number of entries relating to the printing of these syllabaries and the hymns. Within a week after he had composed his first syllabary, he records the translation of some hymns from Ottawa into Chippewa. It was not thought practical enough as a system by the Methodist, Presbyterian or his own Baptist group. As a result the system had only a limited use and the books were printed in small editions. Nevertheless it deserves mention in this survey. Ill health prevented Meeker from continuing and the printing was taken over by J. G. Pratt after 1836. Meeker retired to Ottawa, Kansas, where he died in 1850.

V. THE WEST

A. *Mexican and Californian Missions* The earliest missionary activity in the far West was in Mexico. Here we have limited ourselves to a brief survey of early hymn singing as taught by the Spanish Franciscans. Fray Bernardino de Shagun (1500-1590) came to New Spain in 1529. After learning Nahutal, the language of the Aztecs, he compiled the *Psalmodia Christiana* published in Mexico City in 1583. These were hymns, not psalms, written some twenty-five years before they were published, sung to Indian melodies which unfortunately were not recorded. Fray Martin de Valencia in a letter to the Emperor dated 1532 speaks of the musical training of the children and the singing of the canonical hours.[55] A similar reference is made to the singing of Matins, Vespers, and Compline (of which hymns are an integral part) in Texas in 1630. [56]

The mission system which obligated the Indans to live within the mission where their daily lives were divided into periods of work and prayer and recreation, was the basis of progress in their education. At some missions it was customary to sing a hymn on awakening. At St. Juan Capistrano, the hymn was "Now Breaks the glowing orb of day," (Ye viene et alba). At Santa Clara they assembled in the church square to sing. The *doctrina* or catechism was repeated twice daily by rote and the hymns were learned in the same manner. In the morning it was recited in Spanish and in the evening in the Indian language. Padre Felipe Arroya de la Custa (1807-1840) of San Juan Baptista mission composed hymns in the Mutsun language as well as music for the Mass, and mission melodies. Four hymns were in common use: the Morning Hymn "El cantico del Alba;" the famous "Alabado" or song of divine praise, the "Salve Regina," and the "Adoro te Sancta Cruz."

The missions were fortunate in having a number of fine musicians among the friars. At first congregational singing prevailed but in time formal choirs were organized. Orchestras were developed which served for the accompaniment of the choir and for recreational purposes. Two of these musicians are outstanding, Padre Narciso Duran and Padre Estavan Tapis. The latter was the inventor of a system of colored notation by which three or four voices could be placed on the same staff. The colors differed from mission to mission. Padre Duran for instance used white notes outlined in red for the first voice, white notes outlined in black for the second, a solid red note for the tenor and a solid black note for the bass. In this manner polyphonic settings of the hymns were sung.

B. *Oregon Territory and British Columbia: The Chinook Jargon*
The establishment of Astoria in 1811 at the mouth of the Columbia River and of Vancouver attracted a number of French Canadians to the northwest. Since the fur trade was their object they gradually developed a trade language in which French and English words were combined with Indian words. It came to be known as Chinook jargon, already mentioned, and in a general way was a common tongue from Oregon to Alaska. It never possessed more than five or six hundred words, some of which became dormant or obsolete with the passage of time [57] Gabriel Franchére, a member of the original party that set sail for Astoria by way of Cape Horn, made a list of thirty-three words, thirteen numerals and some phrases. This was published in 1820. [58]

As the number of French Canadians grew, the Pacific Fur Company and the Hudson Bay Company, anxious to keep the Canadians in the west, sought missionaries for them. A Protestant mission had already been established by the time the Catholic missionaries were invited to come. In 1834 the Methodists led by Rev. Jason Lee established themselves in the Willamette River Valley and Marcus Whitman and Rev. H. W. Spaulding came a few years later. [59] In 1838 two Catholic Missionaries arrived, Norbert Blanchet (1793-1883), later Archbishop of Oregon Territory (Oregon City) and Modest Demers (1804-1871), later Bishop of Vancouver. They opened missions at Cowlitz and later on the Willamette.

The Chinook jargon was a godsend to the missionaries as we have noted, for it enabled them to reach the various tribes of the region with a common language until the native languages could be learned and recorded. The approach to the Canadians was easy and Fr. Demers soon had them singing the first stanzas of fifty hymns in French.

These hymns were sung alternately by choirs of men and women after the first stanza. Within a month he had learned the jargon well enough to teach the Indians their prayers and a few hymns in their language. [60] Today, even among the Indians, the jargon is almost unknown.

A prayer book published in 1871 which existed in manuscript for some years summarizes the work of Frs. Blanchet and Demers in these first decades. It is the *Chinook (Jargon) Dictionary, Catechism, prayers and hymns, Composed* 1838-9 *by the*

Rev. L(ouis) N(apoleon) St. Onge, missionary among the Yakamas and other Indian tribes, 1871. The hymns were printed without music, the tunes being indicated at the beginning.

Myron Eels (1843-1907), the son of Cushing E. Eells the founder of Whitman College (1859), edited the *Hymns in the Chinook Jargon Language* of which a second edition appeared in 1889.[61] It is worth noting the difficulties they had to contend with in adopting the jargon to the tunes. The Preface mentions that a large portion of the words of two syllables have their accent on the second syllable "which renders it almost impossible to compose hymns in common or short meters." The tunes mentioned are of the Gospel Song type with jargon and English on opposite pages. We give the first five as illustrative:

JOHN BROWN ("Jesus came from heaven")
JESUS LOVES ME ("Always Jesus is very strong")
COME TO JESUS ("Come here (church) today") Sunday
BLOWING BILLOWS (Formerly I loved wiskey")
ABC (If we drink wiskey")

C. *The Shorthand Indians* Jean Marie Raphael Le Jeune, O.M.I., inspired an exceptional project which employed shorthand for the religious instruction of the Indians of British Columbia. He came to Canada in 1877 and set out for the Northwest shortly afterwards. Like other missionaries he went through the discouraging period of trying to teach the Indians to read with English letters. In deciding on the use of a syllabary, he turned to shorthand with which he was familiar. Shorthand had a distinct advantage over the other syllabaries (such as the Cree which resembled it) for once learned the Indians could read and write in any language even if they did not understand its meaning. His first publications were shorthand transcriptions in Chinook Jargon, but later ones even included Latin for church services.[62]

In 1886 he published a practical vocabulary of the Jargon and in 1892 republished it in shorthand using the Duployan system he had learned as a boy. In a book of instructions for the Indians, the *Duployan Phonographia,* he suggests the learning of English and his initial page divides the symbols into three sections: I. Simple, for Chinook, II. Complete, for English, III. Numerals. In an opposite column he says "This system of shorthand was first published in France by the Duployé Brothers, in 1867. It was first taught to the Indians of British Columbia, at Coldwater, in the fall of 1890." A crippled Indian boy, Charles Alexis Mayoos, was his first pupil who, with his companions, became interested in the "talking language" which gradually came to be known in the neighboring Indian villages.

In 1891 Le Jeune began the publication of a "newspaper" as a means of teaching his people shorthand, with religious instruction. *The Kamloops Wawa,* mimeographed at first, appeared in 1891; in 1894 it was printed by a photo-engraving process, and continued until 1905. Although the hymns were printed in Chinook Jargon it was deemed necessary in time to have manuals containing the prayers, hymns and so forth, in the various Indian languages of the region. In 1896 such books, in shorthand, were published in Chinook, Sushwap, Swamish, Sheshel and Slayamen languages, and the following year in Thompson, Lillooet, Stalo and Okanagan. [63]

From the pages of the *Wawa* (talk) a Latin manual was assembled giving hymns and music for the Mass, all in Gregorian Chant notation with the text underlined in shorthand. A *Vade Mecum* published in 1902 in shorthand includes the Vesper hymns as well as numerous others and was actually a missal for the laity comparable to the better ones published today. [64]

As an illustration of the participation of the Indians in the liturgical services of Holy Week we cull this item from the *Wawa* in 1895. As early as dawn on Palm Sunday up to 400 Indians had already assembled for the services and they were joined by about 100 others in the course of the week. "With such numbers," we read, "most of whom could join in the chanting of the Gloria, Credo, etc. and the responses at High Mass and the Litany, it was most impressive." [65]

D. *The Déné Syllabary* The Déné tribes consist of the Chilicotins, Sabines, Sekanais and Carriers. In 1881 Adrian Gabriel Morice, O.M.I. (1859-1938), before he was ordained labored at St. Mary's mission among the Chilicotins. Here he took charge of the music and succeeded in organizing a fine band and a choir. As the mission was without an organ he took the band to the towns and the mining camps and collected sufficient money to pay for the much hoped-for-organ.[66] After his ordination he was sent again to work among the Chilicotins (1874) and shortly afterwards among the Carrier Indians at Stuart Lake. It was here in

1885 that he organized his Déné syllabary. The Déné syllabary had characters designed to overcome the defects of the Evans syllabary which he criticized specifically as follows: "In a set of signs the vocal value of which depends upon the direction of its general strokes, it is a real drawback to have some turned, for instance to the right, others to the left, etc. while expressing the same sound." Besides improving on the former systems, the Déné syllabary possessed the needed characters for added sounds peculiar to the Déné language.

Type for the syllabary was obtained at great expense and cast by the Dominion Type Foundry in Montreal. From the proceeds of his first book, *Au Pays de L'Ours Noir,* he bought a large printing press and printed his first book in the new syllabary for the Carrier Indians. This contained the prayers, a catechism and eighty hymns, in all 328 pages. [67]

In 1903-4 he found it necessary to leave his post to consult a doctor in a distant city. Bad health prevented his return so his press, type, books and manuscripts were sent to him. Because they were poorly packed, the precious type was strewn along the wilderness (Caribou) road and the press broken. Undaunted he tried to remedy the loss by turning out a new book using Roman type but even these hundred copies disappeared mysteriously. Thus the syllabary became a matter of history and the first book printed in the Déné syllabary could never be replaced.

VI. THE FAR NORTH: THE ESKIMOS

Eskimo (Excomminquois), a name given them by Pierre Biard, the Jesuit missionary, in 1611, has ever since been associated with this people. The earliest mission dated from the period of Eric the Red but later ones were established in Greenland and Labrador, the Hudson Bay region and Alaska. A small group led by the missionary, Hans Egede, landed in Greenland in 1721 and in 1756 Luther's Catechism was published in the Eskimo tongue. About 90 pages were given to hymns. Jasper Broderson compiled a new collection of hymns and used the small printing press he brought from Europe to strike off a few copies until a larger printing could be obtained from Germany. Another book edited by Knud appeared in 1838 and provided 380 pages of hymns in the German Lutheran tradition.

The Methodist minister Edward J. Peck, already mentioned, who established a mission on the east shore of Hudson Bay, adapted the Evans syllabary for use among the Eskimos. The first book printed with this syllabary was made up of some sections of the Scriptures but in 1881 the *Book of Common Prayer,* likewise in syllabic characters, was published with a few pages, (5-22), devoted to hymns.

The Russians entered the Alaskan mission field in 1794 and centered their efforts in the Aleutian Islands. Books were printed in the Cyrillac or Russian characters of the Greek Orthodox liturgy but no hymns are mentioned. Protestant groups of several denominations appeared after 1880.

Archdeacon Robert McDonald, whose mission was close to the Arctic circle, was the originator of a syllabary suggested by the Cree syllabary which emloyed syllables spelled out in Roman letters. In this scheme there were 400-500 syllables the basis for books in the Tukudh language[68] (1885).

The Jesuits entered the Alaskan mission field in 1886. Francis Barnum, S.J., the author of the standard Eskimo grammar and dictionary, speaks of congregational singing.[69] Msgr. Arsène Louis Eugène Turquetil, who labored among the Eskimos of upper Hudson Bay, adapted a syllabary for the Eskimos which was based on a Montagnais syllabary, a descendant of the Cree syllabary. One aspect of his effort has a modern touch. In 1919 an order was received in New York by the old Hammond Typewriter Company, who specialized in fonts for foreign languages, for a set of characters for his newly devised syllabary. From this was typed the stencils of a *Vade Mecum* for the Eskimos. Later, in 1934, this *Vade Mecum* of 156 pages was printed in France.[70] A number of hymns were included.

A contemporary report is found in a book of Paul O'Connor, S.J. He speaks of the singing of hymns in Innuit and English and records an item that will surely effect the trend of Catholic hymnody in the Alaskan missions. He reports that the old Italian and French missionaries had translated the best hymns of the *Christian Brothers Hymnal (The Catholic Youth's Hymnal,* undoubtedly) into decasyllabic Eskimo. He further adds that Fr. Lonneux's duplication of an entire Eskimo hymnal will become the standard in the lower Yukon.[71]

VII CONCLUSION

These pages have emphasized some of the schemes devised to lighten the hardships in the Christianizing of the American Indian. Unfortunately this knowledge is not too widespread and it is hoped that this survey may be the means of interesting others in a more detailed study of some of the data mentioned. Fortunately a large number of sources are still available although many of them are in an advanced stage of decay. To condense this study to the limits of these pages has necessitated the omission of interesting sidelights that would have enlivened many bare and simple statements of fact.

Those interested in writing the history of the church music in America generally condense this era to a few pages or paragraphs if they choose to mention it at all. How unjust this omission is, can be partially gauged from the above. It seems a strange paradox, but the Indians in many missions were doing much more congregational singing and in some cases using finer hymns than their white brethren at a similar time. All too often it was the white man who ruined the good influence of the missionaries.

Let us not think of the Indian languages as a crude means of expression. Silas Rand who was versed in several languages speaks of the Micmac as his preference among all the languages he knew. Another missionary, Eugene Vetromile, S. J., whose work has been described in the above pages, observes that the formula for Baptism in Micmac is to his knowledge its most beautiful expression, and he urged the keeping of this formula in the prayer books.

Hymn singing stands as a part of the keystone in the arch through which passed the procession of heroes that brought the light of Christianity to America. Through singing they prayed and praised. In time the wilderness added its small but increasingly eloquent voice and the acclaim of Christ the King spread through the land.

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CHEROKEE ALPHABET.

Ꭰ a	Ꭱ e	Ꭲ i	Ꭳ o	Ꭴ u	Ꭵ v
Ꭶ ga Ꭷ ka	Ꭸ ge	Ꭹ gi	Ꭺ go	Ꭻ gu	Ꭼ gv
Ꭽ ha	Ꭾ he	Ꭿ hi	Ꮀ ho	Ꮁ hu	Ꮂ hv
Ꮃ la	Ꮄ le	Ꮅ li	Ꮆ lo	Ꮇ lu	Ꮈ lv
Ꮉ ma	Ꮊ me	Ꮋ mi	Ꮌ mo	Ꮍ mu	
Ꮎ na Ꮏ hna	Ꮑ ne	Ꮒ ni	Ꮓ no	Ꮔ nu	Ꮕ nv
Ꮖ gwa	Ꮗ gwe	Ꮘ gwi	Ꮙ gwo	Ꮚ gwu	Ꮛ gwv
Ꮜ sa Ꮝ s	Ꮞ se	Ꮟ si	Ꮠ so	Ꮡ su	Ꮢ sv
Ꮣ da Ꮤ ta	Ꮥ de Ꮦ te	Ꮧ di Ꮨ ti	Ꮩ do	Ꮪ du	Ꮫ dv
Ꮬ dla Ꮭ tla	Ꮮ dle	Ꮯ dli	Ꮰ dlo	Ꮱ dlu	Ꮲ dlv
Ꮳ dsa	Ꮴ dse	Ꮵ dsi	Ꮶ dso	Ꮷ dsu	Ꮸ dsv
Ꮹ wa	Ꮺ we	Ꮻ wi	Ꮼ wo	Ꮽ wu	Ꮾ wv
Ꮿ ya	Ᏸ ye	Ᏹ yi	Ᏺ yo	Ᏻ yu	Ᏼ yv

Sounds represented by Vowels.

a as *a* in *father*, or short [illegible] *a* in *rival*,
e as *a* in *hate*, or short as *e* in *met*,
i as *i* in *pique*, or short as *i* in *pit*,
o as *aw* in *law*, or short as *o* in *not*, nearly,
u as *oo* in *moon*, or short as *u* in *pull*,
v as *u* in *but*, nasalized.

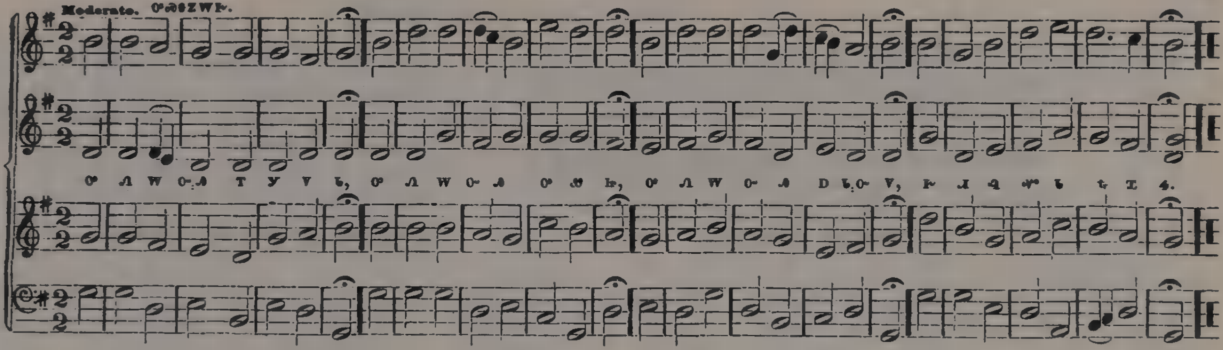
Consonant Sounds.

The sound of g is nearly as hard g in English, but approaching to k. That of d nearly [illegible] in English, but approaching to t. Other consonants [illegible] in English.

In some words g, l, n, d, w, and y are aspirated, [illegible] if preceded by h. Aspiration gives to g the power of k, and to d the power of t.

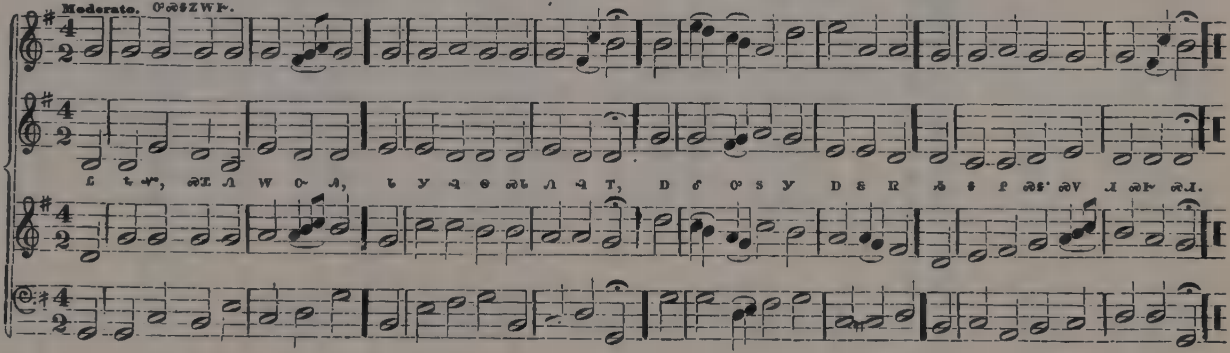
Cherokee Syllabary of Sequoyah

OLD HUNDRED. L. M. ᎠᎹᎪᏍᏗᏘ ᎠᏍᏈᏢ, 8.


Moderato. ᎤᏍᏚᏃᎳᏥ.
ᎤᏁᎳᏅ:Ꭿ ᎢᎩᏙᏓ, ᎤᏁᎳᏅᎯ ᎤᏪᏥ, ᎤᏁᎳᏅᎯ ᎠᏓ:ᏅᏙ, Ꮵ Ꮷ Ꮹ Ꮻ Ꮣ Ꮦ Ꮖ Ꮞ.

TALLIS. L. M. ᎳᎵᏓ, 8.

Arranged by L. MASON.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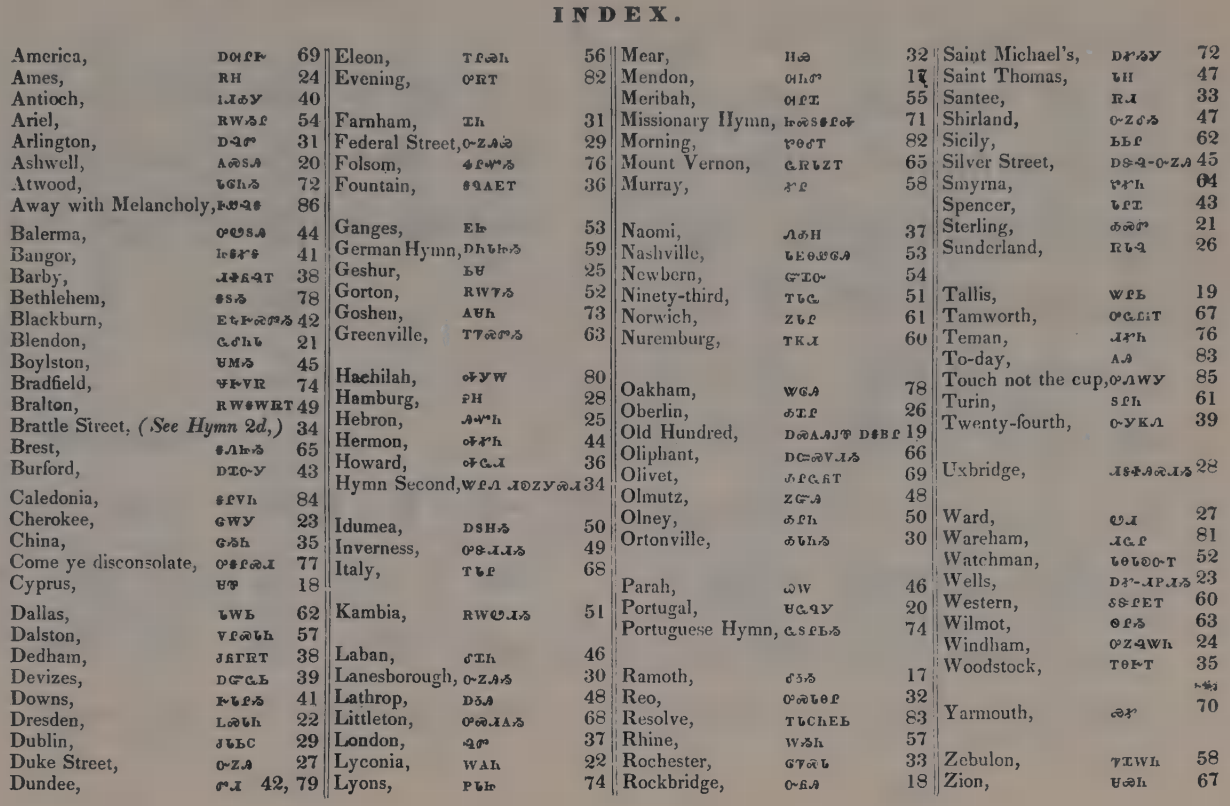
Ꮭ Ꮦ Ꮻ, ᏍᏆ Ꮑ Ꮃ Ꮕ Ꮒ, Ꮣ Ꭹ Ꮹ Ꮎ ᏍᏓ Ꮑ Ꮹ Ꭲ, Ꭰ Ꮄ Ꭴ Ꮜ Ꭹ Ꭰ Ꭶ Ꮢ Ꮐ Ꮥ Ꮅ ᏍᎦ ᏍᏙ Ꮷ ᏍᏥ ᏍᏧ.



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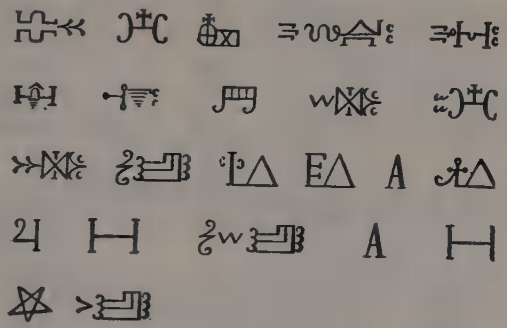
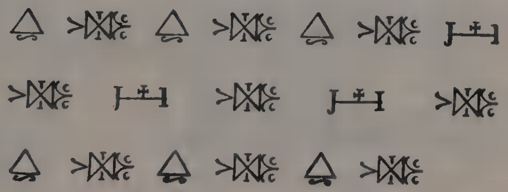
Asperges.

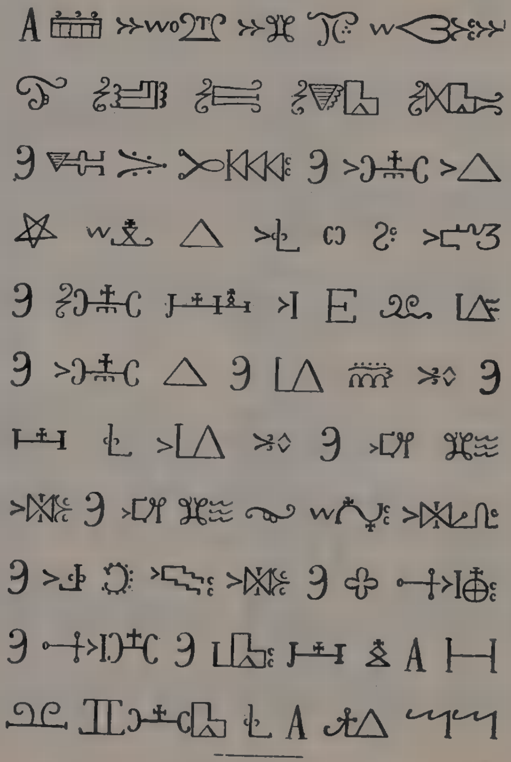


Kyrie.

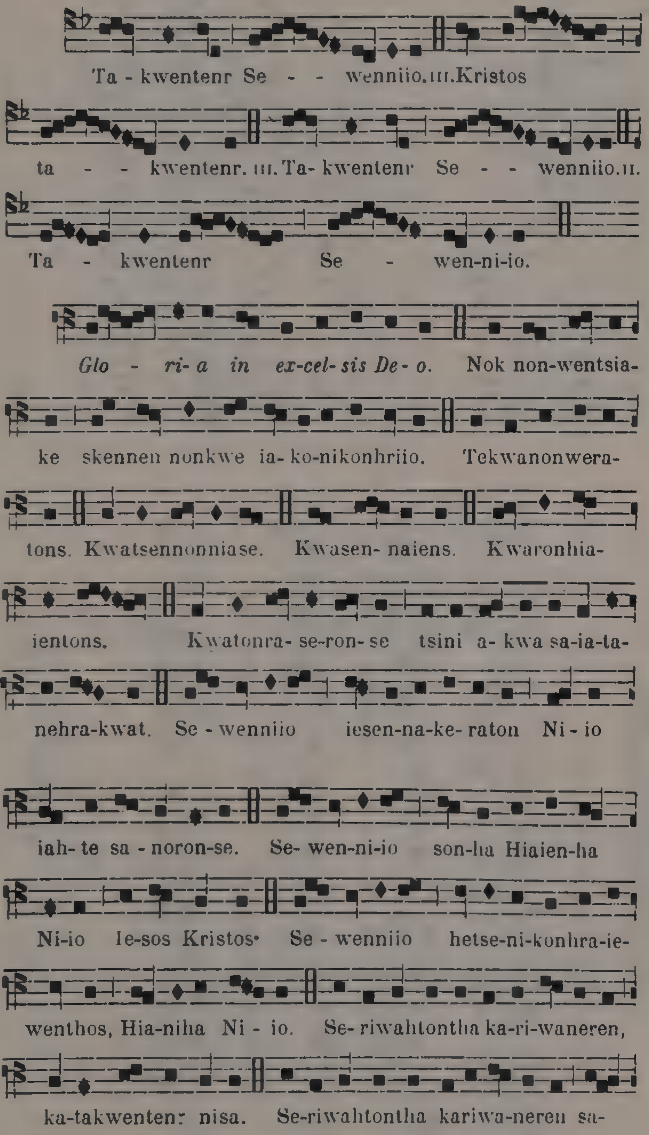


Micmac Pictographs

Gloria.



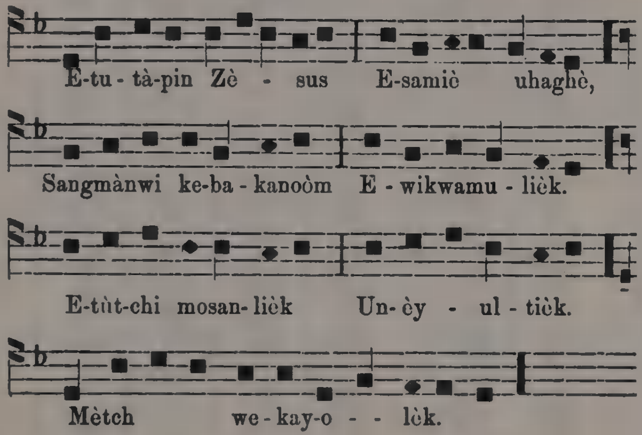
TAKWENTENR AWENTOKON


Ta - kwentenr Se - - wenniio. III. Kristos
ta - - kwentenr. III. Ta- kwentenr Se - - wenniio. II.
Ta - kwentenr Se - wen-ni-io.
Glo - ri- a in ex-cel- sis De- o. Nok non-wentsia-
ke skennen nonkwe ia- ko-nikonhriio. Tekwanonwera-
tons. Kwatsennonniase. Kwasen- naiens. Kwaronhia-
ientons. Kwatonra- se-ron- se tsini a- kwa sa-ia-ta-
nehra-kwat. Se - wenniio iesen-na-ke- raton Ni - io
iah- te sa - noron-se. Se- wen-ni-io son-ha Hiaien-ha
Ni-io Ie-sos Kristos• Se - wenniio hetse-ni-konhra-ie-
wenthos, Hia-niha Ni - io. Se- riwahtontha ka-ri-waneren,
ka-takwentenr nisa. Se-riwahtontha kariwa-neren sa-

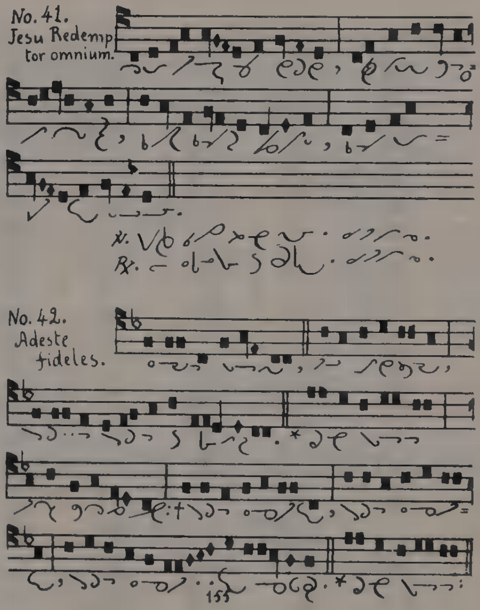
Kyrie (Mass XII) -Text in Mohawk

BAMOSSEYMIHAMOK.

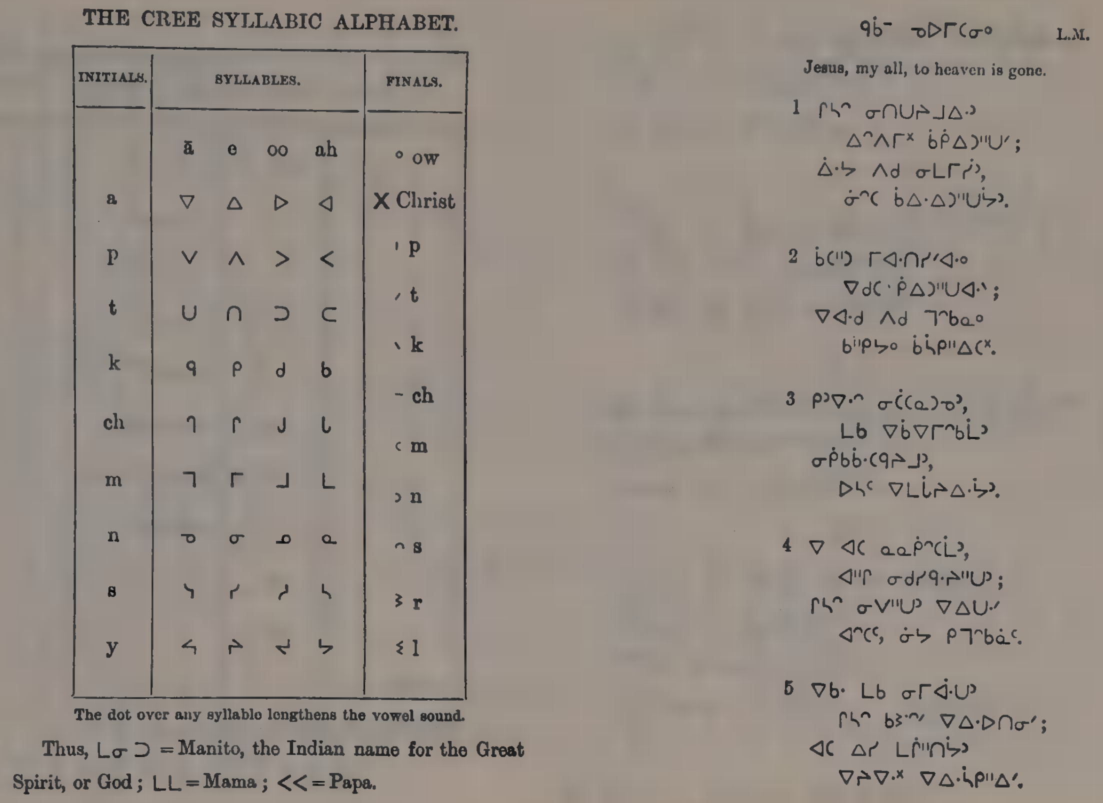
For Corpus Christi.


E-tu - tà-pin Zè - sus E-samiò uhaghè,
Sangmànwi ke-ba - kanoòm E - wikwamu - lièk.
E-tùt-chi mosan- lièk Un- èy - ul - tièk.
Mètch we - kay-o - - lèk.

From the Prayer Song Book (Maine)


No. 41.
Jesu Redemp tor omnium.
No. 42.
Adeste fideles.
155

From the Latin Manual (Western Canada)



THE CREE SYLLABIC ALPHABET.

INITIALS.	SYLLABLES.				FINALS.
	ā	e	oo	ah	ᐤ ow
a	ᐁ	ᐃ	ᐅ	ᐊ	X Christ
p	ᐯ	ᐱ	ᐳ	ᐸ	ᑊ p
t	ᑌ	ᑎ	ᑐ	ᑕ	ᐟ t
k	ᑫ	ᑭ	ᑯ	ᑲ	ᐠ k
ch	ᒉ	ᒋ	ᒍ	ᒐ	ᐨ ch
m	ᒣ	ᒥ	ᒧ	ᒪ	ᒼ m
n	ᓀ	ᓂ	ᓄ	ᓇ	ᐣ n
s	ᓭ	ᓯ	ᓱ	ᓴ	ᐢ s
y	ᔦ	ᔨ	ᔪ	ᔭ	ᕒ r
					ᓬ l

The dot over any syllable lengthens the vowel sound.

Thus, ᒪᓂᑐ = Manito, the Indian name for the Great Spirit, or God; ᒪᒪ = Mama; ᐸᐸ = Papa.

ᑫᑳᐨ ᓀᐅᒥᑕᓂᐤ L.M.

Jesus, my all, to heaven is gone.

1 ᒋᓴᐢ ᓂᑎᑌᔨᒧᐃ·ᐣ
ᐃᐢᐱᒥˣ ᑳᑮᐃᐣᐦᑌᐟ;
ᐄ·ᔭ ᐱᑯ ᓂᒪᒥᓰᐣ,
ᓅᐢᑕ ᑳᐃ·ᐃᐣᐦᑌᔮᐣ.

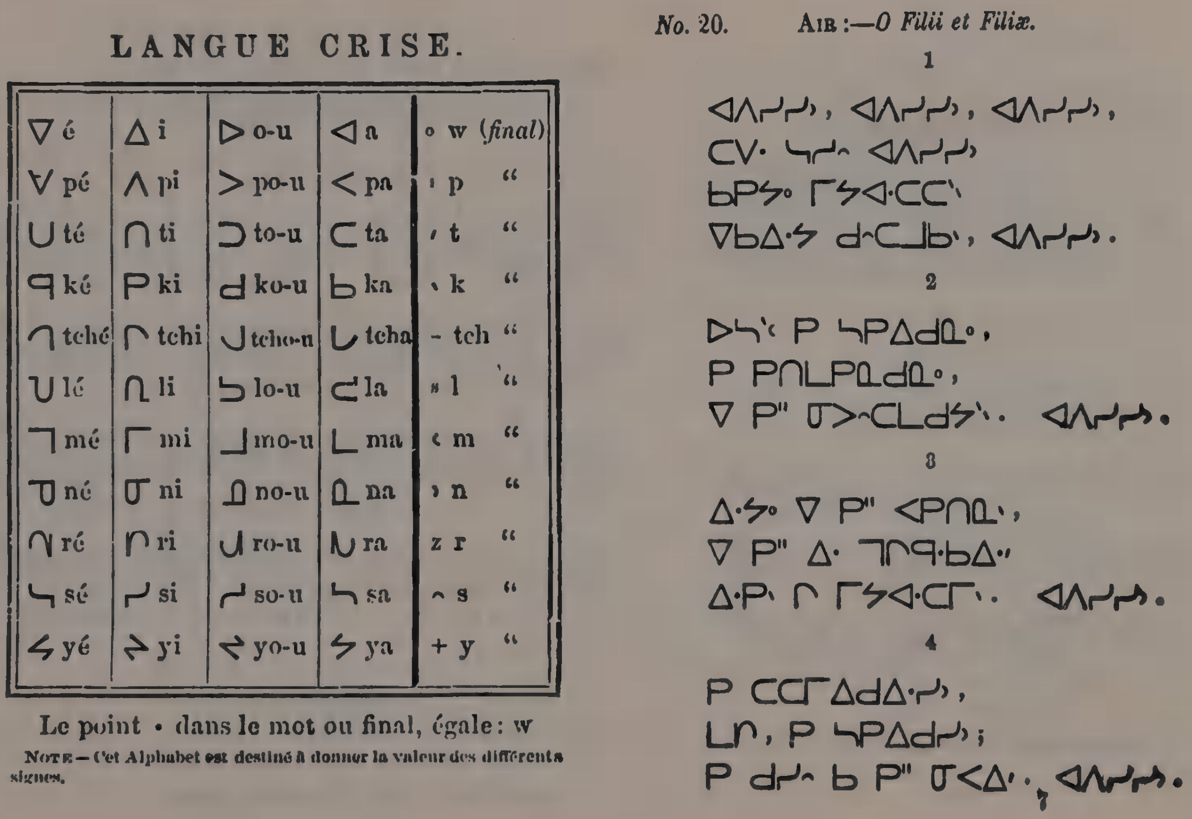
2 ᑳᑕᐦᐣ ᒥᐊ·ᑎᓯᐟᐊ·ᐤ
ᐁᑯᑕ·ᑮᐃᐣᐦᑌᐊ·ᐠ;
ᐁᐊ·ᑯ ᐱᑯ ᒉᐢᑲᓇᐤ
ᑲᐦᑭᔭᐤ ᑳᓵᑭᐦᐃᑕˣ.

3 ᑭᐣᐁ·ᐢ ᓂᑖᑕᓇᐣᓀᐣ,
ᒪᑲ ᐁᑳᐁᒥᐢᑲᒫᐣ
ᓂᑮᑲᑳ·ᑕᑫᔨᒨᐣ,
ᐅᓴᒼ ᐁᒪᒑᔨᐃ·ᔮᐣ.

4 ᐁ ᐊᑕ ᓇᓇᑮᐢᑕᒫᐣ,
ᐊᐦᒋ ᓂᑯᓯᑫ·ᔨᐦᑌᐣ;
ᒋᓴᐢ ᓂᐯᐦᑌᐣ ᐁᐃᑌ·ᐟ
ᐊᐢᑕᐢ, ᓅᔭ ᑭᒉᐢᑲᓈᒼ.

5 ᐁᑲ· ᒪᑲ ᓂᒥᐋ·ᑌᐣ
ᒋᓴᐢ ᑲᕒ·ᐢᐟ ᐁᐃ·ᐅᑎᓂᐟ;
ᐊᑕ ᐃᓯ ᒪᒦᐦᑎᔮᐣ
ᐁᔨᐁ·ˣ ᐁᐃ·ᓵᑭᐦᐃᐟ.

Evans' Cree Syllabary- First hymn printed with these characters



LANGUE CRISE.

ᐁ é	ᐃ i	ᐅ o-u	ᐊ a	∘ w (*final*)
ᐯ pé	ᐱ pi	ᐳ po-u	ᐸ pa	ı p “
ᑌ té	ᑎ ti	ᑐ to-u	ᑕ ta	ʼ t “
ᑫ ké	ᑭ ki	ᑯ ko-u	ᑲ ka	ˎ k “
ᒉ tché	ᒋ tchi	ᒍ tcho-u	ᒐ tcha	- tch “
ᓓ lé	ᓕ li	ᓗ lo-u	ᓚ la	″ l “
ᒣ mé	ᒥ mi	ᒧ mo-u	ᒪ ma	‹ m “
ᓀ né	ᓂ ni	ᓄ no-u	ᓇ na	› n “
ᕃ ré	ᕆ ri	ᕈ ro-u	ᕋ ra	z r “
ᓭ sé	ᓯ si	ᓱ so-u	ᓴ sa	^ s “
ᔦ yé	ᔨ yi	ᔪ yo-u	ᔭ ya	+ y “

Le point • dans le mot ou final, égale : w

Note—Cet Alphabet est destiné à donner la valeur des différents signes.

No. 20. Air :—*O Filii et Filiæ.*

1

ᐊᐱᓯᓯ›, ᐊᐱᓯᓯ›, ᐊᐱᓯᓯ›,
ᑕᐯ· ᓴᓯ^ ᐊᐱᓯᓯ›
ᑲᑭᔭ∘ ᒥᔭᐊ·ᑕᑕˎ
ᐁᑲᐃ·ᔭ ᑯ^ᑕᒧᑲʼ, ᐊᐱᓯᓯ›.

2

ᐅᓴˎ‹ ᑭ ᓴᑭᐃᑯᓇ∘,
ᑭ ᑭᑎᒪᑭᓇᑯᓇ∘,
ᐁ ᑭ" ᓂᐳ^ᑕᒪᑯᔭˎ. ᐊᐱᓯᓯ›.

3

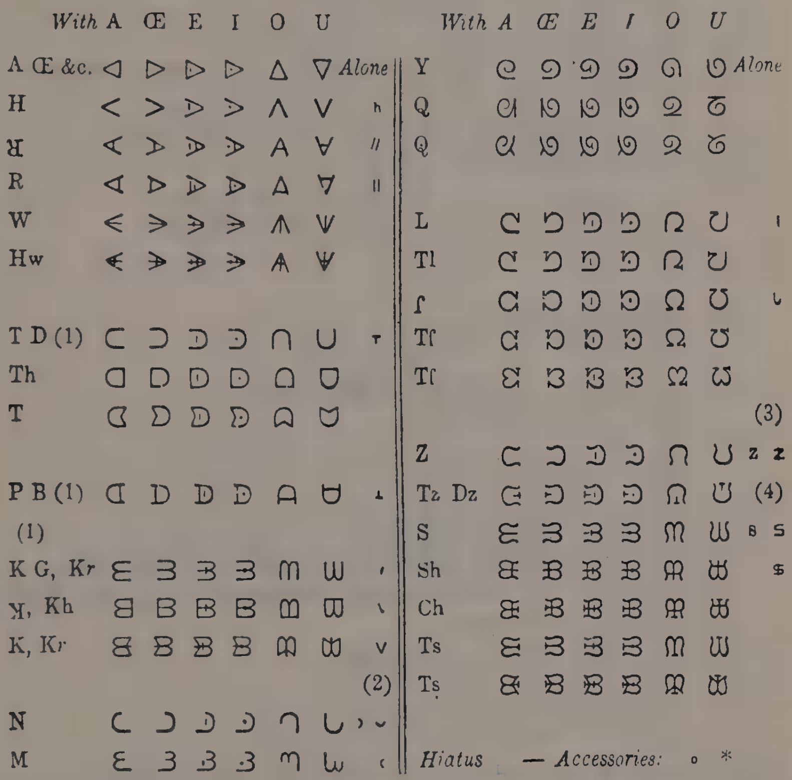
ᐃ·ᔭ∘ ᐁ ᑭ" ᐸᑭᑎᓇˎ,
ᐁ ᑭ" ᐃ· ᒣᑎᑫ·ᑲᐃ·"
ᐃ·ᑭˎ ᒋ ᒥᔭᐊ·ᑕᒥˎ. ᐊᐱᓯᓯ›.

4

ᑭ ᑕᑕᒥᐃᑯᐃ·ᓯ›,
ᒪᕆ, ᑭ ᓴᑭᐃᑯᓯ›;
ᑭ ᑯᓯ^ ᑲ ᑭ" ᓂᐸᐃʼ·, ᐊᐱᓯᓯ›.

Fr. Lacombe's adaption of the Evans Syllabary (compare) -Hymn using these characters

DENE SYLLABARY.


With A Œ E I O U
A Œ &c.
Alone
H
Ɍ
R
W
Hw
T D (1)
Th
T
P B (1)
(1)
K G, Kr
ɣ, Kh
K, Kr
(2)
N
M
With A Œ E I O U
Y
Alone
Q
Q
L
Tl
ɾ
Tɾ
Tɾ
(3)
Z
Tz Dz
(4)
S
Sh
Ch
Ts
Tṣ
Hiatus — Accessories: ∘ *

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

(1) These letters are not differentiated in Dene. (2) ⌣ is the nasal *n*. (3) ᴢ is the French *j*. (4) ꜱ is phonetically intermediate between ꞩ and *s*.

The vowels as in Italian, except *œ* as the *e* in Fr. *je*, *te*. — The *r* of *Kr*, *Ḳr* is hardly perceptible. *ɣ*, *ɣ̣* are very guttural. *R* is the result of uvular vibrations. *Kh*, *Th* =*k*+*h*, *t*+*h*. *Q* almost = *ty* *ɾ* is a peculiarly sibilant *l*. The dot accompanying consonants represents the exploding sound (rendered by ‹ incorporated in the signs). * is prefixed to proper names, and ∘ is suffixed to syllables the vowel of which it is necessary to render long. The rest as in Engl.

Fr. Morice's Déné Syllabary

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JAMES RAWLINGS SYDNOR, *Editor*

XIX

Louis F. Benson, Hymnologist

by

MORGAN P. NOYES

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LOUIS F. BENSON, HYMNOLOGIST

THE HYMNODY of the Christian Church is immeasurably indebted to a small group of men and women who in otherwise not strikingly eventful lives made the enrichment of the church's praise through song the main business of their days. In this company were Isaac Watts, who lived for thirty-six years, a semi-invalid, in the home of Sir Thomas Abney in Hertfordshire; John Mason Neale, whose wardenship of Sackville College left him free to devote most of his time to his studies of the Greek and Latin hymns; John Julian, Vicar of Wincobank, who assembled a group of scholars to prepare the invaluable *Dictionary of Hymnology;* the Borthwick sisters, Jane and Sarah (Mrs. Findlater), daughters of a Scottish barrister, whose research embodied in *Hymns from the Land of Luther* did so much to introduce German hymns to the English-speaking world. In this company belongs Dr. Louis FitzGerald Benson, whom Dr. Henry van Dyke characterized as "the foremost hymnologist that America has produced," adding that "it would be hard to find anywhere in this field his equal in breadth of learning, soundness of judgment, and fineness of taste."[1]

The facts of Dr. Benson's life can be briefly stated. Born in Philadelphia in 1855, he was the son of an active Christian layman, Gustavus S. Benson, who after a successful business life devoted his latter years entirely to the service of his church and community. The father was a Trustee of Princeton Theological Seminary and of the Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, and was active in the Pennsylvania Bible Society and in the service of students at Girard College. Louis Benson graduated from the College Department of the University of Pennsylvania at the age of nineteen, already imbued with the love of the classics, a love which became a lifelong devotion. He entered the Law School of the same University from which he graduated in 1877. For seven years he practiced law, but to be a lawyer was not his vocation. He abandoned his legal practice to enter Princeton Theological Seminary, graduating in 1887. Then came six useful years in the pastorate as minister of the Presbyterian Church of The Redeemer in Germantown. Christian scholarship, however, was his metier and the study of the church's treasury of hymns his particular field of interest and labor. After his comparatively brief pastorate, he carried on his ministry in his study, from which issued forth the result of his painstaking labors, in books and articles which he wrote, hymn books which he edited, and lectures which he delivered. He died at his home in Philadelphia on October 10, 1930, at the age of 76. He measured life not by titles and positions, but by the service he could render in his chosen field, and the record of that service is impressive. Henry Wilder Foote, in his *Three Centuries of American Hymnody,* comments: "For forty years he rendered distinguished service to his denomination, and to all students of hymnology. . . . No other American author of the twentieth century has made any contribution to our knowledge of hymnody comparable to Dr. Benson's, and only two or three have written as many hymns of fine quality."[2]

In considering the work of a man whose activity, while centering in his study, had a variety of aspects, it is inevitable that one should ask in which field he made his greatest contribution. Was it as a scholar in the realm of hymnology, as a lecturer, an editor of hymn-books, as liturgist, or as poet and writer of hymns? It is probably too soon to answer that question. It may be that at some future time some one of Dr. Benson's hymns will grow in popular favor to become one of the universally known and loved expressions of the church's praise. That can hardly be said yet to have taken place, widely used as some of the Benson hymns are. The role in which he is pre-eminent among his countrymen is as scholar and writer in the field of hymnology. It may well be that none of his contributions to the church's life will ever be regarded as greater than that which he rendered in adding to the church's knowledge of its hymns, in helping to set higher standards and to improve popular taste in the choice of hymns, and in making the church aware of its priceless treasure in the hymn book as a record of church history, of Christian doctrine, and as a book of devotion.

Dr. Benson was a scholar by nature, inclination, and gifts. In the Memorial Address to which reference has been made, Dr. van Dyke said: "The Christian Church needs many different kinds of men in her service: fishermen like St. Peter, physicians like St. Luke, poets like St. John, men of learning like St. Paul. It was to this last class that our beloved friend, Dr. Louis F. Benson, belonged. . . . Through his natural gifts, learned acquirements, and strong inclinations, the special type of his vocation in the ministry of Christ became clear to him. He gave himself without reserve to the task of elevating, ordering, and beautifying the service of song in the church in which he was born and to which he was loyally devoted."[3]

As Dr. van Dyke indicated, Dr. Benson's scholarship had a practical purpose. "The motive that runs through the book like a recurrent refrain," Dr. Benson himself wrote in the preface to his lectures on *The Hymnody of the Christian Church,* "is that the hymn belongs among the things of the spirit, and that hymnody is essentially a spiritual function. . . . Nevertheless its congregational expression needs guidance and a thoughtful ordering as much now as at Corinth in the days of St. Paul. Most of all it needs the inspiration which can only be imparted to preoccupied hearts by a pastor who cherishes it as among the best of God's gifts, and understands it because he has learned the lessons of its chequered history, has measured its resources and traced the different lines of its ministry; and who is resolute to cultivate the spirit of song among his people. It is the special purpose of this book to furnish the materials for that better understanding of Christian Hymnody as a preparation for getting the most we can out of it in life and worship."[4] It might be said that this was the motive behind all his labors and the special purpose of all the meticulous scholarship with which he searched the records of Christian Hymnody.

A book-lover to whom collecting rare and useful books was both a delight and a mission, he was indefatigable in the gathering together of volumes on hymnology. His private library of 9,000 volumes is one of the world's great collections of hymnological literature and probably the greatest in this country. Studying the catalogues of second-hand dealers, visiting the second-hand bookstores wherever and whenever opportunity offered, corresponding with dealers and collectors in this country and abroad, he built up a unique collection of German chorale books of Reformation and post-Reformation times, old Latin volumes, rare issues of old hymn books and liturgies from many periods in the history of the church. He built an addition to his home in Philadelphia to house his library, and at his death bequeathed it to Princeton Theological Seminary, where it still serves students of Christian Hymnody. He was also for many years active in The Presbyterian Historical Society, especially on its Library Committee, of which he became Chairman in 1904. The following year he was appointed Honorary Librarian. Under his leadership, the Society built up a library of thirty thousand volumes, including a special collection of books on American hymnology which is unequalled. He also gathered together for the Historical Society a fine collection of Sunday School hymns, and a special collection of books dealing with the Confession of Faith and the discipline of the Presbyterian Church. Book-collecting may be merely a game, a highly intellectual game for people of learning and scholarly tastes; however it may become an end in itself rather than the provision of the tools for useful work. No doubt Dr. Benson enjoyed the game. But he also enjoyed his books, read them, knew them, and loved them. Primarily he built libraries to provide materials for the enrichment of the church's worship.

Surrounded by the books which he had gathered together, he wrote and edited the books which bear his name. He contributed to the second edition of Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology.* He was a frequent contributor to religious journals and magazines, and was equally successful in awakening an interest in hymnody on the part of the general reader and in bringing the fruit of his study to those who were like himself seasoned scholars in the field. As a matter of fact, the First Series of his *Studies of Familiar Hymns,*[5] published in 1903, was a collection of articles which were originally written for young people, and appeared initially in *Forward,* a Presbyterian magazine for youth. As a book the *Studies of Familiar Hymns* met with a wide welcome, which he interpreted as meaning "that a considerable number of people, who wished information concerning the hymns they loved, were willing to forego the primrose paths of dalliance with myths and misstatements, anecdotage and sentimentalism, and to be personally conducted along the straiter and less flowery paths of truth."[6] The demand for the book did not diminish with the years, and in 1923 he issued a Second Series. The First Series began with an interpretation of Phillips Brooks' "O little town of Bethlehem" and ended with Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar" because, he said, "It pleased the writer's fancy that the book should begin in the Light that dawned on Bethlehem and should end at 'Sunset and Evening Star'."[7] In both volumes, each chapter begins with the text of a well-known hymn, usually taken verbatim from a copy of the hymn book in which it first appeared, with the alterations carefully noted, if any had for good reason been so generally accepted as to have become an essential part of the hymn as familiarly known. In general he was opposed to altering the lines of an author except for the most urgent cause. Then follows a sketch of the author of the hymn, a discussion of the times in which he lived with special emphasis on the life of the church in those times, usually a few paragraphs about the tunes to which the hymn has been commonly sung with sometimes a brief biography of an outstanding composer, and always at the end of the chapter a series of questions for discussion. Like any good discussion leader, Dr. Benson was so full of his subject that the information at his disposal spilled over into his questions, and some of his most interesting comments on hymn writers and their work is hidden away in these supplementary paragraphs as background for points he thought worth discussing. The First Series of these *Studies of Familiar Hymns* had no central theme. He chose for interpretation hymns which he considered intrinsically deserving of being better known. But, bibliophile that he was, he imposed a second requirement for inclusion: each hymn had to be one for which Dr. Benson could furnish a reproduction of an autographed copy as an illustration! Fortunately, his collection was such that this extraordinary requirement did not seriously limit him in fulfilling the main purpose of the book. When he came to publish the Second Series of *Studies of Familiar Hymns,* he chose for interpretation hymns that were representative of the historical development of hymnody in England, Scotland and America. He arranged them in chronological order. He was thus able to discuss and illustrate the singing of the Psalms among Calvinists, the introduction of evangelical hymns through the influence of Isaac Watts, the spread of evangelical hymn singing with the Wesleyan revival, the gradual crumbling of the citadel of Psalmody in Scotland and the growth of hymn singing in the land of John Knox, the nineteenth century hymns of Christian experience, the Oxford Movement hymns, and finally to touch on so-called "Gospel Hymns" in his interpretation of Jeremiah Rankin's popular parting song, "God be with you till we meet again."

The illustrations for the Second Series, like those for the first volume, are such as only Dr. Benson could have provided. There are portraits of Whitefield, Calvin, Rous, Watts, Wesley, and the other hymn writers who figure in the story he is telling, some of them reproductions of photographs, others taken from rare old prints or from paintings. Other illustrations give the reader the impression that he is gazing at the treasures of the rare book section of a famous library. There is a facsimile of the original of OLD HUNDRED; the reproduction of the Title-Page of the First Edition of Watts' *Hymns and Spiritual Songs,* 1707; two pages from the Inghamite Hymnal of 1757; the title-page of the first edition of *Scottish Translations and Paraphrases,* 1781; all with the notation "from a copy in the author's collection." Also from originals in his collection are photographs of the manuscript copy of "God of our Fathers," of a letter by John Newton, of an autograph of a little known hymn by James Montgomery, of a note written by Charlotte Elliott in the flyleaf of a copy of her poems, of an autograph stanza by Mrs. Cecil Alexander, and other treasures which link the reader directly with the great hymn writers. One of the most interesting is a photograph of the organ at which Oliver Holden composed the hymn tune CORONATION. For that illustration he went to an old copy of *The New England Magazine.* Many books about hymns are illustrated with the sentimental pictures which mistakenly claim the aegis of religious art. Not so Dr. Benson's. The illustrations of these two volumes take the reader at once into the very life of the church out of which the hymns came.

Illustrations and text combine to bring the creators of our hymns to life. For instance, in connection with the Christmas hymn, "Christians, Awake! Salute the Happy Morn," there is a reproduction of an old engraving of Dr. John Byrom, the eccentric author of the hymn text. Dr. Benson comments: "There is no need of a lingering look at Dr. Byrom's portrait to assure us that he was what is called a character. From under the low slouched hat with its rim projecting like the prow of a racing yacht, the bewigged head bends forward in an inquisitive intentness; and the face is as striking as the hat, with a ruminating look in the eye and a very whimsical but not unkindly mouth. One notes the crook-handled cane and wonders what the color of the long coat may have been. It must have been a very long coat, for Byrom was conspicuously tall. He speaks in his diary of taking walks with John Wesley. Now Wesley was rather short and slight, dressed in conventional clerical clothes, and a model of neatness, so that the couple walking side by side must have presented something of a spectacle."[8] Such a comment reveals a good deal concerning Dr. Benson's observing eye and whimsical human interest as well as concerning John Byrom and John Wesley. He displayed the same eye for the revealing detail in his vivid description of seeing Horatius Bonar as an old man in Edinburgh in 1887.

Dr. Benson's painstaking ingenuity in tracking down accurate information with regard to the authorship of hymns is demonstrated in his account of how he established Edward Perronet's responsibility for the words of "All hail the power of Jesus' Name." The hymn first appeared in *The Gospel Magazine,* a periodical published by English Calvinists in the time of the Evangelical Revival. One stanza appeared with Shrubsole's tune MILES LANE in 1776, and the complete hymn of eight stanzas in 1780. But the author of the words was not named. In 1785 the hymn appeared again, this time in a little volume called *Occasional Verses, moral and sacred,* but again the author's name was not given. At various times the hymn was attributed to different authors: "T.B.", "Duncan," Samuel Medley. Since 1801, when Williams and Boden in their *Collection of Six Hundred Hymns* attributed the hymn to "PERRONETT," there had been a tradition that the author was the Reverend Edward Perronet, the pastor of a small dissenting congregation at Canterbury. Dr. John Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* in 1892 so designated it, but on what semed to Dr. Benson to be inadequate evidence. He owned a copy of *Occasional Verses,* the first book in which the entire hymn had appeared, and he set himself to search for some clue as to its authorship. He found that some verses in memory of C. P. and D. P. were acrostics. The first letter of each line in one poem spelled Charles Perronet and the first letter of each line in the other poem spelled Damaris Perronet. Dr. Benson knew that Charles and Damaris were Edward Perronet's brother and sister. So he searched further and was rewarded. On page 39 of *Occasional Verses* he found another poem in acrostic form. The first letter of each line spelled Edward Perronet. This clinched the matter in Dr. Benson's mind, especially as Shrubsole was an organist in Canterbury in Edward Perronet's time, and it was easy to understand how Perronet had showed or given Shrubsole his verses, how Shrubsole had set them to music and sent a copy of the hymn to *The Gospel Magazine.*[9] With such detective work Dr. Benson's hymnological researches were enlivened, and the church's knowledge of the background of its hymns was increased.

With similar penetration, Dr. Benson disproved a local tradition that Augustus Toplady wrote "Rock of Ages" after taking refuge from a thunder-storm in a great cleft in a limestone crag near Burrington Combe in Somerset, England. In 1921 a great pilgrimage was made to this rock in honor of the hymn and its author. But Dr. Benson pointed out in his *Studies of Familiar Hymns,* Second Series, that although Toplady had been a curate of Blagdan Church within walking distance of Burrington Combe, he had left that region in 1764 and no evidence existed that the hymn had been written before 1775. Then Dr. Benson found the imagery of the famous hymn clearly suggested by a passage in the preface to the Wesleys' *Hymns on the Lord's Supper,* (1745) beginning: "O Rock of *Israel*, Rock of Salvation, Rock struck and cleft for me, let those two Streams of *Blood* and *Water* which once gushed out of Thy side, bring down *Pardon* and *Holiness* into my soul."[10] In the same hymnal he found one beginning with the line, "Rock of Israel, cleft for me." Dr. Benson could not refrain from commenting on the strange anomaly that Toplady should have leaned so heavily for the imagery of his hymn on John Wesley, with whom he engaged in such acrimonious theological controversy.

It is worth noting, incidentally, that Dr. Benson found a congenial viewpoint expressed by John Wesley when in a sermon in 1789 he said that familiarity does not so well suit the mouth of a worm of the earth when addressing himself to the God of heaven and, Wesley added, "I have indeed particularly endeavored in all the hymns which are addressed to our blessed Lord, to avoid every fondling expression, and to speak as to the most-high God; to Him that is 'in glory equal with the Father, in majesty co-eternal.'"[11] In his most important volume, *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship,* Dr. Benson gave it as his considered judgment that Wesley's elevated standard of Revival Hymnody was more devout and greatly to be preferred to the lower standards of modern "Gospel Hymns."[12]

Dr. Benson's undiscourageable persistence in his search for an accurate date for every hymn he discussed in his *Studies* is indicated by his experience in dating Dr. Jeremiah Rankin's familiar "God Be With You." He wrote to the author himself asking for the correct date of the words and the tune, but Dr. Rankin was unable to furnish either without giving more time to research than he felt he could spare. Later Dr. Benson came upon a quotation from a letter of Dr. Rankin in which the author had stated that words and music had been written in 1882. This date was for many years printed in hymnals as the correct one. However in 1921, Dr. Benson was looking over some old Gospel Song books in a second-hand book store in Philadelphia, and came upon one with the title *Gospel Bells.* His quick eye noted the name of Jeremiah Rankin as one of the three editors, and 1880 was the date of publication. He turned at once to see if "God Be With You" was included. It was there. But might not the book have been dated ahead of the actual time of publication? On the fly leaf was a pencilled note registering the fact that the original purchaser had bought the volume in "Nov. 1880." This clinched the matter even as against Dr. Rankin's faulty memory.[13] A small matter in itself, but accurate scholarship is always of major importance.

In referring to the fact that Mrs. Cecil Alexander wrote "There Is a Green Hill Far Away" for her Sunday School class as one of forty hymns which she published in 1848 as *Hymns for Little Children,* Dr. Benson expressed the conviction that it is extremely difficult to write good children's hymns. Even Charles Wesley was unsuccessful in his *Hymns for Children.* While Isaac Watts' *Divine Songs for the Use of Children* could be understood by children, they have provided more amusement than edification for subsequent generations. Dr. Benson pointed out that there is no guarantee that a child will not get a distorted meaning even from the best hymn. Therefore, he asked, is it not the part of wisdom to encourage children to learn the great hymns of the church, trusting that their understanding of the hymns will grow with the increasing experience, and that what is stored in the memory will be a life-long treasure?[14] With regard to the music of Children's Hymns, he asked, "Should the efforts of the public school to improve children's taste be thwarted by the Sunday school?"[15]

There have been other more recent books telling the story of the hymns. Some of them cover more ground than Dr. Benson's two volumes of *Studies of Familiar Hymns.* But for accuracy, human interest, and religious helpfulness, his work has yet to be surpassed.

In a different vein is Dr. Benson's most important book, *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship,* which was published in 1915. This is not a popular treatment of particular hymns, but is an exhaustive survey of the growing use of hymns in English-speaking churches from the Metrical Psalms of the Reformation Period to the Hymnody of Social Democracy in the Twentieth Century. Its background is Dr. Benson's encyclopedic knowledge of the hymn books of each period. The book was a long time in the making. In 1903 he was invited to deliver a course of lectures on a subject connected with Hymnology on the L. P. Stone Foundation at Princeton Theological Seminary. Because of Princeton's Presbyterian affiliation, he decided to trace the origins, development, and decline of the use of Metrical Psalms in the churches of the Reformed tradition. Not until 1907 were the lectures delivered. Their title was "The Psalmody of the Reformed Churches." The first lecture, dealing with the Psalmody of the Calvinistic Reformation, was printed with some additions in 1909 in three issues of *The Journal of The Presbyterian Historical Society*. So successful were the lectures, however, that he was immediately invited to deliver a second series. This he did in 1910, taking up the story of the hymn where he had previously left off. The title of the second course of lectures was "The Hymnody of the English-speaking Churches." These were enlarged and printed in issues of *The Princeton Theological Review* in 1910 and during the years 1912-1914. These lectures were revised, and in part re-written in what Dr. Benson called "the unending struggle after accuracy"[16] and in 1915 were published in book form as *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship.* Forty years have passed since its publication, and it is still the definitive work on the material which it covers. As Dr. Henry Wilder Foote says: "*The English Hymn* has no rival as a mine of accurate information about the development and use of English and American hymns and hymn books. Its range of knowledge and breadth of view marked its author as the pre-eminent hymnologist of his day. It is, however, a book for the student to use as an authority, and not for the casual reader."[17]

No painstaking scholar was ever more humble about his achievement. He had worked through the hymn books in use in the various churches in the successive periods of their history, and had pored over the proceedings of the official bodies in the several denominations. He had familiarized himself with the lives and works of the hymn writers until they were old friends. The collection of the materials for his study was in itself a gigantic task, and he said, "It is only after twenty-five years of assiduous collecting that the present writer has ventured to bring his studies to so much of a conclusion as is here attained."[18] He only claimed that at least he had dealt with his sources at first hand, believing that "inaccuracy is more than a fault, it is a sin."[18] And after his years of searching out the facts, he modestly concluded the preface to the published volume with this self-effacing plea: "If the writer were more confident of having pursued a way, in part untrodden, in the spirit of wholesome scholarship, he would have liked to dedicate his book to the reverend and learned Faculty of The Theological Seminary at Princeton, whose sympathy and encouragement helped toward its undertaking and have acted as a spur to its completion."[18]

It is unfortunate that we do not have from Dr. Benson's pen a survey of the development of hymnody during the forty years which have elapsed since the publication of *The English Hymn.* He concluded his volume by noting that the prevailing emphasis in 1915 was upon social service, the democratic spirit and the Immanence of God. He was in sympathy, but felt that there was exaggeration and loss of the sense of proportion.[19] He would probably have rejoiced in today's renewed interest in hymns which celebrate the great Christian doctrines. He would surely be enthusiastic over the growing popularity of the German chorales, the Genevan melodies, and the stirring Welsh hymn tunes which are in such favor with American congregations today.[20]

In 1927, three years before his death, Dr. Benson published *The Hymnody of the Christian Church,* a popular treatment of the whole range of Christian hymns. He called it a sort of "Primer of Hymnology."[21] In bringing it out he reiterated his conviction that the congregational expression of hymnody needed guidance and thoughtful ordering in the modern church as much as it had in Corinth in the same time of St. Paul, and that only pastors who had the requisite knowledge and understanding of the chequered history of the church's hymns could provide the inspiration essential. Again the background of the book was a series of lectures delivered at the Princeton Theological Seminary. In *The English Hymn* he had provided a mine of information from which students could dig out the facts concerning each period in the development of the hymn as a factor in Christian worship. Now he presented the broad outlines of the story and the indispensable facts for pastors and their people. No other volume has been produced in America which has rendered this service so effectively.

In the preface to *The English Hymn,* Dr. Benson had said: "Of all definitions of the Hymn that which claims least for it best defines it:—it is liturgical verse."[22] In *The Hymnody of the Christian Church* he put the definition in different words, saying: "A Christian hymn therefore is a form of words appropriate to be sung or chanted in public devotions."[23] That inevitably raised the question as to what is appropriate to be sung in a church service, and in Lecture Four on "The Contents of the Hymn," Dr. Benson expressed the convictions which had been ripening during a long lifetime of study and reflection. He suggested that hymns fall into these three main classes:

(1) A Hymnody of Praise
(2) A Hymnody of Edification, consisting of
    a. Doctrinal Hymns
    b. Hymns of the Spiritual Life
(3) A Churchly Hymnody, consisting of
    a. Hymns of the Church Militant
    b. Hymns of the Church Triumphant
    c. Liturgical Hymns appropriate to the days and seasons of the Church Year.

It is quite natural that there has been most controversy over Hymns of the Spiritual Life, dealing as many of them do with personal religious experience. Dr. Benson took issue with Bishop Christopher Wordsworth's dictum that all "I" hymns should be excluded from church worship, while recognizing the dangers of sentimentality, morbidity, and exaggeration which lurk in excessively subjective hymns. He proposed a threefold test to which hymns of personal spiritual experience should be subjected:

(1) *The test of spiritual wholesomeness.* Hymns should be excluded which express morbid moods of introspection or make devitalizing rather than strengthening suggestions.
(2) *The test of cheerfulness.* He reminded his readers that St. James' contribution to the apostolical ideal of Christian song was "Is any merry? let him sing Psalms" and that Luther had bade worshippers to cultivate a merry mood while singing.
(3) *The supreme test of spiritual reality.* "Eccentric experiences are entertaining but not edifying. Super-mystical flights perplex God's little ones. Temperamental attitudes are not imitable. Even the spiritual aspirations of a hymn must be kept at least within telescopic sight of the congregation."[24]

He added that a congregation should be protected from over-sentimentality in lyrics of spiritual feeling, pointing out that "there is a real distinction between hymns that heighten religious emotion to good purpose and those that merely play upon undisciplined susceptibilities to the weakening rather than the strengthening of the will."[25]

In the final chapter of *The Hymnody of the Christian Church,* Dr. Benson gave equally clear expression to his convictions concerning the tests of a good hymn tune. He began with a few plain truths concerning the relationship of words and music, pointing out that it is the thought and feeling that give a specifically religious tone to the music, and asserting that any theory of hymnody which subordinates the hymn to the hymn tune is definitely unchristian. There are three essentials of a good hymn tune:

(1) *Simplicity.* "It must be a clear melody that will carry itself without the inner parts, kept within the range of the average voice and the available musical ability."
(2) *Spirituality.* The music "encourages the deeper enterprise of offering ourselves to God. . . . A great tune . . . adds something to the printed words by way of suggesting things of the spirit unprinted between the lines."
(3) *Charm*—"the gift of approaching the spirit by the avenue of sense, gratified by the appeal of beauty."[26]

Dr. Benson addressed himself even more pointedly to this question in an article bearing the title "What are the Main Essentials that Make Up a Good Hymn?" This article was published in *The Diapason* for April 1, 1929. He deplored the fact that many church workers have bad taste and have it contentedly and express it in bad architecture, undignified church services, and in bad hymns. "What they mean by a good hymn is one that struts majestically or gushes sentimentally, set to music that stirs the senses and makes an appeal which they mistake for spirituality." He was insistent that good taste did not mean dull hymns. "In our hymn-tunes . . . it is a blunder to mistake the avoidance of melody, the repression of human vitality and cheerfulness, a ponderosity of effort, as contributing necessarily to reverence. The things that may be avoided are on the one hand the making of a great noise unto Jehovah and on the other the relaxing softness of sensuality."[27] The four characteristics of a good hymn, as he defined them in this paper almost at the end of his working life, are Singableness, Reverence, Reality, and Wholesomeness (which, in a hymn, he said, means primarily cheerfulness).

Dr. Benson introduced a significant autobiographical note into the article for *The Diapason* in his discussion of the three groups who take variant attitudes toward hymn singing. First comes the Liturgical Group, who regard the hymns as the corporate voice of the church in its sacrifice of praise. Second come the Homiletical Group who regard the sermon as the great thing in worship and all the rest as preliminary exercises and are interested in hymns only insofar as they enforce the points of the sermon. The third is the Lyrical Group. "They believe that the spirit of song is a normal part of a wholesome religious experience that should be cultivated for its own sake; that the function of hymn singing is to heighten feeling, and that only those hymns are good which waken the spirit of song and arouse Christian feeling in the singer's heart, and give it expression in words and music that contribute to the strength and beauty of God's house." Then comes a personal confession of faith. "Personally I foregather with the third group."

In 1895, one year after Dr. Benson's retirement from his Germantown pastorate, *The Hymnal* of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America[28] came from the press. Dr. Benson was its editor, as he was of a revision in 1911. Nearly 5,000 churches adopted the 1895 hymnal, and a million copies were sold. It marked the beginning of a new era in the hymnody of the Presbyterian Church, and set a new standard for other denominational hymnals. After 1895, along with his other studies, Dr. Benson was an assiduous editor of hymn books for various groups. In 1898 he published *The Chapel Hymnal,* a collection of hymns for more intimate services of worship and fellowship. Half a million copies of this hymnal found their way into the nation's homes and churches. In 1900 *The School Hymnal* appeared. In it Dr. Benson made a pioneer attempt to bring the standards of a hymnal for youth up to the high level which he had established for *The Hymnal* (1895).

Dr. Benson himself took special delight in his *Christian Song,* a hymnal which he edited in 1926. It was a limited collection of Christian lyrics which he felt best suited to evoke and nourish the spirit of song in the hearts of Christian people. No hymn was included which did not meet the fourfold test of "reverence, spiritual reality and wholesomeness, lyrical beauty, and (not least) cheerfulness."[29] In 1928 he edited still another collection of hymns, sufficiently described by its title, *The Smaller Hymnal.*

It was not enough for Dr. Benson to carry on his research into the history of the English hymn and to tell the story of its development to clergy and lay folk alike. He was eager to make the great hymns themselves known and loved and used in the church's worship. To this end he was an editor of hymn books. He stated as one of his purposes, in the preface to the 1911 edition of *The Hymnal*: "To bring the book abreast of the latest developments of hymnody, and of the present state of Christian thought and feeling; especially to meet the demand for the recognition of God's nearness to every-day living, the coming of the kingdom in the sphere of common life, the spirit of brotherhood and of manly and resolute Christian life and service, social betterment, and evangelistic work."[30] No doubt such a statement of purpose breathes the optimism of 1911. But it also voices the singing faith of Dr. Benson.

Dr. Benson was critical of many well-known hymnals because it had become almost an accepted practice to take unjustifiable liberties in altering the text of hymns to suit the liking of editors. In *The Hymnody of the Christian Church* he took occasion to outline in some detail the principles[31] by which he had been governed in dealing with hymn texts in *The Hymnal* (1895). His basic principle was that "the hymns should be printed as their authors wrote them, so far as practicable." As usual, he insisted that this involved a firsthand knowledge of the sources. He had made a systematic search for all the books and periodicals in which the hymns he was choosing had originally appeared, together with the hymn-books in which alterations had been made. Thus he was able to trace the textual history of the hymns, and to make an intelligent judgment with regard to the wisdom of alterations. Some alterations, he found, had been merely accidental, the perpetuated result of a type-setter's error. For instance, in the metrical version of the 100th Psalm:

> "All people that on earth do dwell,"

one line had originally read,

> "We are his folck, he doth us feed."

Within a year of its first printing, a type-setter had transposed a single letter, making it

> "We are his flock, he doth us feed."

It appeared in this form for 317 years, until the Reverend Godfrey Thring discovered the error and corrected it. Similarly, Charles Wesley's famous hymn originally began

> "Love Divine, all loves excelling."

Somebody dropped the "s" from the word "loves" and the hymn has been widely used in the amended version. Dr. Benson restored the original plural word "loves" in *The Hymnal* (1895), and received many letters of protest for his pains, so widespread is the notion that the familiar version of a hymn must be the correct version. Dr. Benson believed that a poet had a right to his own use of words and that "so far as practicable" they should not be taken from him.

But the qualification "so far as practicable" was important in Dr. Benson's mind. He believed that in a collection of poems for poetry's sake the rule of fidelity to the original text should be absolute. In hymns for congregational use, however, "the fidelity must be tempered by considerations of practical utility," although never without a notation explicitly indicating the deviation from the original so that an author's name would not be attached to something he had not written. Such justifiable deviations, he said, are of two kinds, abridgements and amendments. Some hymns as originally written require abridgement in order to avoid undue length, to eliminate extraneous matter, and to insure unity. "The rule adhered to in 1895 was to present each hymn with the brevity of a good lyric and with the integrity of a good hymn; that is to say, with sufficient fullness to preserve its message and to complete its development."[32] He held that a good hymn should have three structural characteristics: an opening that catches the attention, continuous development and advance, and a climax in which the theme is triumphant. Abridgements are sometimes necessary to insure these qualities but should never destroy them. Amendments, he believed, should rarely be made, although he expressed the view that *The Hymnal* (1895) should have made more than it did. Sometimes an unfortunate line that would vitiate an otherwise fine hymn ought to be revised rather than be the cause of the whole hymn's rejection. Sometimes a metrical irregularity needs a slight change. In *The Hymnal* (1895), the line "Clouds are not from Thee" in Monsell's "On our way rejoicing" was for doctrinal reasons altered to "There is light in Thee," a doubtful improvement. A more clearly justifiable change was made in Wesley's "Love Divine, all loves excelling" when the line "Let us find the second rest," expressing Wesley's peculiar doctrine, was altered to the more generally acceptable "Let us find the promised rest." Dr. Benson took exception to the lavish alterations made in familiar hymns by the English Unitarians under the leadership of James Martineau, "who stands high among thinkers and quite supreme as a practitioner of the gentle art of hymn-tinkering."[33] In *The Hymnal* (1895), Faber's hymn "Faith of our fathers" was excluded because of the lines

> "Faith of our fathers! Mary's prayers
> Shall win our country back to thee."

The demand for the hymn was so great, however, that in the 1911 edition Dr. Benson consented to a compromise, and, without changing his own conviction in the matter, agreed to include the hymn with the lines amended to read

> "Faith of our fathers! God's great power
> Shall win all nations unto thee."

He still insisted that to amend a hymn to the extent of substituting Protestant theology for Roman Catholic doctrine was to go beyond reasonable limits in the alteration of an author's text.

The format as well as the content of a hymnal was to Dr. Benson a matter of great importance. He deprecated the growing trend toward printing all the words of a hymn between the staves of the tune, a practice taken over from ephemeral song books of the day, arising, he believed, from "the singer's difficulty in mating the rapid and rollicking tunes to the words provided, the words in many cases being evidently little more than pegs to hang the musical notes on."[34] His objection was that words so arranged ceased to be poetry, and could not be read for their meaning. His own rich spiritual life, nourished through the years by his friends, the hymn writers, led him to say, "Hymns that are not made personally familiar by devotional reading have not much spiritual influence."[35] He also was convinced that printing the words between the staves resulted in pressure to shorten hymns to four or less stanzas, even at the sacrifice of stanzas that were essential to the unity and completeness of the hymn. In the hymnals which he edited, the words of the first stanza of each hymn are printed between the staves, to make unmistakably clear the relationship of the words and the music, but the other stanzas are printed on the page below as a poem which can be easily read, understood, and appropriated.

While carrying on his studies, his lecturing and writing, as well as his editorial work, Dr. Benson was steadily writing original hymns and putting into English verse his translations of Latin hymns. It is impossible to estimate the number of hymns he wrote. In 1925 he gathered together what he considered the best of them in a little volume with the simple title: *Hymns: Original and Translated*.[36] Three hundred copies were printed, making it what Dr. Henry van Dyke called "a rare and precious little book."[37] The book contains thirty-eight hymns entirely by Dr. Benson and sixteen translations of Latin hymns. In the preface he stated that he had casually discovered that there was an interval of forty-seven years between the date of the earliest hymn in the collection and the latest, indicating a lifetime's devotion to what he called "something less than a vocation, and yet something more than an avocation."[38]

The hymns are characterized by simplicity and sincerity and by a gracious charm which reveals the genuinely devout and happy Christian spirit of their author. For the most part they do not deal with novel themes and they are completely free from any evidence of straining after literary effects, although in his preface Dr. Benson says frankly that while his main purpose has been to make hymn writing a form of service, he has cultivated it as a form of art also. The hymns do not call attention to their own form but voice the common Christian moods, aspirations and convictions. Thankfulness, love of God's fair created world, devotion to the Man of Galilee and to the Crucified and Risen Saviour, confidence in heaven as the home of the redeemed, penitence for sin and joy in God's forgiveness—these are the themes of his verse. Some, it must be said, are religious poems rather than hymns which meet the exacting standards which he himself set. That is, they seem to lend themselves to reading and reflection and do not demand song for their expression. The morning hymns show clearly the influence of the old Greek hymns in praise of light. Some of the hymns which bear the notation "Bar Harbor" were obviously influenced by his surroundings on the Maine coast which he loved as the setting of his happy summers. His translations of Latin hymns were the fruit of his classical studies which constituted one of his lifelong sources of enjoyment and profit. It is interesting to notice that he not only went back to the early Latin hymns of Ambrose and Hilary, but drew heavily upon seventeenth century Latin hymn writers also. As a collection, Dr. Benson's *Hymns: Original and Translated* is of high order, and the best of his work is very fine.

The hymn by Dr. Benson which is most widely known is the one beginning:

> The light of God is falling
> Upon life's common way;
> The Master's voice still calling,
> "Come, walk with Me to-day:"
> No duty can seem lowly
> To him who lives with Thee,
> And all of life grows holy,
> O Christ of Galilee.[39]

He wrote the words at the request of the committee charged with the 1911 revision of *The Hymnal,* who asked him for a hymn dealing with the spirit of brotherhood and service. It was the heyday of the social gospel, when Christianity was sometimes represented as little more than an ethical system leading toward human harmony. Dr. Benson's social message went deeper than that. It is the cry of the human heart,

O Christ, the Elder Brother
Of proud and beaten men,

and it culminates in the vision of the redeemed in heaven and the sinful on earth turning together toward the Cross. In his own collection of his hymns, Dr. Benson set the words to the tune LAUFER which Miss Emily Perkins wrote especially for that little volume. In that particular publication he took pleasure, so far as possible, in having each of his hymns set to a tune which had been specially written for him. For general use, however, he preferred the tune GREENLAND, an arrangement from J. Michael Haydn which had appeared in 1819 in B. Jacob's *National Psalmody*. He wrote to Miss Perkins, an old friend with whom he carried on a hymnological correspondence of long standing:

"Now a word about the tune for my hymn 'The light of God is falling' you are good enough to send me. It is a pleasant and appropriate tune and I should like to use it as 'composed for this hymn,' which of course GREENLAND was not. But I hesitate to make the change. Dr. Roberts asked me once to find a tune that would be popular for his 'God of our fathers' (*The Hymnal* 1895). I told him that if he knew how difficult it was to get a new hymn into general use, he would see the importance of not disassociating it from the tune to which it was beginning to be sung. The same thing is true of GREENLAND and my hymn . . . I wonder if you and Dr. Laufer would be shocked if I confess that I wrote the words to be sung to GREENLAND. It was a 'Brotherhood Hymn' and I wanted a tune men would sing, and in which resolution would prevail over underlying sentiment. (It is of course of wider range than one would wish.) . . . Perhaps I am wrong, but I question whether it be best to disturb this association of hymn and tune. I hear of it so often from so many quarters."[40]

Not the most frequently sung, but perhaps the hymn most frequently printed in hymnals is that which begins:

O Thou whose feet have climbed life's hill,
And trod the path of youth,
Our Saviour and our Brother still,
Now lead us into truth.[41]

It is not his best hymn, but it is good, and it supplies a want felt by many editors for a hymn especially suitable for schools and colleges. It was written for *The Hymnal* (1895). Perhaps, like some other Benson hymns, it would have become more popular if the problem of finding the right tune for it had been successfully solved. On April 28, 1924, Dr. Benson wrote to Miss Perkins:

"I am preparing a collection of my hymns of forty-seven years to be printed privately. Among them a College Hymn for which in 1895 (*The Hymnal* of the Presbyterian Church) the late George William Warren wrote a tune, which I liked but which has not proved popular, I fear. I am printing tunes with all the hymns, a great number especially composed for them by friends from time to time. Some of them quite fine. I covet the tune TEST, No. 11 in your *Stonehurst Hymn Tunes* to be set to the College Hymn in this collection . . . Will you let me use your tune (I can hear the boys singing it!)"[42]

The consent was given, and TEST appears as the First Tune in *Hymns*. Underneath it, however, he printed George William Warren's LOG COLLEGE, the tune to which the hymn had been set in *The Hymnal* of 1895 and also in 1911. The hymn sometimes has been sung to ST. AGNES by those who preferred a more familiar melody, and recent hymnals have put the words to ST. MAGNUS. It has also in some hymnals been set to BANGOR, DUNDEE, AND TALLIS' ORDINAL. No tune has yet been generally accepted as the inevitable one for these lines.

One of Dr. Benson's finest hymns begins

The sun is on the land and sea,
    The day begun;
Our morning hymn begins with Thee,
    Blest Three in One:
Our praise shall rise continually
    Till day is done.[43]

and contains the characteristic lines,

The life that serves Thee everywhere
    Can always sing.

It would doubtless be better known if the modern Christian had more opportunity to sing morning hymns at times other than Sunday morning!

Two hymns which should be more generally used were written for Communion Services. An Introit begins

Father, once more within Thy Holy Place
We bring the sins which, kneeling, we confess;
Not worthy yet to look upon Thy face,
Yet loath to rise until Thy hand doth bless.[44]

A Post-Communion hymn is a nearly perfect expression of a sincere worshipper's prayer at the close of the Lord's Supper:

For the Bread, which Thou hast broken;
For the Wine, which Thou hast poured;
For the Words, which Thou hast spoken;
Now we give Thee thanks, O Lord.[45]

There are not enough good Communion Hymns. These are very good and deserve wider use than they have yet had.

In "O sing a song of Bethlehem," Dr. Benson managed to compress the earthly life and ministry of Jesus into one hymn, with a stanza each for Bethlehem, Nazareth, Galilee, Calvary and the Resurrection. This hymn, set as it is to an English Traditional Melody KINGSFOLD, arranged by R. Vaughan Williams, seems destined to grow in popular favor and use.

While it is not suitable for congregational singing, it would be hard to find anything much lovelier than his Christmas Lullaby "Out of the skies, like angel eyes" with the stanza

Softly and low, as south winds blow,
Angels of God came day by day;
Over the home where Jesus lay
Their watch they kept
From dark to daybreak, long ago,
  While Jesus slept.[46]

The Christmas carol which begins "A King might miss the guiding—" is also fine if properly sung, but it needs to be noted that it was his intention that a chorus of children should sing the final two lines of each stanza. The third stanza particularly does not make sense if all six lines are run together as though one voice sang them all. Two hymns which were written after his 1925 collection had been published have been more and more widely used. Each of them strikes a chord in the heart of every worshipper and each of them has been sung to a well known if perhaps over-worked tune. In 1927 he wrote a hymn celebrating the timely and timeless ministry of Jesus:

By roads that wound uphill and down,
  Beside the lake in Galilee,
From house to house, from town to town,
  Our Lord fulfilled his ministry.[47]

It has been sung to QUEBEC, which no one at this date needs to learn.

In 1926 he wrote a hymn which follows the pattern of the Lord's Prayer, beginning

I name Thy hallowed Name,
I bring Thee a new day;
Lord, keep my life from sin and shame,
And teach me how to pray.[48]

Again, SWABIA, to which the words have been sung, is no barrier to participation on the part of anyone who has any familiarity at all with the singing of hymns.

Of his translations of Latin hymns, the outstanding one is his version of Ambrose's "Splendor paternae gloriae":

Splendor of the Father's glory,
Light eternal, bringing light,
Light of lights that pale before Thee,
Day that makest days more bright.[49]

Because of the nature of his material, these hymns from the Latin are more doctrinal than his original hymns, but his hand and spirit are manifest in the skillful relating of doctrine to life, so that after his versions of the Golden Sequence, of "Veni, Creator Spiritus," of "Jam lucis orto sidere," and of "Stabat Mater dolorosa," he concludes with an eighteenth century hymn from the *Paris Breviary,* "O Luce qui Mortalibus," ending

Blest Trinity,
May Thy gifts be
Our gracious helpers by the way,
Till our brief night
Shall catch the light
That heralds the eternal day.[50]

There is a dramatic touch in a hymn which he called "A Melody of Love and Life." It lacks the communal note of a great hymn and yet has its own beauty and an autobiographical element which adds to its interest for all who are interested in its author. Curiously enough it was written in Philadelphia, but in writing it Dr. Benson was thinking of his summer home by the sea in Maine. It concludes:

O death that sails so close to shore
At twilight! From my gate
I scan the darkening sea once more,
And for its message wait.
What lies beyond the afterglow?
To life's new dawn how far?
As if an answer, spoken low,
Love lights the evening star.[51]

Hymns are a unique form of literature in that their immortality is dependent upon their becoming wedded to tunes which express their spirit and win favor both with critical judges and with the worshipping public. The taste of critics and public changes from time to time. To some extent the general acceptance of a hymn depends upon its appearing at a time when the church is ready for it, although there are instances of a hymn being unused for generations only to come into general use long afterwards. This has happened to John Bunyan's "He who would valiant be," as Dr. Benson pointed out in his *The Hymns of John Bunyan* (Hymn Society *Paper* No. 1). It is said by Dr. Benson's friends that his best hymns are still waiting for the right tunes. Over the long years his status as a writer of hymns may depend upon whether or not those inevitably right tunes appear and are recognized.

Dr. Benson's facile pen was given to the writing of verses on all manner of occasions, and in 1897, he published a little volume of poems entitled, *Hymns and Verses.*[52] Most of the hymns later found their way into hymn books. Some of the other poems reflect a happy and affectionate family life into which sorrow came but always sorrow tinged with the glory of a loving Providence. It is obvious that these unpretentious verses make no claim to greatness, but there is a grace and charm to the lines which makes them pleasant reading, and occasionally a solemn hush which is deeply moving, as in his Sonnet written in 1878 on the death of William Cullen Bryant:

> "But in our hearts a still of autumn broods,
> And there, in sad and dreamy undertone,
> Thy scarce-hushed voice, remembered, lingers still
> Like sobbings of a wind through frost-shorn woods
> When from bared boughs the singing-birds have flown,
> And withered leaves are drifting down the hill."[53]

Dr. Benson's interest and concern was not confined to hymnology alone but covered every aspect of Christian worship. Few men have done more to dignify and enrich the expression of the spirit of worship through prayer in the churches which do not follow a prescribed liturgy. In 1903 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. appointed a committee to prepare a book of forms and services "proper and helpful for voluntary use in Presbyterian churches" under the chairmanship of Dr. Henry van Dyke. Dr. Benson's was the first name suggested by Dr. van Dyke for membership on the Committee. Out of that committee's work came *The Book of Common Worship* of 1905.

When a committee was appointed by the General Assembly in 1928 to revise the book, Dr. van Dyke was again made chairman and again Dr. Benson was at his right hand. Dr. van Dyke characterized his service on the committee as "invaluable" and after Dr. Benson's death made public the fact that "in the revised *Book of Common Worship,* the beautiful Communion Service and the comforting, hopeful Funeral Service are almost entirely from his hand."[54] Dr. Benson contributed several prayers to the book, among them a magnificent Prayer of General Thanksgiving, which deserves a place beside that written by Edward Reynolds for the *Book of Common Prayer*:

"Almighty and most merciful Father; From whom cometh every good and perfect gift; We give Thee hearty thanks for all Thy mercies; For Thy goodness that hath created us; Thy bounty that hath sustained us; Thy fatherly discipline that hath corrected us; Thy patience that hath borne with us; Thy love that hath redeemed us.

Grant unto us with Thy gifts a heart to love Thee; and enable us to show our thankfulness for all Thy benefits; By giving up ourselves to Thy service; And cheerfully submitting in all things to Thy blessed will: Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."[55]

In 1916 Dr. Benson was made chairman of a small committee to prepare *A Book of Family Worship* which the Presbyterian General Assembly had authorized. This book, which unfortunately has never received the recognition and use which it merits, contains a considerable number of fine prayers which Dr. Benson wrote for it. A brief prayer for the beginning of family worship is as follows:

"O God, the Fountain of life and the Sun of our souls; Enlighten our minds and direct our hearts, that in our desires we may conform to Thy holy will, and in our prayers may seek those things Thou lovest to bestow."[56]

It would be hard to find many prayers for the social order finer than the one he wrote for Labor Day:

"O God, Who didst give over Thy Son to the toil and burdens of our human lot; We pray that all who earn their daily bread by the labor of their hands may enter into fellowship with Him, who came to do Thy will. Strengthen our hands, encourage our hearts, and grant us the reward of our labor in all reasonable comfort for our families. Regard the well-being and prosperity of our farms and foundries, our factories and work-rooms, and all places of honorable industry. Establish there Thy kingdom, we beseech Thee, in social righteousness and mutual good will. So govern men's hearts that the love of man may subdue the love of gain; that all occasions of strife may cease, and the counsels of selfishness be turned to seek the common good. For Christ's sake."[57]

Peculiarly expressive of Dr. Benson's lifelong endeavor is his "Collect for Steadfastness" which was used in the Memorial Service in Philadelphia in 1930:

"We thank Thee, O God, for the long succession of Thy singers who have lifted Thy people's hearts and brightened their way with music; and we pray that we also may learn to greet the hard places of life with a song, and climbing steadfastly may enter into the fellowship of Thy white-robed choristers in heaven: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."[58]

In all his work and life, Dr. Benson seems to have revealed a personality of great charm and a character of sincere Christian devotion, fortitude, and faith. It is not for one who did not have the privilege of knowing him to venture far into the discussion of these things. His letters, written so carefully (but not always so legibly) in the old-fashioned manner, even to the archaic "f" as the first "s" where the double consonant occurs, are those of a gentleman of the old school, formal, kindly, always the essence of courtesy. "Believe me, Very Faithfully Yours", some of his letters conclude, and reading them long after they were written one has the feeling that this was no idle form of speech. "Yes, my radiant wife was a great help," he wrote to Miss Emily Perkins after the death of his wife, "and as you suggest shared the burden of my deafness. During the greater part of my married life, that burden was a comparatively light one, but increased with the years as such handicap always does. I shall now try to cultivate good cheer as a reflection of her uplifting companionship for so long, and carry on, though the path be narrowed."[59]

One who knew him well refers to him as a delightful conversationalist who took an active interest in everything which went on about him, a man of gentle humor which gave lightness of touch to everything with which he dealt and softened every personal relationship.[60] Another friend described his spiritual life in these words: "Dr. Benson began his life and continued it in the atmosphere of worship and praise. He was always aware of the fact that the angels were singing, 'Glory to God in the Highest.' The echoes of their voices never died out of his soul. But, on the other hand, as the years lengthened and his earthly life was touched with the bitterness of sorrow and the outer doorways of the soul were being closed by physical obstacles, those singing voices became more audible and joy-giving."[61]

Dr. Benson in writing of the blind hymn writer of Scotland, George Matheson, had quoted Matheson as calling his life "an obstructed life, a circumscribed life, but a life of boundless sanguineness, a life of quenchless hopefulness, a life which has beaten persistently against the cages of circumstances and which even at the time of abandoned work has said not 'Good night' but 'Good morning,' "[62] Perhaps he was drawn to Matheson by the experience of his own growing limitation. Dr. Benson never abandoned work until at the age of seventy-six he was called home. So, as he wrote in one of his poems,

"He disappears into the unknown dim
By paths our human foresight may not trace,
Across th'untrodden valley of the west,
And over brightening hills, to that fair place
Where lies, beyond the pilgrimage, our rest."[63]

FOOTNOTES

1. Address at Memorial Service in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Penn., on November 2, 1930. Published in *Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.*, Philadelphia. Vol. XIV, Dec. 1930, p. 151.
2. Foote, Henry Wilder. *Three Centuries of American Hymnody*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940. pp. 325, 327.
3. Van Dyke (note 1), p. 151.
4. Benson, Louis F. *The Hymnody of the Christian Church*. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1927. pp. vi, vii.
5. Benson, Louis F. *Studies of Familiar Hymns, First Series*. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1903.
6. Benson, Louis F. *Studies of Familiar Hymns, Second Series*. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1923. p. vii.
7. *Studies, First Series* (note 5), p. x.
8. *Studies, Second Series* (note 6), pp. 57-58.
9. *Studies, Second Series* (note 6), p. 163.
10. *Studies, Second Series* (note 6), p. 115.
11. *Studies, Second Series* (note 6), p. 40.
12. Benson, Louis F. *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship*. Philadelphia, The Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1915. p. 490.
13. *Studies, Second Series* (note 6), p. 290.
14. *Studies, Second Series* (note 6), p. 231.
15. *The Hymnody* (note 4), p. 267.
16. *The English Hymn* (note 12), p. vii.
17. Foote (note 2), p. 325.
18. *The English Hymn* (note 12), p. x.
19. *The English Hymn* (note 12), p. 589.
20. *The Hymnody* (note 4), pp. 240-246, 272-273.
21. *The Hymnody* (note 4), p. vii.
22. *The English Hymn* (note 12), p. viii.
23. *The Hymnody* (note 4), p. 25.
24. *The Hymnody* (note 4), pp. 155-162.
25. *The Hymnody* (note 4), p. 160.

26. *The Hymnody* (note 4), pp. 229-232.

27. *The Diapason,* Official Journal of the American Guild of Organists. Chicago. Apr. 1, 1929.

28. *The Hymnal,* Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Philadelphia, The Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1895.

    Worthy of note also are Dr. Benson's two texts of this period:

    The Best Church Hymns. Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1898.

    The Best Hymns: A Text-Book for Memorizing Them. Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1898.

29. *Christian Song,* edited by Louis F. Benson. Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1926. p. iv.

30. *The Hymnal Revised* 1911 (note 28), p. iii.

31. *The Hymnody* (note 4), pp. 207-224.

32. *The Hymnody* (note 4), p. 213.

33. *The Hymnody* (note 4), p. 215.

34. *The Hymnody* (note 4), p. 221.

35. *The Hymnody* (note 4), p. 222.

36. Benson, Louis F. *Hymns: Original and Translated.* Philadelphia, Privately printed, 1925.

37. Van Dyke (note 1), p. 152.

38. *Hymns* (note 36), p. 5.

39. *Hymns* (note 36), p. 35.

40. Original letter in possession of The Hymn Society.

41. *Hymns* (note 36), p. 59.

42. Original letter in possession of The Hymn Society.

43. *Hymns* (note 36), p. 12.

44. *Hymns* (note 36), p. 37.

45. *Hymns* (note 36), p. 41.

46. *Hymns* (note 36), p. 65.

47. *The Church School Hymnal for Youth.* Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1928. Hymn No. 110.

48. *The Hymnal,* Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1933. Hymn No. 253.

49. *Hymns* (note 36), p. 70.

50. *Hymns* (note 36), p. 95.

51. *Hymns* (note 36), p. 51.

52. Benson, Louis F. *Hymns and Verses.* Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1897.

53. *Hymns and Verses* (note 52), p. 107.

54. Van Dyke (note 1), p. 152.

55. *The Book of Common Worship, Revised.* Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1932. p. 24.

56. *A Book of Family Worship.* Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1916. p. 29.

57. *Family Worship* (note 43), pp. 95, 96.

58. Benson (note 1), p. 166.

59. Letter in possession of The Hymn Society.

60. Dr. Cheesman Herrick at the Memorial Service (note 1).

61. Dr. William C. Covert at the Memorial Service (note 1), p. 157.

62. *Studies, Second Series* (note 6), p. 273.

63. *Hymns and Verses* (note 40), p. 80, from the poem "The Last Hill."

THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

JAMES RAWLINGS SYDNOR, *Editor*

XX

The Olney Hymns

by

JOHN HENRY JOHANSEN, S.T.M.

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THE OLNEY HYMNS

In 1779 there appeared in England one of the most important early collections of hymns in the Evangelical movement. Known as *Olney Hymns,* this collection has furnished rich material for compilers of hymnbooks ever since its publication, and among its three hundred and forty-eight hymns are several that are immortal. Garrett Horder has said of this hymn collection:

> From the little volume of "Olney Hymns" the church has drawn a far larger number of hymns, and these greatly prized, than from many more voluminous collections. Its somewhat narrow theology is softened by the reality and tenderness of the religious experience of its authors, of both of whom it may be said, "they learnt in suffering what they taught in song."[1]

This collection of hymns was the work of two remarkable men: John Newton (1725-1807), and William Cowper (1731-1800), and in the preface to the book Newton gives the reason for the publication of these hymns: "A desire of promoting the faith and comfort of sincere Christians, though the principal, was not the only motive to this undertaking. It was likewise intended as a monument to perpetuate the remembrance of an intimate and endeared friendship."[2]

Let us look, first, at the two men whose friendship brought about the writing and publication of the *Olney Hymns.*

JOHN NEWTON (1725-1807)

The dramatic story of Newton's life has often been told, and in its adventure, hardship, and humiliation, it suggests a "thriller" for boys rather than a record of plain fact. Newton's father was for many years master of a ship in the Mediterranean trade. He retired from the sea in 1742, and was later appointed Governor of York Fort in Hudson's Bay, where he died in 1750. He has been described as "a man of wide experience, good sense, and practical morality, who had an air of distance and severity which, despite his fundamental kindness, overawed his son."[3] John's mother was a pious dissenter, delicate in health and retiring in temperament, and she lavished all her affection upon her only child. The child himself, born in London in July, 1725, was fonder of learning than of play, and, under his mother's tuition, could read well at the age of four, besides knowing his Shorter Catechism and Dr. Watts' hymns. When John was six, however, his mother died.

His father, when next he returned from sea, married again, and John's stepmother soon had a son of her own, who exclusively engrossed her attention. John was sent to a boarding school at Stratford, in Essex, where he made some progress in Latin, but he remained there only two years. On his eleventh birthday he went to sea with his father. He made five voyages with him to the Mediterranean, and then spent some months at Alicante, in Spain, with a friend of his father's, a merchant, with whom he might have stayed and prospered, but his "unsettled behaviour and impatience of restraint rendered the design abortive."[4] He returned to England, and his father secured an appointment for him in the West Indies. But, being first dispatched upon a business errand into Kent, he there visited some distant relatives of his mother, and fell in love with Mary Catlett, who, seven years later, became his wife. In his autobiography he says, "Almost at the first sight of this girl I was impressed with an affection for her which never abated or lost its influence over me."[5]

Meanwhile, lingering in Kent, John lost his ship to the West Indies, and his father, angry but forgiving, sent him on a voyage to Venice which lasted almost a year. Back home again, John repeated the offense. He was now impressed into the Navy, on the outbreak of war with France, and was soon made a midshipman. Having yet again overstayed his leave, he was arrested as a deserter, publicly flogged, and degraded to the rank of a common sailor. One day, however, he saw a man leaving the *H. M. S. Harwich* for another vessel bound for Guinea. He obtained permission to join him. On reaching the African coast, on what is now the Island of Sierre Leone, he took service under a slave dealer named Clow, whose Negro wife, a woman of local importance, brutally ill-treated him during her husband's absence. Newton received no wages for his labor, and very soon the terrible climate brought him down with fever. His ordeal is best told in his own words:

> I was sick when he sailed in a shallop to Rio Nuna, and he left me in her hands. At first I was taken some care of; but as I did not recover very soon, she grew weary, and entirely neglected me. I had sometimes not a little difficulty to procure a draught of cold water when burning with a fever. My bed was a mat spread upon a board or chest, and a log of wood my pillow. When my fever left me, and my appetite returned, I would gladly have eaten, but there was no one who gave unto me.[6]

For a year or so Newton worked on Clow's plantation; work which no white man in Africa would do willingly. "He was indeed," says his biographer, "as much a slave as any negro; save that Clow knew he had no legal right to treat him thus, and, sooner or later, would have to let him go."[7]

In *An Authentic Narrative Of Some Remarkable and Interesting Particulars In The Life Of John Newton,* which he published in 1764, may be read in detail the rest of the saga of Newton's earlier life: how, even in the circumstances above described, he studied Euclid and drew his diagrams in the African sand; how he later taught himself Latin by means of a Horace and a Latin Bible; and how he had other voyages and several narrow escapes from death. Interspersed with the plain records of fact are the author's reflections upon the almost total depravity into which he fell, though never quite to the extent of forgetting his mother's influence and his love for Mary Catlett. "He moved," Routley says, "in the lowest and vilest circles and sank to the depths of vice, and yet there emerges from this stormy story a man who not only commands the affection of any humane soul, but who showed himself then and afterwards capable of the highest Christian graces."[8]

In February, 1747, the opportunity for escape from the unscrupulous Clow came. A ship named *The Greyhound,* owned by Joseph Manesty, a friend of Newton's father, put in at the island. Within the hour Newton had abandoned his master and boarded the ship for the return home. Being a sailing ship, *The Greyhound* had to take a long route home from Africa and John Newton spent the time ridiculing the captain to the crew and making up ribald verse for which he found he had a certain amount of talent. Looking for something to pass the time away, he found amongst the few books on board the ship, *The Imitation of Christ.* He started to read it, rather by way of a joke. Yet, as he read on he could not help being annoyed with himself for occasionally wondering if in fact the book were not true. Then, growing angry with the effect the book was having on him, he closed it, to read no more.

The Greyhound had been running before a gale for several days, and during the night following this encounter with Thomas à Kempis, the ship was struck by such a heavy sea that Newton was awakened by a crash like thunder, and water half filled his cabin. Part of the vessel's side had stove in and normally the ship would have sunk within a few minutes. But by a strange coincidence the cargo was in part dye-wood and in part beeswax, which kept it afloat. Newton was at the pumps from three in the morning until noon. It seemed impossible that the ship could survive the ordeal. Newton heard a sailor say that it was useless, that nothing could save either the ship or the crew. When he heard that, John Newton silently exclaimed, almost involuntarily, "If this will not do, the Lord have mercy on us!" This rudimentary prayer was crucial. Those few words, spoken "almost without meaning," mark the beginning of change in Newton's life. As long as he lived he kept the anniversary of this night (March 10, 1748) with prayer and fasting, but he was not converted in a moment.

Newton returned home in 1748 and was married in 1750, but for four more years he remained a slave dealer. He tells us that when he became captain of a slave ship he tried to deal both justly and mercifully with crew and cargo. To modern ideas, there is something incongruous in the thought of a Christian being in charge of a slave ship at all, and Newton has further played into the hands of hostile critics by declaring that he never experienced "sweeter and more frequent hours of divine communion" than during his last two voyages to Guinea. That, however, is not the end of the story. He admits that at first he had no scruples about the slave trade, which was, indeed, counted "genteel." But soon, he says, "I considered myself a sort of gaoler or turnkey, and I was sometimes shocked with an employment that was perpetually conversant with chains, bolts, and shackles. In this view I often petitioned that the Lord would be pleased to fix me in a more humane calling."[9] Newton is subsequently found, like Wesley and Cowper, in the vanguard of opposition to slavery.

In 1754 Newton suffered an apoplectic fit, and this brought an end to his seafaring career. He now settled in Liverpool, where he was appointed tidesurveyor. "My duty," he told his wife, "is to attend the tides one week, and visit the sloops that arrive, and such as are in the river; and the other week to inspect the vessels in the docks. I have a good office, with fire and candle, and fifty or sixty people under my direction; with a handsome six-oared boat and a cockswain to row me about in form."[10]

About this time Newton resolved to become a clergyman, and he abandoned his study of Latin, French, and mathematics, for a closer reading of Scripture. For several years his applications were refused. Dr. Gilbert, Archbishop of York, told him bluntly that he should be satisfied with that state of life into which God had called him, and even insinuated that he was a fool to think of resigning a good worldly position for an uncertain clerical prospect. Other leading ecclesiastics were no more help. In his perplexity Newton went to see John Wesley, and as might be expected, Wesley suggested he should become one of his itinerant preachers. Newton replied that it was impossible for him to do that as he couldn't abide many of the extreme brothers in the movement. At last perseverance was rewarded. Through the influence of Lord Dartmouth, a convert to Evangelicalism, Newton was ordained by Dr. Green, Bishop of Lincoln; and Lord Dartmouth, the patron of the living, installed him as curate at Olney, an insignificant Buckinghamshire village.

Newton took up residence at Olney in 1764, when nearly forty years of age. He remained there for sixteen years, the last thirteen of which were spent in constant intimacy with Cowper. The people of Olney were lacemakers, working by hand in their damp, ill-lit hovels; they were poor and they were ignorant, and suffered a great deal of hardship. Newton loved them and looked after them, even at the expense of the few wealthy members of his congregation who were by no means pleased to see their church filled up with noisy, uncouth villagers. The congregation at Olney increased so greatly that a gallery was added to the church. Newton did not confine his services to Sunday or to his own sanctuary. Between the church and the mill stood an empty mansion known as "The Great House." He obtained permission from Lord Dartmouth, the owner, to use it. This house became a social center for the entire village and here were held special services and lectures for children, and frequent prayer meetings, as well as regular weekday preaching services. Perhaps the early Evangelicals did, as Wesley said, talk religion too often and too long. Yet it must be remembered that then there were no traveling facilities for the poor, few schools, no free libraries, and no village forums; to say nothing of popular newspapers, theaters, or broadcasting. And as Gilbert Thomas has said, "Even if we choose to discount liberally the direct religious values of the work of men like Newton, such men exercised in their day a socializing and, in the broadest sense, an educational influence."[11]

In 1780 Newton, who had previously declined an offer of preferment to Hampstead, accepted, at the hands of John Thornton, the living of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, London. Here he remained until his death, which took place on December 21, 1807, when he was eighty-two years old. Newton continued to preach until he was over eighty. So poor was his sight during the latter years, however, that a servant stood behind him in the pulpit, and with a pointer traced out the lines on the manuscript of his sermon. On one occasion Mr. Newton spoke the words, "Jesus Christ is precious," and then repeated them. His servant, thinking he was getting confused, whispered, "Go on, go on; you said that before." Newton, looking around, replied loudly, "John, I said that twice, and I'm going to say it again"; and then with redoubled force he thundered out: "Jesus Christ is precious!"

Important as his preaching may have been, it was in personal relationships and through his letters that Newton's truest service was rendered. "It is Newton's glory," Thomas says, "that, though he became a considerable scholar and a public character in the City of London, surrounded by the perils of affluence and flattery, he retained unimpaired the wisdom and simplicity of one who had seen God's wonders in the deep."[12]

WILLIAM COWPER (1731-1800)

How different was the life, character, and temperament of Newton's friend, William Cowper. Born on November 15, 1731, he was the son of Dr. John Cowper, the Rector of Berkhampstead, England. His mother was a brilliant woman, a daughter of the poet Donne, but Cowper hardly knew her, for she died before her son was six years old. Her death was a misfortune which left a lasting effect on Cowper. Many years later, at the age of sixty-three, he wrote of his mother to his friend Joseph Hill: "I can truly say that not a week passes (perhaps I might with equal veracity say a day), in which I do not think of her. Such was the impression her tenderness made upon me, though the opportunity she had for showing it was so short."[13]

Although as a child Cowper was delicate in health and suffered from a complaint in his eyes, in 1741, at the age of ten, he was sent away to school at Westminster. He was too sensitive to stand easily the life of a boys' boarding school; the older boys teased him continually, playing such nasty tricks on him that he was constantly filled with fear. However, the education at Westminster, being wholly classical, suited Cowper's temperament, and here he formed friendships with some boys who were afterwards known as men of talent and position. How terrible these years must have been for him we can only dimly imagine. From childhood William was subject to periods of melancholia, and as the years went by the attacks became more frequent and serious. The fact about Cowper which the most casual observer cannot miss is that his life was a series of bereavements. The world went against him. Five brothers and sisters died in their infancy; at twenty-four he lost his father; at thirty-nine his beloved brother, John Cowper.

At the age of eighteen Cowper left Westminster and went to live in Ely Place with Mr. Chapman, an attorney, with whom he was to study law. Having done so only to please his father, and not liking law, Cowper was "constantly employed," as he says, "from morning to night, in giggling and making giggle, instead of studying the law."[14] When he was twenty-three William fell in love with his cousin Theodora Cowper. Her father, Ashley Cowper, to whom William had been much attached, forbade the marriage on the ground of his nephew's instability. This aggravated his condition.

Up to the age of thirty-two Cowper was engaged in the Temple, nominally preparing himself for the profession of a lawyer, but really doing little more than cultivating literary acquaintance with his old Westminster companions, and occasionally composing a few verses, or contributing to periodicals. Then came the great crisis of his life. Some influential friends obtained for him the offices of Reading Clerk and Clerk of the Committees of the House of Lords. But having to face a simple examination to confirm his appointment, and disappointed in his hope of a marriage with his beautiful cousin, he tried to commit suicide: by poison, by drowning, by stabbing himself, and lastly, by hanging. All these attempts failed because of lack of purpose or because of some opportune intervention. He was now clearly deranged and was confined to a hospital at St. Albans, kept by Dr. Nathaniel Cotton, and there slowly his mind began to return to normal. "From dejection he passed into resignation, from resignation into hope,"[15] until at last, picking up a Bible he read these words from the Epistle to the Romans:

> Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God.[16]

His whole being was suddenly illumined with joy and grace, and in an experience typical of the religious life of the time, he believed himself to be saved. Writing about it at a later date he said:

> Immediately I received the strength to believe it, and the full beams of the Sun of Righteousness shone upon me. I saw the sufficiency of the atonement He had made, my pardon sealed in His blood, and all the fullness and completeness of His justification. In a moment I believed, and received the gospel . . . Unless the Almighty arm had been

> under me, I think I should have died with gratitude and joy. My eyes filled with tears, and my voice choked with transport; I could only look up to heaven in silent fear, overwhelmed with love and wonder.[17]

One of the poet's biographers has written of this experience in these words: "The fears and pains of his troubled thirty years had fallen off him like rags. Sin and sorrow and disillusion, madness itself, were nothing and less than nothing in the transcendent glory of his spiritual reconciliation."[18]

When Cowper left the asylum after a year and a half, he took lodgings at Huntingdon, which his brother John had provided for him. John was a student at Cambridge, fifteen miles away, and the brothers met every week, "by an alternate reciprocation of intercourse." Happily Cowper found new friends in the Rev. Mr. Unwin and his family, and they agreed to take Cowper into their cheerful home, where he lived contentedly with them until Mr. Unwin's sudden death in 1767. In one of his letters, dated October 1766, Cowper has left us a detailed picture of the daily round in the home of an Evangelical family of the middle class:

> . . . As to amusements, I mean what the world calls such, we have none; the place indeed swarms with them, and cards and dancing are the professed business of almost all the gentle inhabitants of Huntingdon. We refuse to take part in them, or to be accessories to this way of murdering our time, and by so doing have acquired the name of Methodists. Having told you how we do not spend our time, I will next say how we do. We breakfast commonly between eight and nine; till eleven, we read either the Scripture, or the sermons of some faithful preacher of those holy mysteries; at eleven we attend divine service, which is performed here twice every day; and from twelve to three we separate and amuse ourselves as we please. During that interval I either read in my own apartment, or walk, or ride, or work in the garden. We seldom sit an hour after dinner, but if the weather permits adjourn to the garden, where with Mrs. Unwin and her son I have generally the pleasure of religious conversation till tea-time. If it rains, or is too windy for walking, we either converse within doors, or sing some hymns of Martin's collection, and by the help of Mrs. Unwin's harpsichord make up a tolerable concert, in which our hearts, I hope, are the best and most musical performers. After tea we sally forth to walk in good earnest. Mrs. Unwin is a good walker, and we have generally traveled about four miles before we see home again. When the days are short, we make this excursion in the former part of the day, between church-time and dinner. At night we read and converse, as before, till supper, and commonly finish the evening either with hymns or a sermon; and last of all the family are called to prayers. I need not tell you, that such a life as this is consistent with the utmost cheerfulness; accordingly we are all happy, and dwell together in unity as brethren.[19]

After Unwin's death there happened one of those seemingly casual incidents that change the course of men's lives. It was nothing more than a call of condolence from the Rev. John Newton, curate of Olney. Cowper had decided to continue living with Mrs. Unwin, "whose behaviour to me has been that of a mother to a son." Both he and Mrs. Unwin were so attracted to Newton that they decided to move to Olney for the sake of being under his ministry. And so, in 1767 Cowper and Mrs. Unwin moved to a house in the market place of Olney, then called "Orchard Side," and there began a friendship which Newton described as most helpful to himself, and certainly the thirteen years during which they were together were the happiest years of Cowper's life. He became Newton's lay helper at Olney. Newton says: "He loved the poor. He often visited them, and consoled and comforted them in their distress; and those who were seriously disposed were often cheered and animated by his prayers. The Lord evidently sent him to Olney, where he has been a blessing to many, a great blessing to myself."[20]

The Olney people called him "Sir Cowper." He gardened, as the third book of "The Task" tells us in its title. His letters, with constant allusions to exchange of seeds and fruits, show that his plants grew, and that he was so far more successful than some gardeners. He kept birds and animals as pets. At one time at Olney he seems to have had as many as twenty pets, and he made their cages himself. Of these pets his three hares, Bess, Puss, and Tiney, are the most famous—hares with histories and characters—"old Tiney surliest of his kind."

> I kept him for his humour's sake,
>   For he would oft beguile
> My heart of thoughts that made it ache,
>   And force me to a smile.
> But now beneath this walnut shade
>   He finds his long last home,
> And waits, in snug concealment laid,
>   Till gentler Puss shall come.

The hectic parish life into which Newton introduced Cowper was not, however, to bring stability to the poet's mind. He began, therefore, to be discouraged, and to feel flickerings of his former doubts. Newton seems to have realized this, and to distract him from his anxieties, suggested that he should contribute to a hymn-book which he was compiling. The suggestion had a permanent effect on English hymnody, but it did little to preserve Cowper's spirits or his mental balance. In January 1773 he had a long attack of madness which left him with a permanent delusion that God had required him to kill himself, and that his failure to obey had finally stamped him God's enemy. He was moved from Orchard Side to the vicarage, and remained there in Newton's care for a year, at the end of which he was well enough to leave.

Whether Newton's influence upon his sensitive friend's life was good or bad is one of those debatable questions upon which literary critics are likely to continue to differ. To say, however, as Routley does, that "the very last thing he [Cowper] needed was the Calvinism of John Newton," and that "soon he began to sink into the waters on which he had so confidently walked, and then his old trouble came upon him with a rush,"[21] seems to be a conclusion which is not warranted by the facts. It should at least be noted that other competent hymnologists, among them Frederick John Gillman,[22] think that when the intercourse of the two friends was broken by Newton's removal to London, "one of the mainstays of the poet's activity and cheerfulness" was removed. One thing is certain: Cowper's mental trouble began many years before he had met Newton, and continued long after they were separated.

This attack of mental illness put an end to Cowper's hymn writing. And it is only with Cowper the hymn writer that we are here concerned. He was to recover from this attack and to spend years of comparative peace of mind and of poetic achievement before the final attack of insanity brought his life to an end. His last piece of original composition, a poem written in a lucid interval in March 1799, is "The Castaway." On April 25, 1800, Cowper died, still feeling "unutterable despair."

The Olney Hymnbook

In 1771, as has already been noted, Newton, observing his friend's increasing gloom, and having conceived the idea of compiling a new hymnbook for the prayer meeting at Olney, sought to divert Cowper's thoughts by engaging his collaboration. The proposal was welcomed by Cowper for several reasons; it afforded a chance for spiritual service and, as he later admitted, of satisfaction to his literary ambition. But Cowper's full task was never completed. Two years later he was again seriously afflicted in mind, and for some time Newton, not wishing to proceed further by himself, wrote no hymns. In the preface to the book, Newton writes:

> We had not proceeded far upon our proposed plan, before my dear friend was prevented, by a long and affecting indisposition, from affording me any further assistance. My grief and disappointment were great; I hung my harp upon the willows, and for some time thought myself determined to proceed no farther without him. Yet my mind was afterwards led to resume the service.[23]

At length, Newton did resume his work on the hymnbook and when it was published eight years later, he had written 280 of the hymns, while Cowper had written 68. Cowper would doubtless have written more but for the many interruptions he had to endure on account of his mental malady.

It is important to note that the Olney hymnbook was not intended for the church services, but for a midweek evangelical meeting which Newton had started and which met with such great success that they had to move from the small church room to the large room in the "Great House," the manor of Olney. In Newton's Diary under the date of December 6, 1772, is found the following entry: "Expounded my new hymn at the Great House on the subject of a burdened sinner."[24] Dr. Benson says that the Olney hymnbook "is best understood as a revival hymnbook. In its day it had the same welcome and popularity that 'Gospel Hymns' of the Moody and Sankey revival had in ours . . . It was the Evangelical theology put into rhyme for singing, but even more for reading and remembering. It became an Evangelical handbook, printed over and over in England and America, and it exerted an immense influence."[25]

The *Olney Hymns* consisted of three books, classified as follows: Book I. On select Texts of Scripture. Book II. On occasional Subjects. Book III. On the Progress and changes of the Spiritual Life. Book Two contained hymns under these four divisions: I. Seasons. II. Ordinances. III. Providences. IV. Creation. Book Three contained hymns under the following "heads": I. Solemn Addresses to Sinners. II. Seeking, Pleading, Hoping. III. Conflict. IV. Comfort. V. Dedication and surrender. VI. Cautions. VII. Praise. VIII. Short Hymns: Before Sermon, After Sermon, and Gloria Patri.

It has been pointed out that "one defect of this otherwise excellent collection is its apparent disregard of the Church's calendar."[26] In Book Two, in the section entitled "Seasons," there is nothing for Advent, Epiphany, Lent, Good Friday, Easter, or Whitsunday, and for Christmas Day only three hymns are provided. The most important season, to judge by the thirty hymns allocated to it, is New Year. On the other hand, seasons unknown to the Church, such as Saturday Evening and The Close of the Year, find ample provision.

As we might expect from two men of such deep and sore experiences, their hymns contain more than beautiful poetic fancies, they are full of the deep realities of human experience. Most of Newton's hymns are merely rhymed versions of Scriptural stories, with a moral appended, and they corroborate his own statement that he could preach from any one text, but found difficulty in "corelation."

Newton's hymns have really only one note, and it is an exalted one. In all his hymns he speaks of the unbounded love of the Saviour. We are not surprised that Julian, in his *Dictionary,* classes "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds" with the "first hymns in the English language." In 1781 it was published by John Wesley in his *Arminian Magazine.* Written on the text, "Because of the savour of thy good ointments thy name is as ointment poured forth" (Song of Solomon 1:3), this hymn simply rehearses with true Christian joy the happy associations that the name of Jesus calls up in the Christian heart. Without a doubt the memory of Newton's past wickedness is evident throughout. One of his vices had been profanity. Later in life he wrote, "I know not that I have ever since met so daring a blasphemer. Not content with common oaths and imprecations, I daily invented new ones; so that I was often seriously reproved by the Captain; who was himself a very passionate man, and not at all circumspect in his expressions."[27] In the light of such words, and even allowing for exaggeration, we may infer that the name of Jesus had been blasphemously upon his lips. Now, in chastened remembrance of his sin, he would fain exalt the name he profaned:

Dear name! the rock on which I build,
My shield and hiding place,
My never-failing treasury, filled
With boundless stores of grace.

Different in approach, and not as good a hymn, is "One there is above all others." This is the kind of sermon in song that Newton often wrote, and wrote well. This hymn comes from the first division of the Olney Hymns, "On Select Texts of Scripture," and is founded upon the well-known words in Proverbs 18:24, "There is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother." Again the memory of his past wickedness is evident throughout.

Could we bear from one another
What He daily bears from us?
Yet this glorious Friend and Brother
Loves us though we treat Him thus;
    Though for good we render ill,
    He accounts us brethren still.

As we read that verse we are reminded of Newton's words: "I can never forget two things; first, that I was a great sinner, and second, that Jesus is a great Saviour."[28]

Newton's personal consciousness of salvation was, of course, vivid, and he could certainly be expected to lay his emphasis on the joy and peace that come from that consciousness. There is nothing borrowed in the lines:

Amazing grace! how sweet the sound,
    That saved a wretch like me!
I once was lost, but now am found,
    Was blind, but now I see.

'Twas grace that taught my heart to fear,
    And grace my fears relieved;
How precious did that grace appear
    The hour I first believed!

Through many dangers, toils, and snares
    I have already come;
'Tis grace has brought me safe thus far,
    And grace will lead me home.

The Lord has promised good to me,
    His word my hope secures;
He will my shield and portion be
    As long as life endures.[29]

In this hymn we can trace Newton's simple and unaffected devotion to the Saviour who had rescued him from the degradation of his youthful years.

Newton has given us three famous prayer-hymns, redolent of the prayer meeting and eminently suitable for such an occasion as the midweek devotional service. "Come, my soul, thy suit prepare," based on Solomon's prayer in I Kings 3:5-9, is justly famous. It is said that Spurgeon used for many years to have a stanza or two of it sung before the Great Prayer in his public services. It is a hymn of personal devotion, and we need quote only two stanzas:

Come, my soul, thy suit prepare,
Jesus loves to answer prayer;
He Himself has bid thee pray,
Therefore will not say thee nay.

Thou art coming to a King,
Large petitions with thee bring;
For His grace and power are such,
None can ever ask too much.

"Approach, my soul, the mercy seat" is another intimately tender hymn, this time with a distinctly penitential flavor. This hymn contains more of Newton's native warmth than some other hymns, and it combines penitence with courage in such a way as to induce great spiritual vigor through contrition.

Approach, my soul, the mercy-seat,
Where Jesus answers prayer;
There humbly fall before His feet,
For none can perish there.

Another hymn of "humble access" is "Behold the throne of grace," which is written on the same text as "Come, my soul." Originally having eight stanzas, most hymnals today include only five. Here are the last three as found in many hymnals:

My soul, ask what thou wilt,
Thou canst not be too bold;
Since His own blood for thee He spilt,
What else can He withhold?

Thine image, Lord, bestow,
Thy presence and Thy love;
I ask to serve Thee here below,
And reign with Thee above.

Teach me to live by faith,
Conform my will to Thine;
Let me victorious be in death,
And then in glory shine.

Newton has written one hymn of the Church which is immortal. "Glorious things of thee are spoken" is one of the great hymns of all time, and is based on a passage in Isaiah, chapter 33: "Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities: thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken. But there the glorious Lord will be unto us a place of broad rivers and streams . . . the Lord is our king; he will save us." But the thought contained in this hymn includes other Scriptural references also. Words in Psalm 87, "Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God," suggest the splendid beginning. The pillars of cloud and of fire of the wilderness journey of the Israelites also come into the graphic picture, and all is charged with evangelical content.

Glorious things of thee are spoken,
Zion, city of our God;
He whose word cannot be broken
Formed thee for His own abode:
On the Rock of Ages founded,
What can shake thy sure repose?
With salvation's walls surrounded,
Thou mayst smile at all thy foes.

"The great thing about 'Glorious things,'" Routley says, "is that it communicates the gaiety and toughness of Christianity. No hymn more jubilantly disposes of the legend that the Christian faith puts a premium on vagueness, ineffectiveness, other-worldliness and the accent of the stage parson."[30]

. . . .

Cowper is one of the few English poets who have also been hymn writers. Southey pays high tribute to Cowper when he calls him "the best of English letter-writers,"[31] and his poetry will never cease to appeal to those who share his love of nature and of home. "The Task" has been called "one of the wisest books ever written, and one of the most charming,"[32] and another poem, "John Gilpin," is a very happy and mirthful narrative. In the Oxford *Dictionary of Quotations,* there are twelve columns of popular quotations from Cowper, which is some indication of the genius that once lived in sleepy Olney.

It is impossible to estimate how much Cowper's hymns have done to advance in the English-speaking world the Evangelical religion of which they are the outcome. In form and phrase they are simple and direct; obvious, it might be said, in every aspect of them. Gillman says that "Cowper strikes a deeper, tenderer note than Newton."[33] "The hymns," he says, "seem to break out of his heart with a cry." And James Montgomery, great as a hymn critic as well as a hymn writer, says: "Of these hymns it must suffice to say, that, like all his best compositions, they are principally communings with his own heart, or avowals of personal Christian experience. As such they are frequently applicable to every believer's feelings, and touch, unexpectedly, the most secret springs of joy and sorrow, faith, fear, hope, love, trial, despondency, and triumph."[34]

Of the sixty-eight hymns of Cowper in the Olney collection, the one which has probably found widest response in Christian experience is "God moves in a mysterious way." It has been described as the greatest hymn on divine Providence ever written.

The lines were born, we know, of great suffering, and although some have said that the hymn was not written just after the author had been prevented from committing suicide, that explanation of the circumstances surrounding this hymn is still the best one so far as this writer is concerned. As prominent a critic as Montgomery seems to agree when he says of the hymn that it is "rendered awfully interesting by the circumstances under which it was written, in the twilight of departing reason."[35] During an especially grievous visitation of his mental distress Cowper gave his coachman orders to drive to the River Ouse. The night was dark, and the driver missed his way either by accident or on purpose; and Cowper found himself back at his own house. By that time the cloud had lifted from his mind, and he celebrated the Providence of God in this hymn.

This hymn was the last contributed by Cowper to the Olney collection and appears as number fifteen of Book Three, under the suggestive title, "Light shining out of Darkness." The thought pervading the hymn is that over all the mystery and perplexity in human life, God is working out His sovereign will, not only by bringing light after darkness, but light out of darkness. The original appeared in six stanzas of four lines each, but modern hymnals usually abridge it to four or five stanzas. We quote it in its entirety:

God moves in a mysterious way
    His wonders to perform;
He plants His footsteps in the sea,
    And rides upon the storm.

Deep in unfathomable mines
    Of never-failing skill
He treasures up His bright designs,
    And works His sovereign will.

Ye fearful saints, fresh courage take;
    The clouds ye so much dread
Are big with mercy, and shall break
    In blessings on your head.

Judge not the Lord by feeble sense,
    But trust Him for His grace;
Behind a frowning providence
    He hides a smiling face.

His purposes will ripen fast,
    Unfolding every hour;
The bud may have a bitter taste,
    But sweet will be the flower.

Blind unbelief is sure to err,
And scan His work in vain;
God is His own interpreter,
And He will make it plain.

We have the same lesson of God's purpose in affliction in another of Cowper's hymns, entitled "Joy and Peace in Believing." It is perhaps Cowper's most perfect composition in the hymn form, and is justly loved by all:

Sometimes a light surprises
The Christian while he sings;
It is the Lord, who rises
With healing in His wings;
When comforts are declining,
He grants the soul again
A season of clear shining,
To cheer it after rain.

In holy contemplation
We sweetly then pursue
The theme of God's salvation,
And find it ever new;
Set free from present sorrow,
We cheerfully can say,
Let the unknown tomorrow
Bring with it what it may.

It can bring with it nothing
But He will bear us through;
Who gives the lilies clothing
Will clothe His people too;
Beneath the spreading heavens
No creature but is fed;
And He who feeds the ravens
Will give His children bread.

Though vine nor fig tree neither
Their wonted fruit should bear,
Though all the fields should wither,
Nor flocks nor herds be there;
Yet God the same abiding,
His praise shall tune my voice,
For while in Him confiding
I cannot but rejoice.

It is its use of Scripture which gives this hymn its peculiar picturesqueness and makes it memorable. In stanza one, Malachi 4 and Second Samuel 23; in stanzas two and three, Matthew 6; in stanza four, the Canticle of Habakkuk, are alluded to. And yet the hymn does not read, as some Scripture hymns do, and especially some of Cowper's, like a versified concordance. The allusions dovetail neatly into each other, and the transition from one to the next is perfectly natural. "This neatness and precision of craftsmanship," Routley points out, "gives the hymn its conciseness and makes it one of those favourite hymns which teach men of Scripture unobtrusively and almost unconsciously: it is beyond doubt Cowper's happiest hymn, and his greatest."[36]

"Oh! for a closer walk with God," is well known to every churchgoer. The hymn bears not only a title, "Walking with God," but it also has a text, Genesis 5:24, "And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him." The hymn begins:

Oh! for a closer walk with God,
  A calm and heaven'ly frame;
A light to shine upon the road
  That leads me to the Lamb!

Then there follow two stanzas that are so intimate as to be almost exclusively suitable for private devotions:

Where is the blessedness I knew
  When first I saw the Lord?
Where is the soul-refreshing view
  Of Jesus, and His word?

What peaceful hours I once enjoyed!
  How sweet their memory still!
But they have left an aching void
  The world can never fill.

Then there follows Cowper's penitence:

Return, O holy Dove, return,
  Sweet messenger of rest!
I hate the sins that made Thee mourn,
  And drove Thee from my breast.

The dearest idol I have known,
  Whate'er that idol be,
Help me to tear it from Thy throne,
  And worship only Thee.

The whole is summed up in the final stanza:

So shall my walk be close with God,
  Calm and serene my frame;
So purer light shall mark the road
  That leads me to the Lamb.

That surely is first and foremost a devotional poem, a personal poem. The second and the third stanzas, for instance, have clear reference to Cowper's own life story, and both have a delicacy of perception and sentiment which can be found in few other hymns. This hymn was written when Cowper was distressed on account of the illness of his friend, Mrs. Unwin. Concerning this hymn he wrote: "I began to compose the verses yesterday morning before daybreak, but fell asleep at the end of the first two lines. When I awaked again, the third and fourth were whispered to my heart in a way which I have often experienced."[37]

It is delightful to remember that the Olney Hymns were written for a little village congregation. It was for the opening of a room for "social prayer" that Cowper penned these beautiful lines:

Jesus, where'er Thy people meet,
There they behold Thy mercy-seat;
Where'er they seek Thee Thou art found,
And every place is hallowed ground.

Cowper's great hymn of redemption, "There is a fountain," so popular in past years, is now less used and is being omitted from some new hymnals because of its extravagant imagery. The familiar first stanza is known to all:

There is a fountain filled with blood
  Drawn from Emmanuel's veins;
And sinners plunged beneath that flood,
  Lose all their guilty stains.

This is a meditation on the saving power of the Blood of Christ, and for Cowper, as in the Bible, "Blood" is the symbol of life, and shed blood is the symbol of life laid down. The first stanza links the initiating text from Zechariah (13:1) with that in Revelation (7:14) which speaks of the saints as having "washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." The second stanza proceeds straight to the Crucifixion itself:

The dying thief rejoiced to see
  That fountain in his day;
And there have I, as vile as he,
  Wash'd all my sins away.

The third stanza universalizes this for the whole Church:

Dear dying Lamb, Thy precious blood
  Shall never lose its power
Till all the ransomed Church of God
  Be saved, to sin no more.

Let us admit that of all Cowper's hymns this is the one which has been the most criticized and even ridiculed. It is thought to be crude, harsh, and in bad taste, and Brownlie's criticism is typical of those who regard is as obsolete and reject it. He says of this hymn that "its imagery is certainly not Scriptural; and besides it gives a sensuous representation of the sacrifice of our Lord, which one hardly looks for outside the hymns of the mediaeval Latin Church."[38] Granted that the image is crude, and that the verses have small literary merit. But then the reality is crude. Sin is not polite or polished, and the measures which God took for man's redemption were not, in earthly terms, fit for fastidious minds to contemplate. If this hymn is in bad taste, then Christianity itself is in bad taste.

Dr. James Moffatt says: "Attempts have been made to improve it, but they have proved disastrous failures . . . the hymn must be taken as Cowper wrote it, or not at all."[39] And a more recent writer, Arthur F. Pollard, has written: "The hypersensitive may find this crude, but Cowper makes no concessions to exaggerated refinement. He adheres steadfastly to the Biblical account of redemption . . . Here in concentrated, passionate symbolism is the fundamental meaning of the Crucifixion . . . Its doctrine is impeccable, its mood passionately sincere, its statement simple and direct, and it presents an experience which, though necessarily in varying measure, ought to be shared with Cowper by all his Christian readers."[40]

Of course, if one does not believe what this hymn says, there is little use singing it. But why not believe the truth that lies within its poetic image? It is true that in Heaven the redeemed praise God and the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, and praise Him constantly. If this truth is expressed in the language of eighteenth-century Evangelicalism, it is none the less truth and to be received. "The only criticism that will stand against this hymn," Routley says, "is a criticism not of the hymn but of the untheological and uncompassionate age in which we at present live, which makes necessary the careful use of hymns so heavily loaded with theology and so uncompromisingly Scriptural in their language."[41]

Perhaps the words of G. Currie Martin express most clearly why Cowper's hymns have endured. "Their tenderness and beauty of language have endeared them to every generation, and they will abide as long as the needs they express are essential to the human soul."[42]

We do well today to remember these two men: John Newton, whom Lecky called "one of the purest and most unselfish of saints" and "one of the most devoted and single-hearted of Christian ministers,"[43] and William Cowper, the great hymn poet; and the hymnbook which they compiled, known as the *Olney Hymns,* by which our congregational worship has been so greatly enriched.

From a dozen to twenty of the Olney Hymns are to be found in various hymnals today. Dr. Benson says that "At the lowest estimate six must be accorded a classical position: three of Cowper's—'Hark my soul! it is the Lord,' 'Oh! for a closer walk with God,' and 'God moves in a mysterious way'; and three of Newton's—'Come, my soul, thy suit prepare,' 'Glorious things of thee are spoken,' and 'How sweet the name of Jesus sounds.' "[44] What is left, however, is far from being "empty chaff." Indeed, there are very few hymnbooks of the eighteenth century so interesting as this one. Dr. Gregory's apt comment on this collection of hymns may serve as a fitting conclusion. He says:

> When you have picked out of Watts and Doddridge their best hymns, you find it a wearisome and profitless task to plod through the remainder. An outrageous rhyme is a pleasing break in the dull monotony of the sentiment, but the Olney Hymns, even at their feeblest, have life and vigour, and are often provokingly easy to remember. Their influence on modern hymnody has been all in favour of the expression of personal, individual experience, in which regard they may not unfairly be compared with many of the sublimest psalms.[45]

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THE PAPERS OF THE
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XXI

The Philosophy of the Hymn

by

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HYMN

OVER a period of thirty years I have witnessed an expanding interest in hymns. Still, on every level of leadership, I see lingering evidences of the attitude which consigns the hymn to a second-rate place in the program of the church. This attitude manifests itself in important and less important ways:

—in the minister's topical treatment of hymns, resulting, no doubt, from

—the failure at the seminary level to include hymn study in the curriculum;

—in the neglect of hymn study in leadership schools;

—in the lack of a coordinated plan for the church school music, and for other areas of church life;

—in the dearth of musicians who can play hymns with authority;

—in the adding of hymns as an embellishment to services and programs and lesson materials, rather than conceiving them as a vital element;

—in the relegating of hymn practice to last and least place in choir rehearsals, and sometimes no place at all;

—in the indiscriminate cutting of stanzas (or an entire hymn) to save time, the seating of latecomers during the singing of a hymn, the announcement of a hymn as "number so-and-so," fade-outs of congregational singing for radio announcements, and so forth.

In spite of our vastly improved hymnals and wide dissemination of information about hymns and hymn singing, we are far from Paul's ideal, set forth in I Corinthians 14.15, "I will sing with the spirit and I will sing with the mind also." To put it bluntly, the hymn is not yet properly respected, not yet seriously studied, and (consequently) not yet vitally used in the expression and propagation of our Christian faith. It is used, yes, on all occasions by every age, but only partially used. The tremendous power available through a full and imaginative use of hymns has not yet been released into the life of the church. Many factors enter into our foreshortening of the hymn's potential:—some are positive, some are negative, but all root in our failure to understand the nature of the hymn and its relationship to our Christian experience.

I am not asserting that we have *no* understanding, but that we have only a partial understanding. We have not taken the hymn seriously enough to dig down to the deeper levels of its meaning, and until we do we are subject to a misunderstanding.

It is necessary here to point out two misconceptions which have resulted from our failure to arrive at a fuller understanding of hymns. It seems to me we have made two false assumptions: first, because song is simple, that people can easily sing; and second, because song is spontaneous, that people will gladly sing. This general statement requires amplification and qualification.

First, and briefly, as to SIMPLICITY:

Because the function of the hymn (that it is to be sung by a group) has imposed poetic and musical limitations upon it, the tendency has been to look upon hymns as "simple little songs," easy to sing, and therefore not requiring preparation. The self-imposed scaling down of the hymn, from the poetic and musical standpoint, has also led those who do not understand its nature and its place in Christian experience to regard it as inferior, not meriting serious study. There has been widespread and continuous confusion of small size and "easiness" with lack of excellence. The fact that the hymn is short, that it is fairly obvious in form, that its language is usually plain and quickly grasped, that its musical setting is easy for the uninitiated to sing, does not *necessarily* imply poetic and musical inferiority. Hymns do not have a completely free range, but within their range they can have poetic and musical beauty and significance, which call for and merit close examination.

What I am saying is that the hymn's simplicity is deceptive, and that we have allowed ourselves to be misled in two respects: (1) Technical simplicity has led to the erroneous idea that the *meaning* of the hymn is equally simple and is immediately susceptible of comprehension. (2) The simplicity of poetic and musical scope has led to the conclusion that the hymn is of a low order, in artistic terms, and not worthy of critical study. We have judged the hymn on the basis of poetic and musical criteria, and yet have not sought its significance through the application of the principles of art.

The hymn is simple, yes—it has something of value for those who would use it on the run; but it is complex, and it yields its full treasure only to those who linger to explore.

Second, and at greater length, as to SPONTANEITY:

The early Christians turned naturally and spontaneously to song for the expression of their faith. Succeeding centuries have furnished evidence that there is a close relationship between religious and lyrical vitality. But does this justify the argument: song is native to the Christian, therefore our people will sing if they are really Christian? or, conversely, if our people do not sing, they are not really Christian? Before we assume that our people today should practice the glad melody-making of first century Christians, we need to examine the meaning and conditions of spontaneity.

By "spontaneity" I do not mean the "gift of tongues" Paul discusses in I Corinthians 14, but rather the normal tendency of all peoples to sing, a tendency which, in Christians, can issue in a lyrical heart-mind motion toward God. This means that spontaneity is not a supernatural quality, which comes in a capricious manner, beyond our comprehension and our control. It means that spontaneity is not inevitable with Christians, i.e., being a Christian does not automatically and necessarily impel song. It means also that a Christian can sing without spontaneity (just as he can pray and make a gift without it), song oftentimes being induced by external pressure or appeal, whether a person will or no. *Spontaneous song,* in the sense in which I am using the term, *derives from an inner experience.* External factors have a bearing on it, but they are not determinative.

It is not within my capacity to expound a theory of the origin of the song impulse, but I believe there is ample ground on which to base the position that song springs from a sense of exaltation, of longing satisfied, of need met, of spiritual overcoming. This holds true even of the song which arises from "the trouble breast," if we look deeply enough to realize that, in such cases, song is a turning of man's heart to a higher and greater source, in which he hopes his troubles will be resolved. In other words, the upsurge which issues in song can take place within the area of anticipation. The sense of victory impelling lyric expression need not be actual realization; it can be realization within anticipation. This ingredient (of something conquered, something "coming right," to put it broadly) is the least common denominator of genuinely spontaneous song. Without it the fount of song, in an individual or in a people, is quickly dried up, and must be artificially filled until connection is restored with the only perennial source of supply.

This theory accounts for the occurrence of spontaneous song during periods of religious revival: it is at such times that a people's experience is charged with a sense of victory, of things being ordered aright, even in the midst of disorder and evil. It was so with the early Christians; it was so with the early Protestants; it was so with the followers of Wesley and succeeding leaders of vital religious movements. Indeed, long before the Christian era, many of the Psalms and other Old Testament Songs illustrated the principle of lyrical expression arising from a feeling of exaltation over the felicitous outworking of a personal or group situation. For example, the Song of Moses (Exodus 15. 1-18), celebrating the crossing of the Red Sea, Israel's TE DEUM for deliverance from bondage; the Song of Hannah (I Samuel 2. 1-10), exulting in the Lord because of the fulfillment of personal longing, through which she discerned His way of dealing with all people; Psalm 147, celebrating (some scholars say) the dedication of the rebuilt Wall of Jerusalem, a difficult feat accomplished under God's guidance and protection and strength, and accompanied "with gladness, with thanksgivings and with singing, with cymbals, harps, and lyres." (Nehemiah 12.27)

Instances such as these from the Bible and the record of the Christian Church have no doubt laid the foundation for the inference that people would sing "if they really had religion." We have conceived "real religion" in terms of the concentrated experience accompanying individual conversion or group revival, and operated on the principle that, if it were perpetuated, people would sing. We have resorted to many futile, and some questionable, devices to whip people up to the song-producing peak. And, it must be admitted, there are leaders who are sincere in their conviction that the resultant lusty singing betokens an inner, spiritual motivation. If we had studied the hymn in relation to our whole Christian experience, we would have realized that it is the *shape* (or form) of this particular experience, and not primarily its content and mood, which brings about the impulse to song, and experiences having this shape are repeated again and again in the life of the individual Christian and the church, usually with less dramatic content and less intensity of mood. In other words, beginnings and renewals are characterized by awareness, eagerness, realization, a sense of deliverance and accomplishment and hope, all of which are the very breath of song. But there is more to Christian experience than awakening; we get up and move on. There are many experiences along the way which, while they may not lend themselves to outbursts of high praise, can nevertheless be occasions of spontaneous song, for they derive from the basic sequence of inner events that lies back of every song, whether it be praise or penitence or dedication or admonition to the brethren.[1] "The first avowed intent" (or the second or third or hundredth) of individual or church may wane and die, or may wax and bear fruit. Usually, after a period of waxing there is a tendency toward crystallization into fixed states, far removed from the initial victory-attitude. Does this mean, then, that in the *establishing* of a church we may expect song to be spontaneously generated, but that in an *established* church we must settle for something less? To answer this is to write the Paper.

Let me back up now and work from the initial conclusion that the truncated usefulness of the hymn stems from our failure to understand its nature and relationship to Christian experience.

When hymns are discussed, it is usually AS RELATED TO, or

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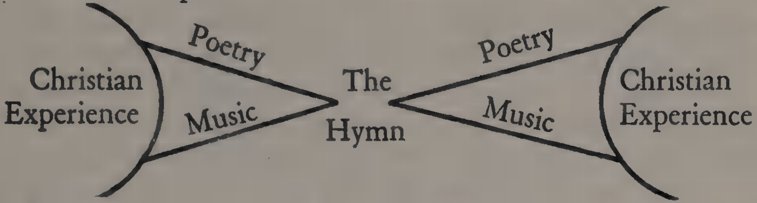
[1] At this point we are close to a consideration of the bearing of our conception of spontaneity upon our ideas as to what constitutes song. To pursue this would break the main thread of thought, but reference should be made to one aspect of this subject, namely, Augustine's theory that church song is praise, *always and only.* Since any "overcoming," large or small, is "in the power of the Lord," it is natural and fitting that the burden of our song should be praise and thanksgiving to Him for what He is and what He does. The proponents of the praise theory apparently do not take into account that this same motion of the spirit can express itself in songs that are not *explicitly* praise. Those who insist that a hymn must universally (and some add, objectively) voice "naught else" but praise to God are looking at the surface or literal meaning of the words, and are failing to recognize the shape of the religious experience *back* of the words. "Songs of praise" are the most obvious, the most necessary, the most dramatic, and the most numerous examples of this heart-mind motion, and there is an element of praise (by implication if not by explication) in every hymn. But to say that every hymn, *to be a hymn,* must be limited to praise of God is to narrow the boundaries of church song, and also to constrict its flow within the narrowed boundary. People will not be restrained (because, actually, song *is* spontaneous to them), and the spontaneity we crave and seldom achieve in our church "system of praise" manifests itself in extra-curricular song, which is neither understood nor approved by the church fathers.

CONNECTED WITH, something else: the hymn *as related to* the Bible, to doctrine, to history, to literature, to music; the hymn *in* or the hymn *and* human life, Christian faith, Christian education, worship, evangelism, and so on. This suggests several things: (1) that hymns are a part of something bigger—they are set in a context, a larger frame; (2) that they are to serve an end; (3) that hymns are versatile, complex, far from mere "simple little songs," if they stand in a vital relationship to such a variety of important subjects; (4) that historical material *about* hymns, valuable as it is, is insufficient for getting at the full meaning of the hymn; and (5) that the study of hymns impinges upon the total life and thought of the church, individual and corporate, past and present and future. From any angle, historical or interpretive or practical, the serious consideration of a single hymn, if followed through, involves us immediately and inevitably in the "total scheme of things." The attempt to compile a strictly classified bibliography reveals the manifold character of the hymn, in its origin and its use. There are books which are primarily historical, books which stress interpretation and criticism, books which deal mainly with the actual use of hymns in services and programs, but no one line of thought can proceed far without taking into account the others. Up to now the chief concern of leaders (it seems to me) has been to get quick and concrete answers to the immediate questions: *what* shall I sing at such and such a time? and *how* can I make the people sing it? In answer to these questions we have developed a great many short cuts to singing, but the end result has been the cutting short of genuinely spontaneous song. The only permanent basis for realizing the distinctive and dynamic role of the hymn is an understanding of *why* it is so intimately tied in with every aspect of Christian experience.

We do not find our answer to this WHY on the surface. For instance, not on the basis of this type of reasoning: Christian experience is concerned with faith; hymns treat the topic of faith; therefore, we sing "My faith looks up to Thee," or "Faith of our fathers." The fact that the hymn and Christian experience have common themes is an inadequate explanation of their close connection. Our answer must be found at a deeper level, where the nature of the hymn and the nature of Christian experience are seen to be organically related. It is necessary to get to the inside, to break open the elements of the hymn and of Christian experience, if we are to perceive their basic kinship.

Here is a skeleton diagram, which helps us visualize this kinship, this underlying "belonging-togetherness," and the relationship of mutual quickening which exists between the hymn and Christian experience:



Briefly, the hymn is a religious idea-emotion, born of Christian experience, through the media of poetry and music; and in turn, transmitted through the media of poetry and music, it nourishes Christian experience.

Since the hymn is an expression of Christian experience in terms of poetry and music, it is logical to suppose that we should seek its meaning through a study of the poetry and music. Such an approach, however, has not often been the case. From the beginning the hymn has been praised or condemned on the basis of the standards of art, but so far as I have discovered, there has been no thorough and sustained effort to lay hold on its meaning through the use of the principles of art.[2] (Recall prevailing misconception as to SIMPLICITY, page 4.) Whether the hymn be good poetry or bad poetry, good music or bad music, it *is* poetry and music, and its meaning is inextricably bound up with the nature of poetry and music. It simply is not possible to disrobe the religious message of its garments of poetry and music and have much of vital significance left. The three,—religious idea-emotion, poetry, music,—are a unity, and stand or fall together, as far as full meaning is concerned.

Indeed, we would not wish it otherwise, if we understood more clearly the peculiar aptness of poetry and music to express and propagate our faith. It is my conviction that Christians have sung spontaneously *precisely because* poetry and music are basically in harmony with the experiences of the Christian, that essentially religion and poetry and music are alike in their three basic elements: substance, structure, and spirit (or, if preferred: content, form, and mood).

In other words, my position as to the vital kinship between the hymn and Christian experience rests upon the broader principle that all of the arts have underlying likenesses to religion, and that therefore art has value in expressing, understanding, and spreading religion. The arts employed in the hymn are poetry and music, and they are uniquely fitted for this role. The early Christians, I believe, sang spontaneously because of an intuitive sensing of this fitness; we need to study the *reasons* for this fitness in the hope that we may thereby discover the course to follow in our song today. I shall try to make a case for the peculiar aptness of poetry and music, as combined in the hymn, to express and propagate Christian experience, and I ask the reader to keep in mind at all times that what we seek in hymn singing is the ideal set forth by St. Paul, which (to me) can be summed up under the one word, REALIZATION.

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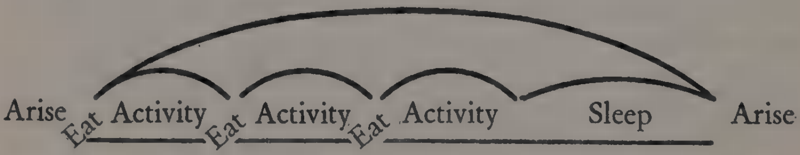
[2] One finds glints of this approach here and there in writings on hymnology, but no systematic application of it.

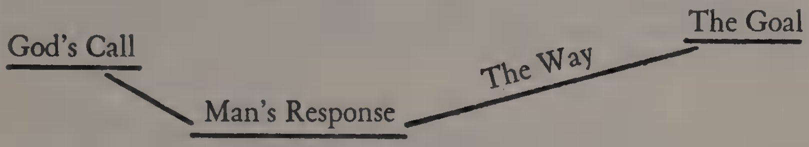
Religion and poetry and music may be divided into three component parts: substance, structure, and spirit. In speaking of the shape of the religious experience which gives rise to song, I have already suggested structural similarity in these fields. I shall, therefore, begin this section by describing some of the characteristic forms in our Christian experience, and showing the correspondence of poetic and musical forms to them. (Here again I am constrained to point out that brevity forces over-simplification. I can do little more than outline and suggest.)

In conversation and in print we commonly use expressions which indicate that life has form. We speak of "the *shape* of the future," "a well *organized* life," "*design* for living," "God's *plan* for a life," "one's life following a certain *pattern*," "*ordering* our days aright," "someone's not fitting into my *scheme* of things," and so on, but we rarely stop to contemplate structure as an abstract concept. Nor do we take time to make a mental picture of these metaphorical terms. Look, for instance, at the shape of a day, with its eating, activity, sleeping,—



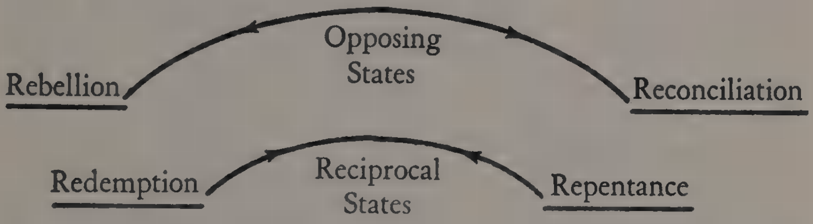
which can be extended to the weekly, monthly, by-the-season, yearly pattern of our days,—"the stuff of life," so to speak, organized into regularity with variety.

The application of this to our Christian experience is but a step. What is the structure (or form, or shape) of Christian experience? (And by Christian experience I mean *all* of life.) Perhaps this diagram will help us visualize the concept:



God reaches out to man, in the acts of redemption; man responds to God through repentance; God forgives man; man dedicates himself, is renewed, and set on The Way, which leads to eternal life, The Goal.

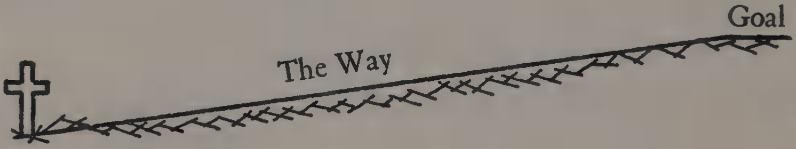
There are two major sections within this broad scheme: (1) The Call-Response, and (2) The Way, each of which has shape. Within the Call-Response experience, the shape is in terms of a great conflict and a great cooperation, thus:



We are in a state of rebellion against God, separated from Him, turning away from Him in "hardness" of heart; He calls us to a state of reconciliation with Himself, a fruitful union, a joyous fellowship. These two states are antithetical. They illustrate the most extreme and dramatic form of antagonistic forces. We can objectify them in any shape or structure which connotes opposition.

The issue of this conflict is either rejection of God or acceptance of God. If we reject Him, there is no ensuing Christian experience; if we accept Him, a trust relationship is established. The shape of the acceptance can be conceived in any terms which suggest cooperation, working together, movement toward each other, reciprocal effort. It is shown above in its formal relation to the conflict:—God and man working together, each doing something essential to man's salvation—God always taking the initiative, and man responding. Acceptance of God in trust is a great God-man Victory, in which is bound up a bundle of experiences: redemption, repentance, forgiveness, dedication, renewal, rejoicing, resolution. Each experience is distinguishable, but all are a unity, making up the complete trust relationship.

Out of this God-man Victory arises the new life in Christ, or the trusting creature setting out on The Way. The shape of The Way, as given here, shows the comparison of the ideal and the actual:



Ideally, The Way would be a straight, unbroken, upward, forward moving thrust of a series of perfect trust experiences. (By a "trust experience" I mean the conflict-cooperation-victory cycle, which recurs through the Christian's entire life, in varying circumstances, but always the same shape. We can think of it as if the basic trust act, like a pearl, were being drawn along a thread. In every problem, every opportunity, every choice, every accomplishment, every temptation, every disappointment, the strong alliance between God and man would overcome the tug of the old rebellious state.) *Actually,* the pattern of The Way shows digression, wandering, turning back, stumbling, a zig zag course. This zig zag varies from person to person, according to the degree of commitment. God is always there to do His part of the cooperating; we are the variable, the uncertain, the 'x.' Obedience is the determining factor in the actual shape of The Way. (Hence, the forked line in diagram, indicating choice at every point along The Way.)

No doubt the correspondence of musical and poetic forms to many aspects of Christian experience has already occurred to the reader. The structure described in terms of conflict-cooperation-victory is the most important, because of its bearing upon the motivation of song. There must be a sound philosophical reason back of the theory that an inner "overcoming" furnishes the impulse to song. I find the reason in the very nature of music and poetry, both of which lean heavily upon this form. A piece of music or a poem is, in itself, a little "overcoming." There is, in the making of tune or poem, a kind of victory, an ordering, a bringing to completion, a taking of certain elements and composing them into a rightness, a unity. The singing of a song, as well as the making of one, partakes of this same overcoming. Is it any wonder, then, that song lends itself to the expression of a spiritual overcoming? If the Christian is going on "from victory unto victory," there can be no more natural and fitting way to voice the experience than in an outward form that matches the inner sequence of events. And what could be more conducive to the bringing about of the "inner events" than the participation in song, which conforms to this shape in a dual capacity?

More specifically as to music: music is sometimes defined in terms of tension and resolution. In a variety of ways the stuff of music is fashioned to build up suspense, expectancy, tension, opposition, to be followed by resolution, release, "victory," if we choose to call it that, either partial or complete. Through the pitting of one key or one movement against another, the alternation of dissonance and consonance, the arrangement of harmonic progressions, the treatment of tonal tendencies within the scale, to say nothing of the varying of speed and dynamics, the composer defines a shape which, in the whole and in its parts, is analogous to the conflict-cooperation-victory experience of the Christian. It is easier to observe this structural characteristic in the larger musical works than in the hymn tune, but the hymn tune, in common with every piece of music, must have enough contrast to hold interest, enough tension to generate anticipation of a resolution. We see the cooperative portion of this shape illustrated in balancing phrases and periods, in theme and answering theme. Long conditioning to the miniature tension-resolution pattern followed in the hymn tune has perhaps dulled our awareness to what is taking place. One need only play, say, the second line of CRUSADER'S HYMN, omitting the simple modulations, to demonstrate the effect music creates when we are not even noticing it. The substitution of tonic and dominant seventh chords where the modulations occur will convince the ear of the least musically inclined of the way music can pique our interest, lead us on in expectancy. Or play the melody alone of a tune like LONDONDERRY AIR, phrase by phrase, to see how suspense is built up, how we are kept in an attitude of expectancy until the final cadence brings the sense of fulfillment.

It is worth noting here that modern music, with its emphasis on dissonance and atonality, weights the shape in the direction of conflict. The clashing of keys, the unrest of vague, unresolved harmonies, is highly suggestive of the struggle and indecision of part of our Christian experience. This kind of music, however, does not finish the cycle, which in our Christian experience moves on through cooperation with God to a happy conclusion. True, many of our moral and spiritual struggles end in indecision, defeat, despair, and in such cases the modern idiom is appropriate. The hymn tune, on the other hand, though it be a slight form, shows the complete sequence in that it comes to a positive conclusion, as expressed in the satisfying cadence in the home key.

More specifically as to poetry: poetry has been defined as action and reaction, point and counterpoint. Every poem, whatever its dominant form may be, contains an element of contrast, ranging from the mildest sort of difference to the most extreme opposition. Many poems are constructed in the main through the principle of pitting ideas or persons or situations one against the other. (Here I am referring to the organization of the thought, and not the technical organization by feet and lines and stanzas, though of course the two are related.) "Conflict," in our context, does not invariably connote the degree of struggle associated with warfare. The term "tension," used in connection with music, takes care of a wider range of experiences conforming to this general shape. Paraphrasing Webster, tension means a state of being stretched—strain of mind, intensity of feeling—suspense—pull, necessary in any forward movement. No part of our life is free of this kind of tension. We do not get anywhere, physically or mentally or spiritually, without some strain or pull, or "conflict." If a piece of music or a poem is to "get anywhere," it too must create this same shape. In some poems, as in some music, the conflict is unresolved. The poetry of hymns, however, like the tunes, rounds out the full shape: it is thoroughly realistic in its presentation of the conflict, but it is also positive and confident in the ultimate victory. (Recall mention of "realization in anticipation," page 5, essential in hymns because many of our conflicts will be resolved only in heaven. Our present victory, through which song is generated, consists in the assurance that "to him that overcometh, a crown of life shall be," and that our "overcoming" here and now is a sharing in the victory *already won* by Jesus Christ.) All poetry, as said above, employs contrast in its construction; the poetry of hymns not only follows this principle *in the abstract,* but its subject matter is the conflict-victory sequence of Christian experience.

Hymnody abounds in examples of structure wrought through the setting of ideas in opposition. There are certain major oppositions underlying the entire body of hymns, such as: God's eternity contrasted with man's transitoriness; the glories of heaven weighed against the vanities of this world; light versus darkness, waking versus sleeping, life versus death; good and evil as antagonists. In some hymns the entire thought is shaped up under one of these controlling oppositions, as for example, "Our God, Our Help in ages past" (eternity-transitoriness), or "Christ, whose glory fills the skies" (light-darkness); but throughout hymnody, in phraseology and figure of speech and symbol, these basic contrasts recur, each time recalling to us the conflict-cooperation-victory shape, which is primary in Christian experience.[8]

There is likewise, on every page of the hymnal, evidence of the second shape within the Call-Response experience, the shape I am calling cooperation, drawing together, reciprocal action. This is the shape Paul means when he says ". . . work out your own salvation . . . for God is at work in you . . ." (Philippians 2.12-13), and which Jesus means when he says ". . . and I, when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to myself." (John 12.32) We find the same things true of this shape that we did in the case of antithetical ideas, namely: (1) that there are certain fundamental manifestations of the cooperative shape which run throughout hymnody, (2) that some hymns are predominantly organized around this pattern of thought, and (3) that the shape is continually being suggested by phrase or figure even when it is not the controlling factor in the poem. A word or two for each of these general statements must suffice. As to (1), the primary attraction or mutual endeavor is, of course, God's call and man's response. In a sense, all hymnody could be subsumed under this broad outline. It becomes more comprehensible, more realizable, to us when this over-arching cooperation is divided into smaller sections, each bearing similar shape. (See description of broad Call-Response shape, page 11.) In addition to this master shape, we have other instances in the poetry of hymns of the two-foldness of drawing together: man's need calling forth man's sympathy and effort, the beauty and marvels of the physical universe arousing our wonder and appreciation, the ministry of angels in the affairs of men, the reciprocal relationship between individual Christian and the church. As to (2), the thought of many hymns falls mainly into this pattern, as for instance, "When I survey the wondrous cross," which sets forth God's call in its supreme manifestation and man's response in its fullest expression, or "I sought the Lord, and Afterward I knew He moved my soul to seek Him, seeking me."[4] As to (3) this shape is operative to some degree in practically every hymn. Illustrations are so numerous, choice is difficult. Over and over we see this two-way operation, this movement of two objects or ideas or persons or forces toward each other: the sun shines on a plant—the plant turns toward the sun; confidence is expressed in a person—hope is revived in his heart; a gift is offered in love—it is accepted in gratitude; we do God's will—we "know of the doctrine . ." Here are a few examples of what I mean, lifted from the poetry of hymns: "Hearts unfold like flowers before Thee, Opening to the sun above," "Sometimes a light surprises The Christian while he sings," "To them that seek Thee Thou art good," "God never yet forsook at need The soul that trusted Him indeed," "Thou of life the Fountain art, Freely let me take of Thee," "Onward we go, for still we hear them singing . . . Angels of Jesus, Singing to welcome the pilgrims of the night," "To this clear call of brotherhood Our hearts responsive ring," "And all ye men of tender heart, Forgiving others, take your part, O sing ye!"

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[8] Here we could easily turn aside to emphasize the fact that a hymn is more than a single hymn: it is a member of a large family of hymns. Because of the power of suggestion and association, the influence of any hymn is extended far beyond its intrinsic worth,—PROVIDED, of course, we have the perception to see and the skill to realize this potential.

Let me gather up the main points in this sketchy treatment of the conflict-cooperation-victory shape, which is common to Christian experience and music and poetry. In every area of life we find contrariety and mutuality: ideas, values, forces, people, situations, set in varying degrees of contrast or opposition to each other; and again, set in reciprocal relationships. Christian experience would not be true to reality if it did not follow these universal patterns, because Christian experience, to the Christian, includes *all* of life. In the primary experience of the Christian the great struggle is waged in cooperation with God, and the outcome is a God-man victory. This pattern of inner events recurs in different situations throughout the Christian's life. The conflict is inevitable; the cooperation is optional; the victory (if "the Right Man be on our side") is certain. And out of the victory *power* is born, the kind of power that renews moral and spiritual forces, the kind of power that generates song. This is so because music and poetry are constructed on this same conflict-cooperation-victory pattern. They too are "overcomings," wrought by composer or poet after he has deliberately set up certain tensions that require following through to a positive conclusion. I have tried to show that poetry and music are like this *in their very nature,* and not simply when they *talk about* these things. In drawing illustrations from hymns, it is easy to create the impression that this relationship is merely thematic, when basically it is structural. Hymns are fitted to express the themes of Christian experience *because* of this deeper kinship.

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[4] In finding the dominant shape to be cooperative, I am not eliminating entirely the operation of other shapes. In "When I survey the wondrous cross," Watts makes full use of opposing ideas, but they are used *within* the controlling form, to show the magnitude and marvel of the Call and the necessity for the total and willing surrender. Opposition is subsidiary to cooperation here. Just the reverse is the case in "Our God, our help in ages past," where the polarity of God's eternity and man's transitoriness is the basic molder of thought, and the Help and Shelter we find in Him is the resolution. The attempt to discuss conflict and cooperation as distinct shapes reveals their inseparability in the full Christian experience.

The hymn which most strikingly sets forth the full conflict-cooperation-victory cycle is "Christian, dost thou see them?"

Christian, dost thou see them
On the holy ground,
How the powers of darkness
Rage thy steps around?

Christian, dost thou feel them,
How they work within,
Striving, tempting, luring,
Goading into sin?

Christian, dost thou hear them,
How they speak thee fair?
"Always fast and vigil?
Always watch and prayer?"

Christian, up and smite them,
Counting gain but loss,
In the strength that cometh
By the holy cross.

Christian, never tremble;
Never be downcast;
Gird thee for the battle;
Thou shalt win at last.

Christian, answer boldly,
"While I breathe I pray!"
Peace shall follow battle,
Night shall end in day.

"Well I know thy trouble,
O My servant true,
Thou art very weary—
I was weary too;

But that toil shall make thee
Some day all Mine own,
And the end of sorrow
Shall be near My throne."

Ascribed to Andrew of Crete
Translated by John Mason Neale

Here, in the technical arrangement of both poetry and music, we have a formal expression of conflict and cooperation with ensuing victory. In the poem we have the thought also following this structure. Temptation is set forth as a real and vivid and urgent conflict, the issue being forever joined in the Christian's experience; God is the ever-present help in making the choice; and assurance attends the victory won in His strength. Stanza four, where the dialogue is broken and Jesus speaks comfortingly to His "servant true," is reminiscent of Matthew 4.11, where the angels minister to Jesus after His victory over the Tempter. The form underlying both hymn and Scripture (Matthew 4.1-11) is identical, and illustrates perfectly the "overcoming" which issues in song.

I move now to the second major section within the broad scheme of Christian experience, i.e., The Way. (See diagrams and explanations, pages 11, 12.) The shape of The Way is most naturally conceived in terms of (1) Temporal Organization and/or (2) Spatial Organization. The basic conflict-cooperation-victory shape, which makes up "the trust relationship" (page 12), is *that which moves along* in time and space. This has been stated in various ways throughout the Paper (pages 5, 12, 17), and does not require further elaboration. The image back of Jesus' denotation of the Christian life as The Way implies the two forms under discussion:

(1) TEMPORAL. A "way" obviously goes somewhere; it has a beginning, a course, an end. The concept of movement, flow, ongoing, passage from one moment to the next or one period to the next or one life (on earth) to the next (in heaven), is so ingrained in our thinking and in our language, we are oftentimes not conscious of it, and perhaps even less conscious of its translation into the medium of the hymn. Poetry and music, which are the media of the hymn's meaning, are arts set in time, and fit perfectly into the temporal pattern of this portion of our Christian experience.

As to music: its flow toward a goal is so much a part of us, we seldom pause to realize how it is carrying us on. The brevity of the hymn tune makes it possible for the musically untutored to sense this progress from a beginning to a conclusion (whereas they could not do so in larger musical works), thereby producing a feeling of completeness which is so necessary to our wellbeing, but so often absent from "the daily round," where we are usually in a state of holding portions of our life in solution, so to speak. The hymn tune holds its "material" in temporary solution, but moves on with purposeful direction to a resolution, which provides a kind of satisfaction we might call vicarious realization,—a realization in which we somehow share, if we sing "with the spirit and with the mind also." Music not only moves toward a goal, but it moves at different speeds,—sometimes slowly, sometimes fast; sometimes gradually slowing down, sometimes gradually quickening its tempo. In this it is the ideal medium for expressing the pace at which we move along The Way. That this temporal organization of music is more than a matter of technical arrangement by measures, phrases, and periods, is pathetically demonstrated by the pianists who play the mechanical divisions and not the forward flow of the tune.

As to poetry: similarly, with poetry, temporal shape applies not only to metrical feet, lines, and stanzas, but to the organization of the thought itself. Here, too, we have a beginning, and movement with intent to the end. Poetry makes large use of the shaping influence of retrospect and anticipation, as viewed from the immediate moment. Much of its energy is generated by these temporal concepts; much of its meaning resides in the sense of action and ongoing which is attendant upon thoughts bound up with time. (And in poetry it is not necessary to have a clearcut philosophy of time in order to suggest its mysterious and inescapable molding of life.)

The poetry of our hymns, like Christian experience itself, bears the imprint of temporal shaping. In some hymns it is the major form; in all hymns it is active to a degree. Look again at "Our God, our Help in ages Past."

Our God, our Help in ages past,
Our Hope for years to come,
Our Shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal Home:

Before the hills in order stood,
Or earth received her frame,
From everlasting Thou art God,
To endless years the same.

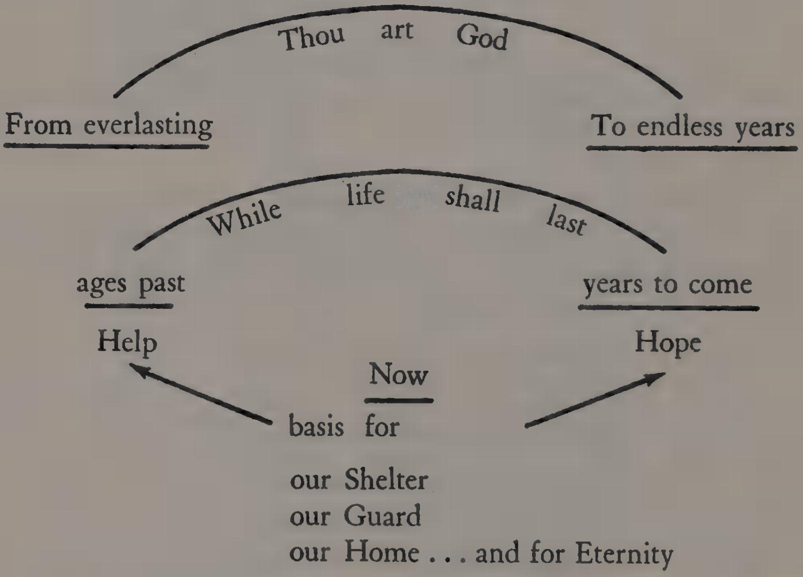
A thousand ages in Thy sight
Are like an evening gone;
Short as the watch that ends the night
Before the rising sun.

Time, like an ever-rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away;
They fly forgotten, as a dream
Dies at the opening day.

Our God, our Help in ages past,
Our Hope for years to come,
Be Thou our Guard while life shall last,
And our eternal Home.

Isaac Watts

This was first cited as a poem based on opposition (page 15) and later (page 16) as showing likewise the cooperative shape. Now consider the thought as being organized around the temporal scheme. In doing this we get a good illustration of the OVER-ALL shape of Christian experience, which is *the conflict-cooperation-victory sequence moving along The Way*. (See page 18.) The temporal structure is pointed up more quickly by a rough diagram than by exposition:[5]


Thou art God
From everlasting
To endless years
While life shall last
ages past
years to come
Help
Hope
Now
basis for
our Shelter
our Guard
our Home . . . and for Eternity

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[5] Nothing short of a full length study of the hymn can reveal the subtlety and manifoldness of meaning wrought by Watts in his juxtaposition of transience and permanence.

Or, look at "All glory, laud, and honor," where a basically temporal organization of the thought gives us a stirring "transcript" of the on-going nature of Christian experience.

All glory, laud, and honor To Thee, Redeemer, King,
To whom the lips of children Made sweet hosannas ring!
The people of the Hebrews With palms before Thee went;
Our praise and prayer and anthems Before Thee we present.

Thou art the King of Israel, Thou David's royal Son,
Who in the Lord's name comest, The King and blessed One!
To Thee, before Thy Passion, They sang their hymns of praise;
To Thee, now high exalted, Our melody we raise.

Thou didst accept their praises; Accept the prayers we bring,
Who in all good delightest, Thou good and gracious King!
All glory, laud, and honor To Thee, Redeemer, King,
To whom the lips of children Made sweet hosannas ring!

Theodulph of Orleans
Transl. by John Mason Neale

We have in this poem (1) a continuity between the Old Testament and the New Testament: David, Israel, the Hebrews, are connected with the triumphal entry of Jesus. Not only is the Old Testament brought forward, but the New Testament looks back: Jesus is "King of Israel," "David's royal Son." We have (2) continuity between Biblical events and our present experience; *they* sang *their* hymns—*our* melody *we* raise; Thou didst accept *their* praises—accept the praise *we* bring. We have (3) a linking of past and present, creation and heaven, a leaping back and forth over the whole span of time and eternity, which suggests that ours is an all-time, all-eternity religion, with roots in the past, a stake in the future, and urgency and meaning in the present.

Phrases here and there throughout hymnody conform to this temporal scheme of thought. Examples, laden with significance, can be picked from any page: "Bring to my remembrance Sad Gethsemane," "I once was lost, but now am found," "Forward into battle, See, His banners go," "The path of prayer Thyself hast trod," "And when our labors all are o'er," "Lord, let me never, never Outlive my love to Thee," "His Kingdom is forever," "Another year is dawning," "Jesus, be Thou our Glory now, And through eternity."

"Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve," is completely organized around a temporal shape, that of the race.

Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve,
And press with vigor on;
A heavenly race demands thy zeal,
And an immortal crown,
And an immortal crown.

A cloud of witnesses around
Hold thee in full survey;
Forget the steps already trod,
And onward urge thy way,
And onward urge thy way.

'Tis God's all animating voice
That calls thee from on high;
'Tis His own hand presents the prize
To thine aspiring eye,
To thine aspiring eye.

Blest Saviour, introduced by Thee,
Have I my race begun;
And, crowned with victory, at Thy feet
I'll lay my honors down,
I'll lay my honors down.

Philip Doddridge.

Each stanza brings in a "character" interested in and actively connected with this forward movement:

stanza 1 . . . a man's own soul
stanza 2 . . . a cloud of witnesses
stanza 3 . . . God Himself
stanza 4 . . . Blest Saviour

In each case the span of the race (or The Way) is indicated by calling attention to its various stages, past—present—future. The "immortal crown," the "prize," the "honors," to be received (or offered to God, "lay my honors down") in the *future* are the focus, because they are the goal, the point of the entire race. The *present* is made real by creating such images as "A cloud of witnesses" holding us "in full survey," and God's voice calling us "from on high." The *past* is drawn in through the acts of forgetting and remembering: "Forget the steps already trod," and remember that it was the "Blest Saviour" who started us on this race, "Introduced by Thee." The present participles, "animating" and "aspiring," give the impression of ongoing at this moment, and tie all tenses together. The past and the future are shown to be positive influences in the present, i.e., our race today is affected by what we see in retrospect and in anticipation. The "pressing on" of the words is matched by the "drive" of the tune (CHRISTMAS), which adds to its vigorous movement of melody and harmony the crisp, clipped effect of a rhythmic motive (dotted 8th followed by 16th) occurring five times; and both words and tune match the Christian experience of purposeful progress along The Way.

(2) SPATIAL. We can see the structure of The Way in terms of spatial as well as temporal organization. There is upness and downness, outness and in-ness; descent and ascent (the descent of God to man, of man to disobedience, etc.; the ascent of man toward God); different planes of activity (heaven, earth, hell); and varying levels on earth. The story of Jesus is shaped around a spatial concept:

His descent from heaven to earth
His coming and going on earth: { down to baptism, out to wilderness, up to transfiguration, etc.
His ascent to the cross
His descent to death and grave
His ascent from death to life in resurrection form
His ascent to heaven
His sitting now on right hand of God the Father in heaven.

In all our moral and spiritual thinking, that which is right and holy and happy is UP, HIGH, and that which is evil and dark and discouraging is DOWN, LOW. Ramifications of this analogy are innumerable.

As to music: the updowness of musical melody comes to mind at once as being a spatial arrangement. We see it "geographically." When harmony is added, we have different layers of height, and a descant adds yet another dimension to the spatial structure. Musical structure is not only like the structure of Christian experience in having multiple, simultaneous strata, but in having conflicting or contrasting levels moving concurrently. (Even a novice can hear this in the several "layers" of an orchestral work, jazz or symphonic.)

As to poetry: some of the world's great poems are shaped according to a spatial plan, notably, Dante's *Divine Comedy,* and Milton's *Paradise Lost.* Spatial imagery is widely used in small as well as large poetic works, and is one of the ways by which a poet gives form to his ideas. The poetry of the hymn is no exception. Here, as with temporal organization, we can hardly read a line without noticing its operation: "O Jesus, Thou art standing Outside the fast-closed door," "The angel of the Lord came down, And glory shone around," "Let us . . . Rise up and follow Thee," "Let courage rise with danger," "The light of God is falling Upon life's common way," "And to its heavenly teaching turn . . ." "From earth's wide bound, from ocean's farthest coast, Through gates of pearl streams in the countless host," "Death, like a narrow sea, divides This heavenly land from ours," "Praise the mount! I'm fixed upon it, Mount of God's unchanging love." Look more closely at "Nearer, my God, to Thee," the meaning of which is tremendously illumined when we study the underlying spatial organization of the poem.

Nearer, my God, to Thee, Nearer to Thee!
E'en though it be a cross That raiseth me;
Still all my song shall be, Nearer, my God, To Thee,
Nearer, my God, to Thee, Nearer to Thee!

Though like the wanderer, The sun gone down,
Darkness be over me, My rest a stone;
Yet in my dreams I'd be Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer, my God, to Thee, Nearer to Thee!

There let the way appear Steps unto heaven:
All that Thou sendest me, In mercy given:
Angels to beckon me Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer, my God, to Thee, Nearer to Thee!

Then, with my waking thoughts Bright with Thy praise,
Out of my stony griefs Bethel I'll raise;
So by my woes to be Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer, my God, to Thee, Nearer to Thee!

Or if on joyful wing Cleaving the sky,
Sun, moon, and stars forgot, Upward I fly,
Still all my song shall be, Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer, my God, to Thee, Nearer to Thee!

Sarah F. Adams

A detailed analysis (richly rewarding) is impossible here, but one can see the thought of the poem taking shape merely from a listing of words and phrases that call up spatial images:

nearer to Thee	God is conceived as being up above
a cross	is upright, above eye-level
raiseth me	
like a wanderer	hither and yon
sun gone down	sun is up in sky; it sinks in west
my rest a stone	lying down with stone for pillow
in my dreams	we think of dreams as "out there," higher than head
steps	lead up and down
sendest me	if it comes from God, it comes from above, downward
angels	are above
to beckon me	they call from above to me below, indicating that I am to traverse this distance upward "to Thee"
with my waking thoughts	waking, the activity of coming to consciousness, is associated with arising from prone position
bright	associated with sun, sky
out of my stony griefs	I will get up from the hard bed
Bethel I'll raise	and raise an altar to God
on joyful wing	wings used for flying above earthly level
cleaving the sky	past sun and moon and stars
upward I fly	

Already the picture of different levels is giving us a sense of different perspectives. The line of vision, so to speak, is all the way
from a stone on the ground
to cleaving the sky; or,

from an uneasy rest,	in which the level is raised in dream,
to a thoughtful waking,	in which the level is raised to bright praise of God and erection of a Bethel,
on to an upward flight,	in which the level is raised to a song of nearness to God.

In speaking of our Christian experience as a trust relationship extending along The Way from Cross to Crown, growing ever fuller and finer, I have suggested a third form for this portion, that of THEME AND DEVELOPMENT. This is one of the simplest and most common, as well as one of the most effective, forms to be found in poetry and music. The similarities are obvious: a basic idea (religious, poetic, or musical) is enunciated, expanded by repetition and variation, through many situations, until its latent possibilities are realized. Other less familiar forms could be cited, but I trust this is sufficient to make the point that there is a basic structural kinship between Christian experience and poetry and music.

The discussion of STRUCTURE has spilled over into the elements of SUBSTANCE and SPIRIT. It is the substance (content) which is organized (shaped); and the spirit (mood) is bound up with both. This spilling over underscores two important "laws:" (1) that structure in any area is not a rigid, mechanical thing, but is a vital principle which operates in conjunction with the whole, whether the whole be a poem, a musical piece, or a Christian life; (2) that the three elements (substance, structure, spirit) combine to make the whole. The full import of a poem or a musical composition or Christian experience comes through the interplay of these elements. Therefore, if we attempt to isolate and illustrate any one of them, we find ourselves describing and explaining in terms of the others. We can distinguish them, but we cannot divorce them.

It has not been possible, for instance, to talk about structure as the organization of substance without disclosing something of substance itself. Already it has been indicated that the substance (content) of Christian experience has to do with the total relationship of God and man, in this life and the next; that it involves all that we think and feel and act toward God and man, both as individuals and as a church. Or, putting it abstractly: the content of our religion is the interweaving of characters, actions, ideas, and emotions. This content cannot be completely reduced to logical statement: there are insights, flashes of revelation, emotional heights, and subtle relationships, which words cannot capture and express.

In the content of poetry we have (1) the same intricate fabric of characters, actions, ideas and feelings, and (2) the same two kinds of meaning. Much of the meaning of poetry comes indirectly, is suggested rather than explicitly stated. Imagery, figure of speech, symbol, allusion, and other technical devices, are used to convey the poet's mind. The substance of poetry, then, is analogous to the substance of religion: logical statement—plus. It is ideally suited for the expression of Christian experience, first, because it can convey plain sense *and* suggested meaning, and second, because it can handle the complexity of the fabric of Christian experience.

When we come to the substance of music, we are on highly debatable ground, and I am not qualified either to state the differing theories or take a position of my own. Certainly, however, the "notes" of music are not like the "words" of poetry, which connote definite meaning. It is generally agreed that music expresses something which transcends language, but this is far from saying that music's fabric of melody, rhythm, and harmony has no intellectual content. Whatever it may be in theory, in actuality it is well suited to convey that portion of the content of Christian experience which we cannot reduce to verbal expression. This suitability, of course, is contingent upon its doing no violence to the rational content of Christian experience. In other words, music can take us *beyond* words, but it must not *contradict* the words to which it is joined. For instance, we would not convey the true meaning of "Jesus, Lover of my soul," if we set it to MENDELSSOHN.[6] The genius of the hymn is that it combines the advantages of *both* modes of expression: poetry, taking the plain sense and adding the "plus;" music, if not inconsistent with the plain sense, taking the "plus" and filling out its meaning. By way of illustration, "The third day He rose again from the dead" is a prose statement of a truth; "Christ the Lord is ris'n today: Allelulia!" is a poetic expression of this same truth beyond the level of literal meaning; set to the music, EASTER HYMN, it is still that same truth, lifted to a level of realization even more complete.

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[6] I realize the argument may be made that this tune could be played in a manner that would render it compatible with the text. My conviction is that, if this were attempted, we would thereby do violence to the tune, which is by its nature different in content from Wesley's poem, and cannot be essentially altered by the manipulation of tempo and dynamics. This is more than a matter of MOOD, though admittedly, mood is bound up with it.

Again I have anticipated the next discussion. In speaking of SUBSTANCE I have moved into the realm of SPIRIT, or mood.[7] This is as it should be, since the three elements are inseparable. The idea that poetry and music hold certain moods in common with religion is perfectly familiar to us, so familiar in fact, that the kinship of these three areas has too often been thinned down to this one mutuality. For this reason I have traced their blood relationship in the elements of structure and substance more carefully than is necessary in the matter of spirit.

There are certain elemental moods of life which are shared by religion and poetry and music. Moods tends to fall into groups, with a range of intensity from mild to extreme, as for instance, low-spirited, dejected, despondent, despairing; or cheerful, gay, hilarious. We have moods of restlessness, yearning, sadness; we know the spirit of calmness, serenity, uplift. We can experience these moods *as pure mood,* i.e., without conscious association; or we can experience them *in a context,* i.e., in association with an idea, object, person, situation. When a mood has a definite association, it becomes (it seems to me) more than mere mood. It becomes a "duplex," combining thought and feeling. I refer to such experiences or states as awe, humility, penitence, thankfulness, which are spoken of rather loosely, sometimes as attitudes and sometimes as feelings. They are both at once, and I call them attitudes/emotions. In addition to their emotional cast, they have thought content, and direction toward a specific object. If we experience wonder or awe, it is because we have in mind an object which arouses this attitude/emotion in us; if we experience thankfulness, it is a motion of mind and heart toward something or somebody because of what has come to us. These attitudes/emotions, which are in reference to the particular, are *not* synonomous with the basic moods common to religion and the arts. They rise out of the elemental states, are compounded of them, but they are more than mere mood because they are conscious and definite.

Music, which is the least definite (i.e., in literal meaning) of the arts, is the most effective creator of basic moods. In proportion as an art introduces specific concepts, its power to create pure mood is reduced, and its power to elicit the particularized attitude/emotion is increased. On this theory, prose stands at the opposite extreme from music. Poetry, which is a joining of sense and sound, is the art which can most nearly achieve the dual role of inducing mood *and at the same time* bringing about attitudes/emotions.

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[7] I shall use the term "mood" more often in this section, because it carries the meaning more exactly than "spirit," which was chosen primarily for alliterative effect.

In fusing mood and definite idea (as in poetry), the one is concretized and the other vitalized. Mood without definiteness is evanescent; idea without mood lacks vitality. For example, the mood of yearning, which music expresses so poignantly, can remain vague and general; but tied to the thought of a lover, or to the beauty of spring, or to God, it becomes specific, powerful. The "idea" furnishes a "locale" in which the "mood" can reside; or conversely, the mood furnishes the dynamic which makes the idea real and compelling.

It is this consummation which takes place in the hymn, where poetry and music are combined. When the underlying mood of a religious truth is caught up in a hymn text and set to a tune of matching mood, we have a union of great force. Such an alliance is made possible by the fact that Christian experience and poetry and music have a common core of basic moods.

Let me repeat: no poem, no piece of music, no religious experience, can be cut up into three separate and distinct parts. We can talk about STRUCTURE and SUBSTANCE and SPIRIT as if they existed and operated independently, but full significance comes only when they are seen to act as a trinity. The chief value from their separate emphasis is a clearer insight into the nature of the whole, namely, that the whole is complex and that its parts are organically related. This very complexity is itself part of the basic kinship of Christian experience to poetry and music: because Christian experience is of a complex nature, it requires media of expression which can communicate complexity.

. . . .

The immediate question (and certainly a fair one) arising from this statement of my philosophy of the hymn is, What does it imply? Or, what does it mean in practice if we accept in theory that the hymn and Christian experience have a vital kinship, in content and form and mood? To me the acceptance of this position has led to these definite procedures in the handling of hymns:

1. The setting of the hymn in a theological frame,—which means that the hymn (single hymns and hymns collectively) cannot be interpreted in isolation from our view of "the whole scheme of things."

The leader who expects to use hymns effectively needs more than a fragmentary knowledge of the Scriptures: the Bible must "hang together as a whole." He needs more than a collection of beliefs: doctrinal positions must be systematized. This is a *sine qua non* if the hymn is to feed back into Christian experience.

2. The application of the principles of literary and musical criticism in hymn study,—these principles being reducible to a scale in keeping with the compass of the hymn, and also adaptable to the age and ability of the particular group.

Long familiarity with a hymn is no guarantee of understanding. The detailed analysis and pondering of parts in relation to whole, which are the tools of criticism, are indispensable in the process that lifts us from generalized appreciation to REALIZATION. My own experience, based on this procedure, has been abundantly confirmed in the discoveries of students who have tried it. The doubter need only treat the hymn text *as if it were poetry* to be convinced that there is far more meaning in even a mediocre poem than we usually derive from it, and I refer not primarily to aesthetic meaning, but to meaning which clarifies, enlarges, and enriches Christian experience.

3. The using of the hymn in such a manner that it is relevant to whatever is being done in a service or program or class, and not only relevant, but so vitally blended with the whole purpose as to be essential to its attainment.

Leaders must possess a large reservoir of hymnic understanding to achieve this. Such understanding is, I believe, the fruit of practicing (1) and (2). The type of thinking which regards the hymn merely, or mainly, as a conditioner of mood, or as supplementary to the "central theme" of the program, or as a convenient item to be used in alternation with prayer and Scripture and sermon, is definitely precluded. The hymn may well perform these secondary functions, but if its selection and use are motivated by them, the result is barren and stereotyped.

Here we return to the quality of SPONTANEITY, which we seek in our church song,—if we agree that spontaneity means singing freely and gladly with heart and mind. My conclusion (page 5) that spontaneity derives from an inner experience having the shape of "overcoming" is, in the main, the key to our present situation. The scarcity of spontaneous song is not necessarily due to sterility of religious experience.[8] There *is* vitality in our churches; we do, individually and corporately, enact the inner sequence of events which leads to song. Christian people are still winning moral and spiritual victories, large and small, day by day, and spontaneous song is forever latent in these experiences.

Our modern church, however, is hedged about with artificiality; it is no longer a question of one's feeling like singing and forthwith lifting up his voice in song. We are organized—we are complicated—we are far removed from the simple ways of earlier Christians and of revival periods, when "the longing satisfied," "the need met," "the spiritual overcoming," could issue more directly, more instantaneously, in lyrical expression. If we are to have glad melody-making today, we must effect a connection between *contemporary* Christian experience and song, and not be forever chasing a long-ago situation when song flowed more easily out of a dynamic faith. If the "faith of our fathers" is "living still" (and of course it is!), then the experience which generates song is present; we have only to recognize it *as such,* and so to plan that there may be a concurrence of "overcoming" and song. It is largely a matter of interpretation and synchronization, of seeing that the people are provided with a song for their lips when their experience shapes a song in their hearts. Next Sunday's "spontaneous song" depends upon the fusion of today's experience with song. We work from the point at which we are living out our faith today, toward the complete amalgamation of song into the life of the church, and on to the ultimate Goal when we shall join The Church Triumphant in "those halls . . . . all jubilant with song!"

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[8] My view of spontaneity does not force me to the untenable position of discrediting the religious experience either of those who do not sing or of those who sing songs I find inappropriate. (See questions, page 5)

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THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

James Rawlings Sydnor, *Editor*

XXII

Charles Wesley

by

Alfred Burton Haas, M.A.

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CHARLES WESLEY

Charles Wesley believed that in order to fulfill his calling he must serve the present age. Like his better known brother, John, Charles' life spans the eighteenth century. His varied work as a preacher, organizer, and leader in the rapidly growing Methodist Societies is so vividly described in his *Journals* that one is amazed to discover how relatively insignificant a part his hymns played in his dramatic, highly adventurous life. Over the centuries his hymns have increased in importance and bring him a form of immortality obvious in the current celebration of the 250th anniversary of his birth; yet in those years when all his powers were engaged in doing his Master's will, his power as an evangelist apparently eclipsed his poetic genius.

Another factor that blinds us to the many-sided nature of the great English hymn writer is that he has been made to stand in the shadow of his older brother, John Wesley. Yet we cannot read the history of the Evangelical Revival without seeing that the brothers represent giants in the earth, and it is often Charles who claims a few "firsts." He was first in organizing the Oxford Group, or Holy Club, as a young student at Christ Church College. Its ascetic young members were waiting for John when he returned to Oxford in 1729 and found students laughing at a sincere group of Christians dubbed Methodists. Many years later, in the evening time of his life, John, grieving over his brother's recent death, stood up to line out the famous hymn Charles wrote, known as "Wrestling Jacob":

> Come, O Thou Traveller unknown,
> Whom still I hold, but cannot see;
> My company before is gone,
> And I am left alone with Thee.

It was one of those rare times when John was overcome with emotion. He could not complete the stanza, for those two words, "My company," brought back a flood of memories. That was the name the Holy Club members used to show their joy in belonging to that first Oxford Movement begun by Charles Wesley.

Charles was also first in receiving the assurance of personal trust in Christ. "Conversion" came to Charles on May 21, 1738 as he lay sick in body and spirit in the home of Mr. Bray, "a poor, ignorant mechanic, who knows nothing but Christ." There he discovered the commentary of Martin Luther on Galatians: "I spent some hours this evening in private with Martin Luther, who was greatly blessed to me, especially his conclusion of the second chapter."[1] Observant historians will recall that John's conversion experience came while he was listening to Martin Luther's Preface to his Commentary on Romans. The power of the Wesleys in song owes much to the great Reformer whose hymns are exultantly sung long after the Ninety-five Theses are forgotten. In a style rich in suggestions for the Christian psychologist, Charles describes his "Pentecost Day." As was the custom of his time, he opened the Bible to seek guidance and put his finger on these words: "He hath put a new song in my mouth." How symbolic those words were! What a prophetic insight into his wondrous future gift of song! Indeed, it is only after this day, where he found himself "at peace with God," that Charles begins to write hymns. His gift of song lay dormant all the months he was in Georgia as Secretary to General Oglethorpe. On Tuesday, May 23, 1738 he began a hymn "upon my conversion, but was persuaded to break off, for fear of pride. Mr. Bray encouraged me to proceed." . . . (How much we owe to quiet folk like Mr. Bray!) . . . "I prayed Christ to stand by me, and finished the hymn. On Wednesday, May 24, towards ten in the evening my brother John was brought in triumph [from Aldersgate] by a troop of friends and declared 'I believe'. We sang the hymn with great joy."[2] It was the famous Conversion Hymn, the first gift Charles gave to the world of Christian song. Warmly personal without sticky sentimentality, deeply Scriptural, unafraid of realistic New Testament language, rich in imagery and giving evangelical doctrine the wings of song, it shows characteristics which were to make him the most prolific and the most enduring English hymn writer.

Where shall my wondering soul begin?
  How shall I all to heaven aspire?
A slave redeemed from death and sin,
  A brand plucked from eternal fire,
How shall I equal triumphs raise,
Or sing my great Deliverer's praise?

O how shall I the goodness tell,
  Father, which Thou to me hast showed?
That I, a child of wrath and hell,
  I should be called a child of God,
Should know, should feel my sins forgiven,
Blest with this antepast of heaven!

And shall I slight my Father's love?
Or basely fear His gifts to own?
Unmindful of His favours prove?
Shall I, the hallowed Cross to shun,
Refuse His righteousness to impart,
By hiding it within my heart?

Outcasts of men, to you I call,
Harlots, and publicans, and thieves!
He spreads His arms to embrace you all;
Sinners alone His grace receives:
No need of Him the righteous have;
He came the lost to seek and save.

Come, O my guilty brethren, come,
Groaning beneath your load of sin!
His bleeding heart shall make you room,
His open side shall take you in;
He calls you now, invites you home:
Come, O my guilty brethren, come!

(*The Methodist Hymn-Book*, British, and *The Asbury Supplement*)

The next to the last in a parsonage family of nineteen children, Charles neither cried nor opened his eyes for two months after birth in the month of his Lord's Nativity. The alertness of a household servant saved him from burning to death at the age of two when parishioners set fire to his father's rectory at Epworth. We catch now the significance of the line "A brand plucked from eternal fire" in the hymn just quoted, although his brother Jackie's miraculous rescue from the second floor window makes the line a favorite quote in John's writings.

Youngest son to Susannah, he was the only boy in that famous school at the Epworth rectory presided over by Mrs. Wesley, who would celebrate Charles' fifth birthday by teaching him the alphabet, a task he mastered in one day. Next day he painstakingly spelled out: "In the beginning God." Six hours each day were spent in the home school, and at the age of eight Charles left Epworth to attend Westminster School. Except for short recess periods and visits, he never again entered deeply into the life of the home at Epworth. We pay tribute not only to his remarkable teacher-mother, but to the poetic ability and moral courage of his Anglican father, the Rev. Samuel Wesley, whose Good Friday Hymn,

Behold the Saviour of mankind
Nailed to the shameful tree!
How vast the love that Him inclined
To bleed and die for thee!

set a strong example for the son who was to tell the story of the good news of the Gospel in over 6500 hymns.

Charles Wesley became captain and a King's Scholar at Westminster. A wealthy relative in Ireland offered to adopt him, and the decision was left up to the young student, who declined the gracious offer. What if he had accepted? Let Dr. F. Luke Wiseman hint at the importance of that "if."

> Garrett Wesley, the Irish benefactor, adopted another relative, Richard Colley, who took his benefactor's name and succeeded to his estates while Charles was still at Oxford. In process of time, Colley was raised to the peerage as Baron Mornington. His son became Earl of Mornington. The earl's eldest son was the Marquis Wellesley, the conqueror of India, and his third son, the Duke of Wellington, the victor of Waterloo. Charles Wesley on the other hand became the poet of the evangelical revival, with a sway in the religious world still greater than that of his illustrious relatives in the political. What an issue to hang on a schoolboy's choice![3]

At nineteen Charles entered Christ Church College at Oxford. John, already there, was a bit concerned about his brother's indulgences in the frivolities of college life. His well-meant brotherly advice was cavalierly resented by Charles, who said, "Would you have me to be a saint all at once?" At twenty-eight Charles was ordained deacon on one Sunday and consecrated priest on the next Sunday. As an ordained clergyman of the Church of England he was to accompany brother John, ordained to be Chaplain to the British Colony of Georgia. Charles was to go as Secretary to the first Governor of the Colony, General Oglethorpe. The two-volume, often interrupted and broken *Journal* of Charles Wesley begins: "From March 9, 1736 when he arrived in Georgia, to December 2, 1736, when he returned to England." The *Journal* is a cinemascope account of what went on in this Colony made up of a polyglot group of persons, many of them debtors released from English prisons, women filled with hatred and gossip resulting in all types of intrigue, officials torn by factions and lies and misunderstandings, but all despising the High-Church Secretary who held daily services on St. Simon's Island. What a story Charles tells! Storms of temper, storms at sea, the drunken captain of a rotting ship, vile-tongued women, and an employer, Oglethorpe, swayed by false rumors and hardly civil to his Secretary. No wonder Charles returned to England in less than a year, stopping off en route to admire Boston and preach there.

After his conversion, Charles began the zealous ministry of preaching. Fearful of his doctrine of "enthusiasm," cold Anglican churches staffed by fox-hunting parsons closed their doors to a fellow priest. Then began the mighty work of outdoor, or field, preaching; the Word of God was proclaimed in the town square, in parish churchyards, to the miners coming up from the pits, amid hostile mobs, in countless prisons.

My message as from God receive;
Ye all may come to Christ and live:

. . . .

Ye need not one be left behind,
For God hath bidden all mankind.

And now to the mighty organizational genius of John Wesley was added the power of vibrant song. The democratic note of the evangelist was put on the lips of thousands who for the first time had a reason for living and a God who in Christ was concerned for the least of them.

The invitation is to all:

. . . .

Ye poor and maimed, and halt and blind,
In Christ a hearty welcome find.

Across the English channel the French Revolution raged to the roll of drums as the guillotine dropped and the Bastille fell. But in England a revolution in the souls of men was taking place. "The Rake's Progress" was no longer downward into the gutter, but upward into new life as men became new creatures in Christ. It was not:

Allons, enfants de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé!

but

Arise, my soul, arise,
Shake off thy guilty fears;

and sing

The glories of my God and King,
The triumphs of His grace.

In church and meeting house, in homes and converted cannon founderies, outside pubs and by the thousands at the natural amphitheatre of Gwennap Pit, voices were raised in jubilant song. Men began to sing creeds they had casually signed. All because Charles Wesley, building on the sure foundations of Isaac Watts, changed the singing habits of a nation, led them across Mr. Watts' bridge where they surveyed that wondrous Cross and with a thousand tongues sang their great Redeemer's praise.

Can you see Charles after a long and tedious journey over dangerous roads springing from his horse, crying, "My pen, my pen!" so eager was he to write down some new lyric on God's love he had that day experienced. His marriage in 1749 to Sarah Gwynne was as happy as his brother John's was tragic. For seven years Charles' wife accompanied him on his itinerant journeys, and then he settled quietly at Bristol, devoting himself to the care of the Societies there and in London, where he preceded his brother John in death in 1788. His body, borne in solemn procession by eight clergymen of the Church of England, was buried in Marylebone churchyard, despite John's entreaties that he be buried in City Road Chapel. "I have lived, and I die, in the communion of the Church of England, and I will be buried in the yard of my parish church." By some strange quirk of fate, it was discovered that the ground in which he was buried was never properly consecrated, so he might just as well have been buried in City Road Chapel, where John lies. But the parochial idiosyncrasies of Charles' high churchmanship are drowned in the wide sea of his universal hymns which claim the vastness of boundaries set only by the Kingdom of God. His statue stands in the Chapel yard at Bristol, beautifully renewed after the last war, and on its base are the most appropriate words that could ever have been selected from his hymns to represent the spirit of the great poet: "Let me commend my Saviour to you."

Our American hymnals are only now beginning to recover and use their Wesleyan heritage. *The Methodist Hymnal* (1935) has enough of the standard Wesley hymns to introduce modern congregations to Wesley, but the selection is pitifully meagre (54 hymns) and sometimes the mutilations are unfair to Wesley, as the innocuous line:

> Long desired, behold Him come,
> Finding here His humble home

when Wesley wrote:

Late in time behold Him come,
Offspring of a virgin's womb.

Obviously doctrine and the New Testament are on Wesley's side!

With a renewed interest in Christian belief and an earnest desire to understand the classic doctrines of our Christian faith, Charles Wesley will be found increasingly helpful in expressing theology in song. To be sure, at some points the manner of expression will create barriers and fail to communicate meaning to persons who do not use either the technical language of the King James Version (which he so beautifully arranges) or the vocabulary of the eighteenth century. I mention just two points where Wesley, while Scripturally sound, is abhorrent to our thought forms of today.

While low at Jesu's Cross I bow,
He hears the blood of sprinkling now.

(From hymn beginning "Entered the holy place above")

See a sinful worm of earth!
Bless to him the cleansing flood!
Plunge him, by a second birth,
Into the depths of God.

(From "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in solemn power come down")

There are other lines which might be used to show a tendency so common to some of the Pietistic hymns, especially those of Count Nicholas Zinzendorf, to overwork the term "blood." In reading the *Journal* one notes also a rather morbid interest in death. In fairness to Wesley, such an interest was natural to his era. But there is little use pointing out the smooth rhythm or the perfect rhyme of:

Ah, lovely appearance of death,
What sight upon earth is so fair;
Not all the gay pageants that breathe
Can with a dead body compare:
With solemn delight I survey
The corpse, when the spirit is fled,
In love with the beautiful clay,
And longing to lie in its stead.

Even the British Methodist Hymn-Book, so generous in Wesley hymns, has omitted this one! But as one recognizes these minor weaknesses, one has the feeling that he is chipping away at the base of Mt. Rainier. After all, in writing 6500 hymns one ought to be permitted a few off days.

Consider a few phrases which set the Christian creed to music:

"Pleased as man with men to dwell"

(The Incarnation in monosyllables)

O Love divine, what hast Thou done!
Th' incarnate God hath died for me!*
The Father's co-eternal Son
Bore all my sins upon the tree!
The Son of God for me hath died:†
My Lord, my Love, is crucified.

(The refrain is from Ignatius' "Epistle to the Romans" *Amor meus crucifixus est,* but here raised from human love to divine.)

Made like Him, like Him we rise;
Ours the cross, the grave, the skies

(This is a poetic version of much in I Cor. 15.)

"He breaks the power of cancelled sin"

(From the well-known "O for a thousand tongues to sing," the hymn written on the anniversary of his conversion. Ponder the deep meaning of the words *cancelled* and *power.*)

Father, whose everlasting love
Thy only Son for sinners gave,
Whose grace to ALL did FREELY move,
And sent Him down the WORLD to save:

Help us Thy mercy to extol,
Immense, unfathomed, UNCONFINED;
To praise the Lamb who died for ALL,
The GENERAL Saviour of mankind.

(I have capitalized the words here which show the controversy on Calvinism which separated the Wesleys and Whitefield in 1741. John has a great sermon on "Free Grace" but this hymn of Charles' represents the Methodist Arminian position on this cardinal subject.)

The current revival of interest in the Christian Year on the part of "free" churches may be greatly strengthened by appeal to Charles Wesley. The following hymns are quoted either from *The Methodist Hymn-Book* (British) or *The Asbury Supplement,* both of which are listed at the end of this Paper.

---

*"The immortal God hath died for me!" in British Methodist Hymn-Book.

†"The immortal God for me hath died!" in B.M.H.

ADVENT

In addition to the readily found "Come, Thou long-expected Jesus" there is:

Light of those whose dreary dwelling
    Borders on the shades of death,
Come, and by Thy love's revealing
    Dissipate the clouds beneath;
The new heaven and earth's Creator,
    In our deepest darkness rise,
Scattering all the night of nature,
    Pouring eyesight on our eyes.

Still we wait for Thine appearing;
    Life and joy Thy beams impart,
Chasing all our fears, and cheering
    Every poor benighted heart:
Come, and manifest the favour
    God hath for our ransomed race;
Come, Thou universal Saviour,
    Come, and bring the gospel grace.

Save us in Thy great compassion,
    O Thou mild, pacific Prince;
Give the knowledge of salvation,
    Give the pardon of our sins:
By Thy all-restoring merit
    Every burdened soul release;
Every weary, wandering spirit
    Guide into Thy perfect peace.
(B.M.H. and A.S. Meter: 8.7.8.7.D.)

(Meters will be noted and referred to in a later discussion)

CHRISTMAS

Let earth and heaven combine,
    Angels and men agree,
To praise in songs divine
    The incarnate Deity,
Our God contracted to a span,
Incomprehensibly made man.

He laid His glory by,
    He wrapped Him in our clay;
Unmarked by human eye,
    The latent Godhead lay;
Infant of days He here became,
And bore the mild Immanuel's name.

Unsearchable the love
    That hath the Saviour brought;
The grace is far above
    Or man or angel's thought:
Suffice for us that God, we know,
Our God, is manifest below.

He deigns in flesh to appear,
    Widest extremes to join;
To bring our vileness near,
    And make us all divine:
And we the life of God shall know,
For God is manifest below.

(B.M.H. and A.S., last stanza omitted. Meter: 6.6.6.6.8.8.)

LENT

Note the sustained interrogative mood, and the unusual reference to the Trinity in this hymn.

Sinners, turn; why will ye die?
God, your Maker, asks you why:
God, who did your being give,
Made you with Himself to live;
He the fatal cause demands,
Asks the work of His own hands:
Why, ye thankless creatures, why
Will you cross His love, and die?

Sinners, turn; why will ye die?
God, your Saviour, asks you why:
God, who did your souls retrieve,
Died Himself, that you might live;
Will you let Him die in vain?
Crucify your Lord again?
Why, ye ransomed sinners, why
Will you slight His grace, and die?

Sinners, turn; why will ye die?
God, the Spirit, asks you why:
He who all your lives hath strove,
Wooed you to embrace His love;
Will you not His grace receive?
Will you still refuse to live?
Why, ye long-sought sinners, why
Will you grieve your God, and die?

(B.M.H. Also in *The Methodist Hymnal,* American. Meter: 7.7.7.7.D.)

PALM SUNDAY

1. Jesus comes with all His grace,
Comes to save a fallen race:
Object of our glorious hope,
Jesus comes to lift us up.

2. Let the living stones cry out;
Let the sons of Abraham shout;
Praise we all our lowly King,
Give Him thanks, rejoice, and sing.

3. He hath our salvation wrought,
He our captive souls hath bought,
He hath reconciled to God,
He hath washed us in His blood.

4. We are now His lawful right,
Walk as children of the light;
We shall soon obtain the grace,
Pure in heart, to see His face.

(B.M.H. and A.S. Last stanza omitted. Meter: 7.7.7.7.)

HOLY THURSDAY

1. Jesus, we thus obey
Thy last and kindest word;
Here, in Thine own appointed way,
We come to meet Thee, Lord.

2. Our hearts we open wide,
To make the Saviour room;
And lo! the Lamb, the Crucified,
The sinner's Friend, is come.

3. Thy presence makes the feast;
Now let our spirits feel
The glory not to be expressed,
The joy unspeakable.

4. With high and heavenly bliss
Thou dost our spirits cheer;
Thy house of banqueting is this,
And Thou hast brought us here.

5. Now let our souls be fed
With manna from above,
And over us Thy banner spread
Of everlasting love.

(B.M.H. and A.S. Meter: S.M.)

(Note how beautifully an esoteric verse in The Song of Solomon, 2:4, is raised to sacramental meaning in stanzas 4 and 5.)

A word must be inserted here about the 166 hymns Wesley wrote on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. One of the tragedies of American Methodism is seen in the fact that not ONE of these amazing hymns can be found in the 1935 Hymnal! This is indeed a lost treasure. So significant are these sacramental hymns that one of England's most discerning Wesleyan scholars, Dr. J. Ernest Rattenbury, has written a book on them.[4] With the paucity of good hymns on the Holy Communion, and the growing appreciation of this central sacrament in Christian worship as a means of grace, a careful study of these 166 hymns, representing five basic meanings of the sacrament, would greatly enrich our worship when we gather at the Lord's Table. All the hymns are printed in Rattenbury's book, and 20 of them are listed in the Asbury Supplement, referred to in the bibliography.

GOOD FRIDAY

We use here a litany hymn which may be read as a prayer by a leader in worship, with the common refrain said by all. It shows, again, Wesley's versatile style.

1. Lamb of God, whose dying love
We now recall to mind,
Send the answer from above,
And let us mercy find;
Think on us, who think on Thee;
And every struggling soul release;
O REMEMBER CALVARY,
AND BID US GO IN PEACE!

2. By Thine agonizing pain
And sweat of blood, we pray,
By Thy dying love to man,
Take all our sins away:
Burst our bonds, and set us free;
From all iniquity release;
O REMEMBER CALVARY,
AND BID US GO IN PEACE!

3. Let Thy blood, by faith applied,
The sinner's pardon seal;
Speak us freely justified,
And all our sickness heal;
By Thy passion on the tree,
Let all our griefs and troubles cease;
O REMEMBER CALVARY,
AND BID US GO IN PEACE!

4. Never will we hence depart,
Till Thou our wants relieve,
Write forgiveness on our heart,
And all Thine image give!
Still our souls shall cry to Thee,
Till perfected in holiness;
O REMEMBER CALVARY,
AND BID US GO IN PEACE!

(A.S. and B.M.H. Meter: 7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6.)

EASTER

Besides the perennial "Christ the Lord Is Risen Today," so strangely omitted from the splendid new Presbyterian hymnal, here is another example of Wesley on this theme:

Come, let us with our Lord arise,
Our Lord, who made both earth and skies;
Who died to save the world He made,
And rose triumphant from the dead;
He rose, the Prince of life and peace,
And stamped the day forever His.

This is the day the Lord hath made,
That all may see His love displayed,
May feel His resurrection's power,
And rise again to fall no more,
In perfect righteousness renewed,
And filled with all the life of God.

Then let us render Him His own,
With solemn prayer approach the throne,
With meekness hear the gospel word,
With thanks His dying love record;
Our joyful hearts and voices raise,
And fill His courts with songs of praise.

(B.M.H. and A.S. Meter: 8.8.8.8.8.8.)

ASCENSION DAY

1. Hail the day that sees Him rise,
Ravished from our wistful eyes!
Christ, awhile to mortals given,
Reascends His native heaven.

2. There the pompous triumph waits:
Lift your heads, eternal gates;
Wide unfold the radiant scene;
Take the King of Glory in!

3. Him though highest heaven receives,
Still He loves the earth He leaves;
Though returning to His throne,
Still He calls mankind His own.

4. See! He lifts His hands above;
See! He shows the prints of love;
Hark! His gracious lips bestow
Blessings on His Church below.

5. Master, parted from our sight
High above yon azure height,
Grant our hearts may thither rise,
Following Thee beyond the skies.

(B.M.H. Meter: 7.7.7.7. Some tunes, as Monk's Ascension, add Alleluias.)

PENTECOST

Away with our fears,
Our troubles and tears:
The Spirit is come,
The witness of Jesus returned to His home.

The pledge of our Lord
To His heaven restored
Is sent from the sky,
And tells us our Head is exalted on high.

Our glorified Head
His Spirit hath shed,
With His people to stay,
And never again will He take Him away.

Our heavenly Guide
With us shall abide,
His comforts impart,
And set up His kingdom of love in the heart.

The heart that believes
His kingdom receives,
His power and His peace,
His life, and His joy's everlasting increase.

(B.M.H. and A.S. Stanzas 3,7,8 omitted. Meter: 5.5.5.11.)

(We note that American congregations simply will not sing the long hymns characteristic of Wesley and others of his time. To attempt to revive interest in Wesley and to insist on singing ALL the stanzas, as a textual purist, is to defeat your purpose. This is one place where Charles must be brought to terms with the 20th century. Fortunately, his hymns can easily be shortened without losing continuity. A good example of this is in the British Methodist Hymnal, where two versions of the famous "Wrestling Jacob" are given at No. 339; the first has 12 stanzas, the abbreviated version has 4.)

TRINITYTIDE

1. Hail! holy, holy, holy Lord!
   Whom One in Three we know;
   By all Thy heavenly host adored,
   By all Thy Church below.

2. One undivided Trinity
   With triumph we proclaim;
   Thy universe is full of Thee,
   And speaks Thy glorious name.

3. Thee, Holy Father, we confess,
   Thee, Holy Son, adore,
   Thee, Spirit of truth and holiness,
   We worship evermore.

4. Three Persons equally divine
   We magnify and love;
   And both the choirs ere long shall join,
   To sing Thy praise above.

5. Hail! holy, holy, holy Lord,
   Our heavenly song shall be,
   Supreme, essential One, adored
   In co-eternal Three.

(B.M.H. Meter: C.M. A splendid example of hymn pattern, using the trisagion of Isaiah and the doctrine of Nicea. Many believe this is comparable to Bishop Heber's hymn on the same theme: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty.")

We have chosen to introduce many of Wesley's hymns in the manner used above: the Christian Year becomes our pattern. Some hints as to their poetic merits have been given. John Wesley said of his brother's hymns: "Some are bad, some mean, some most excellently good." This is an honest appraisal, unclouded by a hero-worship which does little but genuflect at the name of Wesley. The more we study the Wesley hymns, the more we agree with John's insight expressed in the preface to the 1780 "Hymnbook":

> In these hymns there is no doggerel; no botches; nothing put in to patch up the rhyme; no feeble expletives. Here is nothing turgid or bombast, on the one hand, or low and creeping on the other. Here are no cant expressions, no words without meaning. Those who impute this to us know not what they say. We talk common sense, both in prose and verse, and use no word but in a fixed and determinate sense. Here are, allow me to say, both the purity, the strength, and the elegance of the English language; and, at the same time, the utmost simplicity and plainness, suited to every capacity.[5]

The language is also strengthened by Wesley's familiarity with the King James Version of the Bible. This is the well from which he drew his imagery and ideas. Someone has truly said that the Bible, if lost, could be re-created from the poetry of Charles Wesley. One example, with Scriptural annotations by F. Luke Wiseman, must suffice.

O Thou who camest from above (John 3:31)
The pure celestial fire to impart, (I Kings 18:38)
Kindle a flame of sacred love (Luke 12:49; Isaiah 43:2)
On the mean altar of my heart! (Leviticus 9:24; I Chronicles 21:26)

There let it for Thy glory burn (II Cor. 4:15; 8:19)
With inextinguishable blaze; (Leviticus 6:13)
And trembling to its source return, (Job 5:7, margin)
In humble prayer and fervent praise. (James 4:6,10)

Jesus, confirm my heart's desire (Romans 10:1)
To work, and speak, and think for Thee;
Still let me guard the holy fire, (Lev. 6:13)
And still stir up Thy gift in me. (II Timothy 1:6, see Greek)

Ready for all Thy perfect will, (Titus 3:1; Romans 12:2)
My acts of faith and love repeat, (I Thessalonians 1:3)
Till death Thy endless mercies seal, (Ephesians 4:30)
And make the sacrifice complete. (Philippians 2:17; II Tim. 4:6;
Hebrews 13:15,16)[6]

(B.M.H. Meter: L.M.)

As to meters, no hymn writer before or since Wesley has been at home in so many different styles. The metrical versions of the Psalms, so well used by Isaac Watts, were used most: C.M. (8.6. 8.6.), L.M. (8.8.8.8.), S.M. (6.6.8.6.). Some feel that Wesley improved on the splendid style of Isaac Watts. It is of interest to note that, despite theological differences, every hymnal the Wesleys published, even the Charlestown Hymnal edited by John while in Georgia (1737), contained hymns by Dr. Watts. Charles tried his hand at metrical arrangements and paraphrases of the Psalms. Many of them are well done, although the mixed Hebrew and Christian concepts sometimes distort rather than improve the Psalm.

On Psalm 23, verse 2:

Bear me to the sacred scene,
The silent streams and pastures green.
Where crystal waters shine,
Springing up with life divine;
Where the flock of Israel feed,
Guided by their Shepherd's tread,
And every sheep delights to hide
Under the tree where Jesus died.[7]

Charles Wesley is responsible for the oft-quoted line: "Why should the Devil have all the good tunes?" and there is evidence that he often used the folk tunes of his day, even those much sung in the local pubs, and wrote words which lifted them above homage to eros. Once, during outdoor preaching at West Cornwall, some sailors came up from the quay lustily singing a current music hall ditty known as "Nancy Dawson." As they neared the meeting Charles Wesley said that he liked their tune but did not care for the words. He offered to write new words and have them ready for the next meeting. The sailors agreed, and returned to sing with the vast crowd:

Come let us try if Jesus' love
Will not AS WELL inspire us,
This is the theme of those above,
This upon earth should fire us.
Say, if your heart is tuned to sing,
Is there a subject greater?
Harmony all its strains will bring,
Jesus' love is sweeter.[8]

So far as we know, "Nancy Dawson" resembles the nursery rhyme we learned in kindergarten days: "Here we go round the mulberry bush." Try it out! Before our musical purist friends throw up their hands in horror, we must remind ourselves that Wesley's primary purpose was to present the Christian Gospel, putting it on the lips of people without benefit of public school music. He was interested in tunes which could be sung, not in producing an early edition of *The Yattendon Hymnal!*

The stately meter of six lines of eights is difficult, but perhaps the most poetic of all Wesley's hymns is written in it, the famous "Wrestling Jacob," based on Genesis 32:24-32:

Come, O Thou Traveller unknown,
    Whom still I hold, but cannot see!
My company before is gone,
    And I am left alone with Thee;
With Thee all night I mean to stay,
And wrestle till the break of day.

I need not tell Thee who I am,
    My misery and sin declare;
Thyself hast called me by my name;
    Look on Thy hands, and read it there:
But who, I ask Thee, who art Thou?
Tell me Thy name, and tell me now.

Yield to me now; for I am weak,
    But confident in self-despair;
Speak to my heart, in blessings speak,
    Be conquered by my instant prayer;
Speak, or Thou never hence shalt move,
And tell me if Thy name is Love.

'Tis Love! 'tis Love! Thou diedst for me!
    I hear Thy whisper in my heart;
The morning breaks, the shadows flee,
    Pure, universal Love Thou art;
To me, to all, Thy mercies move:
Thy nature and Thy name is Love.

(B.M.H. and A.M.H. Meter: 8.8.8.8.8.8.)

His Christmas and Easter hymns ("Hark, the herald angels sing" and "Christ the Lord is risen today") as well as the best-known "Jesus, Lover of my soul" are in trochaic verse (sevens, eights, and sevens, of four, six, or eight line stanzas). In exultant mood Wesley seems to dance before the Lord in the 5.5.12.D. meter:

O Jesus, my hope,
For me offered up,
Who with clamour pursued Thee to Calvary's top,
The blood Thou hast shed,
For me let it plead,
And declare Thou hast died in Thy murderer's stead.

(Note that the "ead" rhyme fails here, but in Wesley's day, "plead" might have been said without the long e sound; anyway, it *looks* right!)

In his day the problem of tunes for such intricate meters (he used twenty in all) was a difficult one. Charles and Samuel, two of his sons who became distinguished musicians,[9] supplied some; Handel, a close friend of the Wesleys, wrote many; the Psalm tunes were a fruitful source, and the German tunes, discovered by John in his work with the Moravians, were also widely used. As examples of perfect weddings of text and tunes for our own day, may we suggest:

Jesus, Lover of my soul	Aberystwyth (John Parry)
Christ the Lord is risen today	Lyra Davidica 1708
Hark, the herald angels sing	Mendelssohn
O for a thousand tongues to sing	Azmon (Glaser-Mason) or, for variation, the British tune, Richmond (T. Haweis)
O Thou who camest from above	Eisenach (Schein-Bach)

Love divine, all loves excelling	Can we declare a moratorium on BEECHER (Zundel)? CROSS OF JESUS (Stainer) is possible, also HYFRYDOL (Pritchard), LOVE DIVINE (Le Jeune) is used.
O Love divine, what hast Thou done	SELENA (Woodbury) ST. CHRYSOSTOM (Barnby)
Come, Thou long-expected Jesus	HYFRYDOL (Pritchard)

Two hundred and fifty years have passed since the eighteenth child of Samuel and Susannah Wesley came into the rectory at Epworth. With Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley is remembered in that solemn British Hall of Fame, Westminster Abbey. But there is a far greater memorial in the hearts of millions who sing of the redemptive love of God in hymns which cannot die because they speak of a living faith in a present Lord who "speaks, and listening to His voice, new life the dead receive."

Perhaps the last word on Charles Wesley needs to be said by one who knew him well. His wife, in the preface to a volume of her husband's *Sermons,* writes:

> "His most striking excellence was humility; it extended to his talents as well as his virtues; he not only acknowledged and pointed out but delighted in the superiority of another, and if there ever was a human being who disliked power, avoided pre-eminence and shrunk from praise, it was Charles Wesley."[10]

Not unto me, O Lord,
Not unto me, the praise,
If I with power have spoke Thy word,
And testified Thy grace.
Thou didst the power bestow,
Thou didst Thy servant find,
And raise, and send me forth to show
Thy love to all mankind.[11]

RESOURCES

(For those planning hymn festivals in 1957,
the 250th anniversary of Charles Wesley's birth)

1. Use your own denominational hymnal, where there are usually enough hymns to illustrate Wesley's life and style.
2. Biographical sketches are found in the helpful handbooks written to supplement major hymnals. See also H. A. Smith *Lyric Religion*, and A. E. Bailey *The Gospel In Hymns*. Julian's *Dictionary* has an excellent article under "The Wesley Family."
3. Secure the inexpensive ($1.00) collection of over 100 Wesley hymns, with tune suggestions and with some printed tunes: *The Asbury Supplement* edited by Dr. Franz Hildebrandt and published at Drew University in 1954. It is available from The Drew Bookstore, Madison, N. J. This is the most accessible compilation available in this country and has twenty of the hymns taken from Wesley's *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*.
4. The best source of Wesley hymns is *The Methodist Hymn-Book* (with tunes) published by the Methodist Conference of Great Britain at 25-35 City Road, London, E.C.1 (1933). Many smaller editions, without the music, are also available. Write Epworth Press at above address.

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* * *

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Alfred Burton Haas, born in Shamokin, Pennsylvania, received his A.B. from Bucknell University in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania and his B.D. and M.A. degrees from the Theological Seminary of Drew University in Madison, New Jersey. He has conducted hymn festivals in many parts of the United States, and is a member of the Executive Committee of the Hymn Society of America. He is a minister and member of the Central Pennsylvania Conference of the Methodist Church and at present is the Associate Professor in the Department of Practical Theology at Drew.

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TO PRAISE GOD

The Life and Work

of

Charles Winfred Douglas

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LEONARD ELLINWOOD *and* ANNE WOODWARD DOUGLAS

THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

JAMES RAWLINGS SYDNOR, *Editor*

XXIII

TO PRAISE GOD

The Life and Work of Charles Winfred Douglas

by

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WINFRED DOUGLAS

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PART ONE

THE HOURS OF LIFE

NOCTURN[1] I: Life "in posse"—the ages.
II: Life "in esse"—the womb.

The Douglas family in America traces its descent from the deacon, William Douglas (1610-1682) a Scotsman from Northamptonshire, England, who migrated to Gloucester, Mass., in 1640.[2] Succeeding generations of the family moved first to Connecticut and then, in the fifth generation, to Oswego County, New York.

There, in the village of Richland, Virgil Chittenden Douglas was born on March 22, 1820, the seventh generation of Douglases in this country, a remote cousin of Senator Stephen A. Douglas, famous for his debates on slavery with Abraham Lincoln. He was first married to Julia Brewster, by whom his daughter, Julia Brewster Douglas, was born in 1852. In 1855 he was principal of an elementary school in Oswego. On August 28, 1861, he was again married, to Caroline Church, a fellow teacher, who bore him three children: Mary Louise, born July 23, 1862, a son who died in infancy, and Charles Winfred. In 1865, Virgil Douglas was serving as teacher of writing and bookkeeping in the Oswego Normal and Training School. The following year he became assistant superintendent of schools in the city of Oswego, serving under Edward Austin Sheldon whom he succeeded as superintendent on October 5, 1869. This position combined the function of school superintendent with that of secretary to the Board of Education, at a salary of one hundred dollars per month. Sheldon was one of the most distinguished figures in American education at that time. He had pioneered Pestalozzian methods in this country, with special emphasis on the Object Method of Teaching. This work attracted a number of teachers and administrators who visited and observed the work of the Oswego schools.[3] From it grew the Oswego Normal and Training School, which Sheldon continued to direct after his retirement from the local public schools.

Charles Winfred Douglas was born on February 15, 1867. His father, then assistant superintendent of schools, was almost forty-seven years of age; his mother was thirty-three. It is possible that the fact of his being the son of older parents with an intellectual background accounts for the talent and genius with which he was endowed. There was a strong love of books and music on the part of both parents. The piano was at the center of domestic pleasures. Winfred was baptized as an infant in the First Presbyterian Church of Oswego.

His earliest memory of his mother was of her singing as she rocked him in an old Hitchcock chair which he preserved all his life. She gave him careful pre-school training, but died of tuberculosis on July 28, 1873, just as he became of school age. A deeply religious child, he felt her death keenly. In later years Winfred told of catching two little fish shortly before his mother died, and of climbing up on a pillow to give them to her, recalling her smile as she thanked him.

Other childhood memories were of "big game hunting in Africa with a bow and arrow," and of his distress when the "ostrich" turned out to be a neighbor's prize rooster. He spoke of rowing the boat while his father fished, that his father always cooked the Sunday breakfasts of fried oysters for the family, that he taught each one of the children that a certain portion of the chicken was the best—Winfred's portion being a drumstick.

After his mother died, his older half-sister, Julia, looked after the children. Winfred recalled how she always brushed the spiders off the ceiling at night before putting them to bed, and how they teased her by drawing some on the ceiling with a pencil.

On February 2, 1875, his father married a third school teacher, Frances Weed, by whom his daughter, Helen, was born on November 4, 1877. Winfred's early piano lessons were discontinued, but music nonetheless absorbed him. A sister tells[4] of their running outside to listen when the Forty-eighth Regimental Band passed a block below their hillside home during military funerals. Thrilled by the *Dead March from Saul,* he taught himself to play it and went on to read music theory and biography from the local library. He was deeply impressed by the final program of a musical convention conducted in the summer of 1871 or 1872 by John Zundel, the famous organist of Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York. At the age of ten, in June, 1877, he made public profession of faith, with serious understanding.

Little is known of his progress up through the public schools. As the superintendent's son, he was expected to receive, and did earn, good marks. On one occasion he was kicked down a flight of stairs by a jealous classmate who had received poorer marks, suffering a spinal injury which plagued him throughout life. He copied music for a choirmaster and thereby earned a few organ lessons and the privilege of occasional practice on the Presbyterian Church organ. His first venture to play it publicly was for the wedding of a family friend, date unknown. His high school graduation theme in February 1883 was on Richard Wagner.

During his final year in high school, Winfred's father became seriously ill, finally passing away on November 30, 1883. During that illness, Winfred served as secretary to the Board of Education and to the new superintendent. At the same time he studied by himself to prepare for college, but made no more music at home, for his step-mother's grief would permit none.

The burden of the bereaved family fell heavily on Winfred's shoulders. There was little or no financial reserve. Widows' annuities were unheard of, even for the relict of a popular school official. After a short time, Mrs. Douglas resumed teaching, and served as principal of the Stone Elementary School until her retirement in 1906. She died in her daughter's home in Columbus, Ohio, on December 21, 1919.

Winfred put aside his immediate plans for college and went to work. He began to play the organ in the local Presbyterian Church on twelve hours' notice of the illness of the regular organist, using the pieces he had played shortly before at the wedding. He used to relate with great glee that this initial repertory included the *Moonlight Sonata.* One day he confided to a friend that he would like to be a minister, but felt sure that he could never be good enough; yet there were other ways of praising God, and perhaps he could learn to do it by better church music.[4] During the next two years he held two different jobs. In a local hardware store he worked as a stock clerk and general helper, juggling hundred-pound kegs of nails, moving stoves, etc. In a thermometer factory he contracted mercurial poisoning from sucking the liquid mercury up into the glass tubes of the thermometers, with the result that he lost all of his teeth before entering college and permanently weakened his system in general. After two years of such work, he was able to enter Syracuse University in the Fall of 1886.

Julia, by this time, had graduated from Oswego Normal School and was teaching in New York City and its environs. In 1913 she took library training under John Cotton Dana in the Newark Public Library. Four years later she moved to Colorado, settling near her brother in Evergreen and building up a remarkable public library beside the Mission of the Transfiguration there. She died on September 29, 1935.[5]

Mary took nurse's training in Bellevue Hospital, New York City, married Robert Gillespie in 1888 and Jacob P. Seamans in 1901. She spent her later years with Julia in Evergreen, and died at Hamburg, New York, on August 20, 1947.

Helen taught school for a while. In 1906 she married Schuyler Colfax Dobson, and has since made her home in Columbus, Ohio.

Winfred entered Syracuse University because of the musical courses which it offered. He continued to earn his own way, living at first on fifteen cents a day with a diet consisting principally of oatmeal, the porridge of his Scottish forebears. During his freshman year he clerked in a music store and sang in the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, Syracuse. This is his first known contact with the Episcopal Church. The following year he was assistant organist at the Cathedral and choirmaster of St. Paul's Mission at a salary of $3.25 weekly. He supplemented this income by playing accompaniments in the University's Music Department for two hours daily.

He began to keep a diary in January, 1888, writing:

To keep a daily record of my deeds I will essay;
I've tried the thing before in vain:
I think the only way
To keep a daily record
Will be to write each day.

This was continued intermittently throughout the rest of his life in date-books and regular diaries, at times written hastily and almost illegibly. One of the earliest entries, January 9, 1888, notes that he "commenced daily services at St. Paul's today. I am to be there four to six, daily." His interest in the Church intensified during that Spring, for in July he was licensed a lay-reader by the Bishop of Central New York. In after years, he often spoke of the influence of the Rt. Rev. Frederic Dan Huntington on this phase of his life. He named his only son after the Bishop, and in 1933 dedicated his collected poems to the latter's memory. For the remainder of his undergraduate years, he was active with a group of students, known as "the Bishop's boys", who together and separately devoted considerable time to mission work under Bp. Huntington's direction.

In January, 1889, the diary notes a trip with the University Glee Club, specifically mentioning the towns of Sims, Rushville, and Attica. He participated in Sunday "church services, singing or playing, or taking services" at St. Paul's and Trinity Churches in Oswego, at St. John's Church, Marcellus, and the Mission of the Good Shepherd on the Onondago Reservation.[6] On March 17th he "opened St. Luke's Mission in the Calvin Tract with 25 children." June 16th he noted a "first Sunday service at Chittenango" [St. Paul's Mission].

The first attempt at musical composition to be noted in the diaries was an *Agnus Dei in D,*[7] February 16, 1889. His poem, *An Easter Song of the Maries,* was written April 20th.[8] A letter from Bp. Huntington written two days later, on Easter Monday, expresses his pleasure in the poem, and also commends translations which Douglas had made of the *Dies Irae* and the *Stabat Mater.*

About this time, he was initiated into the Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity, and was laying the foundations of a life-long friendship with a fellow student, William Harman Van Allen, in later years the "Presbyter Ignotus" columnist of *The Living Church,* and for 27 years rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston. April 9th, at the opening of the Spring term, Douglas wrote "shall take Catullus, Roman Literature and Juvenal besides my music work."

The summer of 1889 was spent as a member of a Kellogg Concert Group giving nightly programs in Delaware Water Gap, Ocean Grove, Paterson, and other New Jersey resorts. Several week-ends were spent with Bp. Huntington's son, Fr. James Otis S. Huntington, O.H.C., staying at the Holy Cross Clergy House in New York City. On July 21st he notes singing in the choir at Trinity Church, New York, and having a pleasant chat with Arthur H. Messiter, the organist-choirmaster.

Organized football began at Syracuse in the Fall of 1889. That first season, the men played with unpadded suits and with numerous injuries. With no helmets, they wore their hair long for protection. Douglas sustained a broken collar-bone in the first out-of-town game, with the University of Rochester. The following season there were seven ministerial candidates on the team. Douglas played in the line for three seasons, with the exception of a period in late 1889 when he was suspended from the University "for horse-play with some of the freshmen."[9]

Earlier in 1889, Crouse College had been built for use as a Fine Arts building. Its auditorium seated a thousand persons and contained a new Roosevelt organ of 74 stops. A peal of nine bells set to the key of E^b, the largest of which weighed 3,000 pounds, was installed in the tower as the gift of D. Edgar Crouse, the son of the building's donor. Douglas rang the bells for the first time on September 18, 1889, and thereafter during his remaining years at Syracuse, establishing a tradition that only Δ K E men could ring them, a tradition maintained until the interruptions of World War II. They were rung regularly each day, and at one time he was suspected, not perhaps without reason, of using them to silence an unpopular lecturer. Douglas also served as chapel organist, playing on a Johnson organ of 22 stops which had been installed in the north end of the chapel in 1885.

The Syracusan for February, 1890, noted that he had been confined to his bed for a week, and that his place as chapel organist had been supplied by J. R. Stevens, '92. Douglas contributed an article on "A Corner of New York," describing the German quarter of the city, to the September, 1889, issue of *The Syracusan,* and a poem, "To a Poet," to the March, 1890, issue. That of July, 1890, announced that he would take charge of the Church of the Evangelists, Oswego, for the summer, but the diary has a notation for July 17: "Opening service for the summer at Emmanuel Mission."

At the end of the summer, his diary notes a clergy meeting which he attended on September 9, 1890, at Watertown, N. Y., then on September 12th: "Finished poem, 'Vocation',"[8]

> What wilt thou have me do, O Lord? I cried,
> Kneeling in worship by the white bedside . . .
>
> So, being certain that my heart's employ
> Should be a lifelong music, I made prayer
> For God to send his Angel to me there
> With sure commandment . . .

College opened on the 18th, and the diary noted "three hours at the organ." That week-end he was back in Oswego, helping at St. John's Church, but ended the engagement for Sunday work there the following week-end. The choir had been working on his *Evensong*.[7] During this, his senior year at Syracuse, he served as fine arts editor of *The Syracusan*. His poem "'Vocation' took very well" in the first issue. In football he was "one of the pluckiest men on the team."

The diary records that on October 22nd

> After vocal lesson today, Miss Everett asked me to take the chorus and the male vocal classes, as well as the accompaniments.

He was fortunate, during his years of college, in having as teachers several of the outstanding musicians of the day: George Albert Parker in organ, William Heinrich Schultze followed by Percy Goetschius in theory, Charles F. Webber and Marie Louise Everett for voice.

In March, 1891, he was accepted by Bp. Huntington as a Candidate for Holy Orders. A letter from the Bishop in April refers to some verses by Douglas which were being printed in the diocesan monthly *Messenger*. At Commencement in June, he wrote the Class Day Poem and was one of three to receive the Bachelor of Music degree.

His work as a student assistant must have been of a high standard, for he was invited to remain as Assistant Instructor in Vocal Music during 1891/2. *The Syracusan* carried several notices of his activities during the year. "Douglas's good guarding was a great help" on the football team. "Charles Winfred Douglas is assistant organist at St. Paul's Cathedral; has been acting as choirmaster during the absence of the Rev. H. R. Fuller." In October he was appointed lay-reader at Jamesville. "C.W.D. delivered several lectures in the East about Christmas time."

Karl Schwartz had been another of "the Bishop's boys" at Syracuse University. Graduating in 1886, he was ordained by Bp. Huntington and served at Trinity Church, Lowville, before going to New York City in 1891 as assistant rector of the Church of Zion and St. Timothy. It was only natural for a talented musician to look towards New York City, so during the Christmas holidays Douglas went there and visited Schwartz. Apparently there was an opening at Zion and St. Timothy, for the diary notes that on December 28th he called on the rector with his friend.

Returning to Syracuse, he had a long talk with his Bishop. In a letter of January 20, 1892, Bp. Huntington urged Douglas to remain in Syracuse, taking charge of the music at St. James' Church. The Bishop pointed out the greater opportunities for service in his own diocese where there were so few outstanding musicians, also the effect such a move would have by interrupting his studies for Holy Orders. Understandably, the Bishop hated to lose still another of his "boys" to the metropolis. Nevertheless, once Douglas' decision was made, he sent him away with a letter full of warm affection and with a formal document of transfer to the ecclesiastical authority of the diocese of New York.

The Syracusan for February 1st stated that

> The present edition closes the connection of the managing editor with *The Syracusan* and with it he performs his last act as a resident student. Charles Winfred Douglas has been elected organist and choir master of Zion and St. Timothy's Church, West 57th Street, New York, with a salary of $1,200.00.

Then on February 15th

> Charles Winfred Douglas left for New York on Saturday. His permanent address will be with Mr. W. H. Van Allen at 209 West 55th Street, New York City.

The latter had gone to New York in 1891 as headmaster of the parochial school of St. John's Chapel, Trinity Parish, where he served until his ordination by Bp. Huntington in 1894.

Still a fourth one of "the Bishop's boys" in the city at that time was the bishop's own son, Fr. James Otis Huntington, founder of the Order of the Holy Cross, "the happiest man I know" as Douglas' diary stated. In 1887 Fr. Huntington had founded the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (C.A.I.L.) He was also active in furthering observances of Labor Sunday, which in 1892 came on September 4th. Douglas received a commission to compose a special anthem for use on this occasion in Trinity Church, New York. This anthem, *Bread of the Needy* for men's voices and brass instruments, his first published music, was completed on August 22nd and sent to the printer. Copies were delivered on the 29th and rehearsed the following day. At its first and only performance his diary comments that "the best baritone in New York sang the solo part in my anthem." On August 30th, with his head in the clouds after the rehearsal of his anthem and a visit from Fr. Huntington, he wrote:

> If I could just go out through space, and find my mother that I never knew, and give her my head to hold and my tears to kiss away like a child. . .

During this year in New York, the diary records all of the music which he heard in concerts but omits mention of work at his own church:

> Melody whirls through my mind day and night. . . . The musical part of Douglas has been volcanically active of late . . . And how the concerts have carried me away.

He also wrote of composing a baritone solo for Mr. W. R. Squire of St. Thomas' quartet to the words "Let the robber rob no more."[7]

On Saturday, October 1st, he took a long hike up the Hudson shore with Van Allen, visiting the church at Tarrytown where Washington Irving had been a vestryman. At the latter's home he met Irving's niece. Two weeks later, the diary comments on the lack of dignity, the wastefulness and repulsiveness of the quadricentennial celebration of Columbus' discovery of America. "One feature atones for all, though, and that was the crowd of spectators. Still more impressive was their unfailing good nature."

Early in 1893, he was abruptly dismissed from his position as organist-choirmaster at Zion and St. Timothy's, due to the ill-will of a vestryman. Douglas' first reaction was:

> My ostensible failure as a church musician has depressed me no whit, but rather filled me with a new and indomitable ambition to serve God supremely in just that capacity. And I will do it!

Nonetheless a little later he noted that he had been constantly awake for a month—"so morbid when I can't sleep." He remained in New York all spring, playing and singing (tenor) occasionally. There are frequent references to visits to the home of Isabelle Howells in Flushing, Long Island. Mr. Howells was a retired merchant of considerable means, a cousin of the poet-novelist, William Dean Howells. A lover of nature and of art, he had a large, roomy, country house with a great store of rare pictures. Of special interest to Douglas was a Chickering piano "which my fingers love for its restful touch—firm, even, sure, and the tone will sing for me like a French horn or like the soft pure tones of a tenor trombone." On Trinity Sunday the diary comments: "Played only twice in a month. Sang the *Elijah* with the Oratorio Society."

Before going to New York he had already begun to study for Holy Orders, with the perpetual diaconate[10] in mind. When summer came he returned to his earlier work in the Diocese of Central New York, and enrolled in St. Andrew's Divinity School, Syracuse. On October 15, 1893, he was ordained deacon by Bp. Huntington.

Returning to New York City he began to serve as a curate at the Church of the Redeemer, with responsibility for the music, and as a teacher in St. John's parochial school. But the strain of his life since college had used up his physical reserves. On a subsequent evening he conducted choir rehearsal and remained afterwards to practice on the organ; sometime in the night the lights in the church were noticed and Douglas found lying unconscious by the console. Taken to Presbyterian Hospital, he lay for nine weeks with double pneumonia and resultant complications. Several abscesses were successfully punctured, but one was so deep-seated it could not be reached. He later told how his rector's brother, Irving Peake Johnson,[11] came to give "last rites" and to plan the music for this young musician's own funeral, a lugubrious business which so distressed his nurse that she burst into tears. Douglas essayed a feeble joke, which set them into such hysterics that the abscess broke, on his own humor.

After Douglas had improved sufficiently to leave the hospital, Fr. Johnson interested the Very Rev. Henry Martyn Hart, dean of St. John's Cathedral, Denver, in his case. At first Douglas was extremely hesitant about accepting Dean Hart's offer, not only because of the precarious state of his health but also because the Dean was a well-known protagonist of the "low church" party, while his own interests were definitely "high church". But the Dean wrote back that he fully understood and wanted him to come nevertheless. He mailed him train reservations and instructions to preach the following Sunday. Douglas arrived in Denver in September, 1894, frail and impoverished. During the following three years he endeavored to rebuild his health in Denver's high and dry climate, serving as best he could as minor canon under Dean Hart.

He was sent to make a sick-call on Miss Mary Josepha Williams who was so un-impressed that she told the Dean not to send "that awkward young man" around again. Nevertheless, on June 22, 1896, she became his bride. Although a semi-invalid from childhood, "Dr. Jo" had graduated from Gross Medical School, Denver, and at the time of her marriage was joint-director of a small sanitarium on Pearl Street, Denver. She was the daughter of Brigadier General Thomas Williams who was killed at Baton Rouge on August 5, 1862. Her brother was the Rt. Rev. Gershom Mott Williams, Bishop of Marquette from 1896 to 1923. Her grandfather had been an early settler in Detroit and had left a considerable fortune from land holdings there. Thanks to this financial independence on the part of his wife, Canon Douglas was able to finance much of his subsequent study and plainsong publication. A son, Frederic Huntington Douglas, was born on October 28, 1897.

The next few years were spent in an active life—preaching, lecturing on a wide variety of music topics, conducting missions in various parts of Colorado and as far away as Hastings, Nebraska. He continued sacred studies at Matthew's Hall, Denver, under Bp. John Franklin Spalding and the Rev. Percival H. Hickman. On the Feast of the Transfiguration, August 6, 1899, Bp. Spalding advanced him to the priesthood at the little mission in Evergreen.

Services had begun in the area near Evergreen, which stands at the head of Bear Creek Canyon thirty miles west of Denver, in the fall of 1871. During the following decade, Gen. Williams' widow was accustomed to camp there with her family in the canyon and to hold prayer services for the neighborhood. After their marriage, the young canon and his bride made their home on the edge of the village. In May, 1898, he was elected to the Evergreen School Board. The Douglases provided property for the establishment of the Mission of the Tranfiguration adjacent to their home and remained closely associated with it for the rest of their lives, even though, because of frequent absences for protracted periods, he did not become vicar of the Mission until 1937.

Canon Douglas had retained living quarters in New York during his period of illness, for, in spite of new family attachments and a growing love of the West, he realized that his work as a church musician needed the centrality which New York alone afforded. In the fall of 1899 he began to travel back and forth between Evergreen-Denver and New York, with stops in Chicago where he had become interested in the kindergarten work of Gertrude House. He lectured for Peter Lutkin at Northwestern University's School of Music. In New York he took an active interest in the work of the Settlement House. Association with Frank and Walter Damrosch, Franz Kneisel, and Artur Nikisch dates from this period.

In May, 1901, he sailed to England on the Mesaba for his first trip abroad. This may have been the beginning of his intensive study of plainsong, for the diary tells of conferences with John Henry Arnold. He met the Irish bass, Harry Plunkett Greene, whom he later accompanied at concerts in the United States.

Returning in October, he moved his family to a new apartment at 107 West 84th Street, New York. He was active that winter in Damrosch's Musical Art Society, and again served as curate at the Church of the Redeemer.

On April 7, 1902, he suffered another severe breakdown, physically and nervously. On the 10th he was taken to New Hope Sanitarium for some weeks. By July he was well enough to visit friends in Baltimore and then spend ten days at the Holy Cross Monastery in New York, where he began his poem, "Plainsong." The end of the month was spent with friends in Philadelphia and Boston. During August and September he took a trip to visit family connections near Buffalo, going on to Niagara, Utica, and Lake Placid, ending up at Henry van Hoevenberg's Adirondack Lodge on Heart (Clear) Lake[12] where he spent his time chopping wood, guiding parties up Mt. Jo, and generally trying to build himself up again. Returning to New York in October, he was soon ill again.

This time, he turned to the Indian country in the Southwest and spent six months living on the desert. With his natural intensity, as his strength returned he explored the back Indian country along the Rio Grande, the Colorado River, and Kaibab plateau. He was accepted by the Navajo and Hopi, the latter making him a blood brother of the tribe, with the name "Tall Pine Tree". Admiring their primitive art-craft, he did considerable trading and collecting. Much of the trading was for the Fred Harvey Company, while the collecting became the nucleus of what was later developed by his son, Frederic, into the Native Arts Department of the Denver Art Museum. From this first trip dated Canon Douglas' intense interest (shared by Natalie Curtis, Pres. Theodore Roosevelt, and others) for the preservation of Indian culture and the more intelligent handling of their children.

By January, 1904, his health had returned sufficiently to permit him to resume teaching in Gertrude House and other lectures in Chicago—this time with the added subject matter of Indian music and rituals. March and April were spent in New York.

On April 16th he again sailed for England, this time with his wife and son, four other children (cousins) and companions for Dr. Jo. The entourage settled first in an old vicarage at Farnham, later moving to Penzance. During the next 21 months he traveled widely, listening to music. The Spring was spent ranging from Oxford to Edinburgh. On July 6th he crossed to France, listened to plainsong at Notre Dame, Paris, then visited the cathedral towns of northern France. Returning to England in mid-August, he met Dom Mocquereau for the first time on August 20th. He joined his family at Penzance briefly, then returned to the Isle of Wight, where he began lessons in plainsong with the Benedictines of Solesmes in their temporary quarters in Appuldurcombe. After reference to the "heavenly singing" of that famous choir, the diary records a personal decision:

> I will not neglect any duty for Plainsong, but nevertheless will work at it all I may.
>
> My musical work of all kinds must be whole-hearted if I would have God hear it and men profit by it, and it must all spring from love of God, either direct, or through his works. I must not neglect any element that makes the service speak of God and His order and His beauty.
>
> If my work is true and faithful it will not fail, although I see no success.

One of his fellow students was Harold Becket Gibbs, an English organist who subsequently settled in the United States, at the request of Pope Pius X, in order to improve the plainsong singing in the Roman Catholic Churches in this country.[13] In November, Canon Douglas made the acquaintance of the Rev. Percy Dearmer, then engaged in the preparation of *The English Hymnal*.

1905 began with a brief trip through Rotterdam, Cologne, and Leipzig to Dresden. The spring and summer were spent in the study of plainsong with Dom Eudine and Dom Mocquereau. Brief side trips gave occasions for visits to the Clarendon Press, the Bodleian Library, the Cowley Fathers (the Society of St. John the Evangelist), and Stanbrook Abbey. At the request of Dom Eudine, during the summer he gave a series of lectures on "The Relation between Plainsong and Modern Music." At the end of August he made another trip to Edinburgh, this time by way of Durham and York. In October he paid a visit to the Rev. Dr. G. H. Palmer, the distinguished editor-translator of many Anglican service books and plainsong editions. They discussed "modern music and the Vatican Kyriale."

On October 10th, he left London to spend the winter in Germany. After some intensive language study at the Berlitz School, he looked at manuscripts at Abbey Maria Laach and Cologne Library then spent two months in Leipzig and Dresden studying voice, renewing his friendship with Mischa Elman and Nikisch, and becoming a Bruckner enthusiast.

January 14, 1906, he returned to London, visited his Benedictine friends and Fr. Palmer again, then sailed with his family for New York, arriving January 25th and setting up living quarters in Yonkers. During nearly two years overseas he had worked strenuously in spite of recurring ill-health, weakness and pain. Now he was again faced with the problem of earning a living. This meant resumption of lectures in New York, Chicago, and Evanston on opera, Strauss, Bruckner, etc. He also pondered how his newly acquired knowledge and love of plainsong could be of service to the Church, praying that God would make His will known.

Soon after his return to New York, Mother Margaret Clare of the Western Province of the Community of St. Mary,[14] having heard the sisters in Wantage, England, sing plainsong, sent him an invitation to visit the convent in Kenosha, Wisconsin, to give a series of lessons on the chant. Other invitations soon came to train the Sisters of the Holy Nativity at Fond du Lac and the seminarians at Nashotah House. In this teaching he at last found his true métier, a work which remained his driving interest for the rest of his life. On December 6th he met with the Mother Superior of the Community of St. Mary in St. Mary's Hospital, New York. As a result of this conference, he undertook the musical setting of the Ceremonial of the Community and became its choirmaster, a position he held for the following 35 years.

His first visit to St. Mary's, Mount Saint Gabriel, Peekskill, was on December 21, 1906, where he found that the sisters had been accustomed to using a form of plainsong for their Psalter and adaptations of modern music for many portions of their liturgy. The transition to the Solesmes method presented many difficulties, entirely apart from that of language, but Canon Douglas' patience and skill had them singing Compline successfully in ten days, with the other daily offices added gradually in the next weeks.[15] As the children of St. Mary's School participated in many services and exercises with the sisters, he taught the repertory of liturgical plainsong to them as well, with the result that over the following years a fixed tradition developed which was so dearly loved that many alumnae returned each year to help in singing the major feasts.

At the end of March, 1907, he moved his family from Yonkers to Fond du Lac where he began four years' service as Canon-Residentiary of St. Paul's Cathedral. During the spring, he continued to lecture in the Chicago area and to work on the adaptation of the plainsong hymn melodies to the English words, pointing the Breviary Psalms, and polishing the Compline office. His diary notes that on May 30th they sang "the first complete plainsong mass in the Cathedral at Fond du Lac."

Summer found the family back in the mountains at Evergreen. On July 2nd, he began a six-week summer school of church music, the first of what was later to become an annual school of note. The diary notes several climbing expeditions in the nearby Rockies.

At the end of August, he returned east and resumed teaching at Peekskill. On September 10th, he attended a retreat at Holy Cross Monastery which had moved out to West Park, New York, three years earlier. He talked on the devotional aspects of chant and instructed the priests in music. October and November were spent back in Fond du Lac, then from December through March, 1908, he was again in New York and Peekskill, overdoing physically as usual and paying the price with bouts of illness. His quarters in New York that season were at 232 West 78th Street. The Spring was spent back on the Chicago, Kenosha, and Fond du Lac circuit, with every spare moment devoted to work on the plainsong editions and accompaniments.

On June 25, 1908, he made a third trip overseas, sailing alone from Montreal on the Empress of Ireland and arriving in London in time to witness the opening of the Lambeth Conference of that year. July and August were spent at Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight, where the Benedictines of Solesmes had completed their new quarters. It takes but little to imagine with what care he went over his English adaptations of the plainsong with his friends and tutors. This was his last trip abroad until 1931.

Returning to New York on August 19th, he first edited the *Missa de Angelis*, then resumed the eastern teaching circuit, New York, Holy Cross, Peekskill, shifting to the midwestern circuit October 13th. Thereafter this was the pattern of his life for many years, with the summers spent in Colorado.

January 16, 1909, he underwent surgery on his nose, followed a week later by a tonsilectomy accompanied by severe haemorrhage. The following year, two more plainsong editions appeared in print, after several years of use by the Community of St. Mary. These were the *Office of Compline* and the *Cantica Eucharistica*. In 1911 he moved his family to residence on the grounds of the Community of St. Mary in Peekskill, living in a stone house near the entrance to the grounds which the school children called The Castle, but which the Douglases named St. Dunstan's. At the insistance of Bp. Weller, he retained his canonical connection with St. Paul's Cathedral, Fond du Lac. St. Dunstan's remained his winter home until the spring of 1923. He formed a local Schola Cantorum, and organized a Christmas Pageant which has since been a favorite feature of the life of St. Mary's School. Typical of the music work at the School during these years is the description of a Whitsunday program in 1912.[16] Following a concert by the Kneisel String Quartet, the girls sang: *Introit* (*Suscepimus*) 7th century, *Kyrie* (*Lux et origo*) 10th century, *Kyrie* (*Cum jubilo*) 12th century, *Agnus Dei* 13th century, *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* 14th century, *Gloria* 15th century, and *Credo* (*De angelis*) 16th century, to the accompaniment of the quartet!

In 1912 the Schola Cantorum under the direction of Kurt Schindler blossomed into a significant feature of New York's musical life. Canon Douglas was a member of the Board of Directors from the start and for several years gave a lecture series on its repertory and annotated its printed programs. A close friendship developed between Schindler and Douglas, fostered by their mutual interests in old and folk-music. Together they edited a series of sixteenth century Spanish motets during the next few years.

Schindler was also interested in the Indian country, having helped Natalie Curtis with the preparation of *The Indian's Book* (1907). In 1912, Canon Douglas' diary begins to make frequent reference to meetings with Miss Curtis in New York and in Peekskill, and to lecture appearances with her. On July 26, 1913, Schindler arrived in Evergreen for a three day visit, then met Douglas at Colorado Springs on August 4th. Natalie Curtis joined them on the 8th, and ex-Pres. Theodore Roosevelt on the 19th. The diary gives the details of their extended trip:

August:

5—La Junta, Las Vegas (N. Mex.), San Domingo, Albuquerque.

6—Winslow, Williams, Grand Canyon.

7—Hopi Point.

8—Winslow, Holbrook—Natalie Curtis joined party with Miss Klauber.

9—Left for Ganada.

10—Cottonwood Wash camp—same site as two years ago.

11—Indian Wells, Twin Butts.

13—Ganada—saw races, etc.

14—Kurt Schindler bathed in Dutch Oven! 20 Navajos came to sing in evening.

15—Went to Chin Lee.

16-17—Del Muerto, Chin Lee, Peach Springs (riding).

18—Keams Canyon.

19—Made permanent camp. Met Roosevelt party.

20—Took Roosevelt to Nampeyo's[17] & over the mesa. Generally bought pots. P.M. with Roosevelt at Antelope Ceremony & explained details. Worked all evening with Natalie & Roosevelt.

21—Took Roosevelt to Snake Race. Walked up Walpi Trail with Natalie. Roosevelt's coffee. Songs at Nampeyo's most of the day. Snake Ceremony. Came down very leisurely. Glorious sunset.

22—Many songs at Nampeyo's. She told us meaning of pottery designs.

23—Buying and packing pots. Su-pe-la (Snake priest) to lunch. "Sad Face". Oraibi.

24—Called at Nampeyo's for goodby. Left for Second Mesa.

25—Hotevilla. Oraibi.

26—Old Hopi as guide to Shungopavy. Met others there. Flute Ceremony.

Judging from these entries, this may have been the trip in which he located the ancient trail leading up the Enchanted Mesa near Acoma pueblo. He was the first white man to describe the Flute Ceremony at Shungopavy. These feats, together with his climbing records in Colorado, won him membership in the Explorers' Club.[18]

In August, 1916, he spent another month in the Indian country, and again in 1921, when he made a second trip to the as yet little known Rainbow Bridge and an "impossible" climb up the north side of Navajo Mountain. In addition to the Hopi and Navajo, he also had close connections with the Zuni and Santa Clara Indians. He was at Taos on several occasions helping Dr. Martin care for the Penitentes after some of their ceremonial rites. Not only did he go to them, but he also brought many Indian friends into his own home, especially to Camp Neosho, the home in Evergreen, Colorado. The Naranjo family came there regularly each summer for traditional "Corn Camp suppers." One talented young Zuni painter, Red Robin, lived at Camp Neosho for some time before going on to successful New York exhibitions.

Correspondence and particularly the copying of music manuscripts for plainsong editions became so heavy a burden that in 1913 Canon Douglas hired Frank Damrosch, Jr., then a seminarian at Berkeley Divinity School, to assist him on a half-time basis during the following two years. From 1915 to 1917, Canon Douglas added a series of lectures at the General Theological Seminary, New York, to his busy schedule. At the May 1917 convocation of Nashotah House, he was awarded the honorary Doctor of Music degree.

The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1913 entrusted the revision of *The Hymnal* to a Joint Commission of the Convention[19] which spent the following four years preparing the texts for the new work. Canon Douglas' brother-in-law, Bp. G. Mott Williams of Marquette, was the chairman of the music committee of the Commission and its first music editor. Finding the work required a great deal of time, Bp. Williams hired the Rev. Frank Damrosch, Jr., to assist him. Just as the work was about to be printed, it met considerable opposition from a group of conservative organists who succeeded in stopping its publication until it could be thoroughly, and conservatively, reviewed. Partisan churchmanship also confused the issues. By way of compromise, Canon Douglas was one of six musicians appointed in October, 1917, as a technical committee of the Joint Commission under the chairmanship of Miles Farrow, to prepare the musical edition which became the *"New Hymnal"* of 1919. Canon Douglas shortly thereafter became the actual musical editor, giving long hours to this work for the next few years. During 1917 and 1918 the committee met weekly until most of the musical problems had been resolved for *The Hymnal* proper, although there was much correspondence with the other members of both committee and Commission until the work finally left the presses in 1919.

The fact that the country was then at war with Germany presented various problems. German names for chorale melodies, no matter how familiar, were nonetheless "verboten". Printing schedules were badly disrupted. Once *The Hymnal* appeared, there was considerable correspondence in which many persons throughout the country aired their likes and dislikes. In spite of initial opposition and distrust, it was gradually recognized throughout the country that the introduction of plainsong hymns, and Reformation chorales, the strengthening of tunes for better congregational participation, the attempt to make both the anthology of verse and the collection of music each worthy expressions of the experience and aspirations of the times, all combined to make the volume a worthy production. Two years later, a service supplement was added, containing chant-canticles for Morning and Evening Prayer and simple settings of the Communion Service.

From 1919 through 1921 Canon Douglas wrote a series of short articles in *The Living Church* giving the background and history of most of the individual hymns. Unfortunately the publishers did not favor their appearance in book form.

During the years of World War I, he had been attracted to the Russian style of singing unaccompanied, even before Serge Jaroff's Don Cossack Choir began to tour America. Between 1913 and 1919 he edited a dozen choral settings from the Russian liturgy. In 1920, with the collaboration of the composer, he brought out an English edition of Sergei Rachmaninoff's *Songs of the Church,* Opus 37. Here again as in the plainsong work, his editions of a cappella anthem material markedly influenced the course of American church music.

Work on plainsong editions continued, although at times badly interrupted by the editorial tasks connected with *The Hymnal* of 1919. The editions of *Cantica Eucharistica,* 1910, and *Compline* 1910, have already been mentioned. *Canticles at Evensong* appeared in 1915, The *Order of Matins* and *Canticles at Matins* in 1916. During 1916 the Community of St. Mary formally adopted the Benedictine Breviary as its service book; this action regularized the texts with which Canon Douglas had to work and thereby facilitated the progress of his editions. The full translation of *The Day Office* (*Diurnal*) was published in 1918. In 1923 *The Ceremonial Noted* appeared, followed by *The Vesper Psalms,* 1924. All of these works had been tried out by the Community over the years in manuscript or mimeographed form prior to publication.

In 1921 he was active with his old friend Becket Gibbs, Alfred Madeley Richardson, and others in founding the Plainsong Society of America, which he served as president for many years. About this time he was elected a Fellow of the older American Ecclesiological Society and for a time served as Chairman of its Music Department.

Shortly after World War I, his Solesmes friends and teachers, Dom Mocquereau and Dom Eudine visited this country for a series of lectures and demonstrations. Dom Mocquereau lectured at the Wellesley Conference of 1922 under Canon Douglas' auspices. Of Dom Eudine, *St. Mary's Messenger* wrote:[20]

> On one occasion as he went over the adaptations of the Solesmes melodies to our English words in *The Ceremonial Noted,* he exclaimed with enthusiasm, "Ah! Père Doo-glass you have robbed us well!" It was a foretaste of Church unity to see the devout old Benedictine monk kneeling beside Father Douglas at Benediction and singing the *Tantum Ergo* to the authentic ancient melody.

A summer conference on Church Music had been organized at the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass., in 1915. This subsequently became an annual session held on the Wellesley College campus for many years. After lecturing at several of these conferences as well as those at Racine, Wisconsin, Canon Douglas began a similar institution in his beloved Evergreen where the Conference could have its own buildings. The first unit of Hart House, given as a memorial to Dean Hart of Denver,[21] was built in 1922. Two years later an enlarged Hart House, Faculty House (since named Williams House, after Canon Douglas' mother-in-law) and Meeting House were dedicated by Bp. Irving P. Johnson of Colorado on the Feast of the Transfiguration, the 25th anniversary of Canon Douglas' advancement to the priesthood.

Because of his serenity, patience, sheer love of people, and complete freedom from prejudice, people from many walks of life had turned to Winfred Douglas over the years for sympathetic understanding of their problems.[22] A significant instance of this side of his nature came in the winter of 1924/25. The Episcopal Church and the Community of St. Mary had developed over a number of years an extensive mission work among the Igorots in the Mountain Province on the island of Luzon in the Philippines. Problems of financial support, intensive competition by new surrounding Roman Catholic missions, coupled with internal problems of churchmanship, brought on an acute crisis in this missionary work, especially at Sagada, P. I.[23] Earlier, in 1915, Canon Douglas had corresponded with one of the teachers at Sagada from whom he received copies of some native songs of the Igorot, both secular and Christian. Sometime in the Fall of 1924 he was requested by the Community of St. Mary and the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, the Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Gailor, to make a trip to the Sagada field as a "Peace-maker". He left San Francisco on January 14, 1925, stopped at Honolulu, then proceeded to Manila by way of Japan, Hongkong, and Canton. He spent six weeks visiting among the various missions of the Episcopal Church, observing their work and their problems. Returning by way of China and Japan, he was home again in Evergreen on May 6th.

In January, 1923, Canon Douglas was appointed to two Joint Commissions of the Episcopal Church,[19] that on Church Pageantry and Drama, and that on Church Music. The latter was a new Commission designed to continue the larger work begun by the then dissolved Hymnal Commission. For this Church Music Commission, with the help of Wallace Goodrich, dean of the New England Conservatory of Music, he prepared *The Choral Service,* 1927, *The American Psalter,* 1929, and *The Plainsong Psalter,* 1932.

During these years he was frequently called upon to train massed choirs for conventions. Following the inception of the Catholic Congress movement in 1923, he was in charge of the music at its festival services throughout the country. He was musical editor of *The American Missal,* 1931, a work which never fully satisfied him because of hurried publication schedules.

In the fall of 1931 he returned to Europe. He read proof for *The Monastic Diurnal* in London at the Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford) then visited his Benedictine friends, now returned to their first home at Solesmes, France. The *Diurnal* appeared the following summer, the worthy product of thirty years of research and testing. This edition consisted of the definitive version of his renderings into English of the Latin antiphons and hymns of the Day Offices of the Benedictine use. It attracted widespread attention and interest on both sides of the Atlantic. Appropriate portions of his renderings have since been adopted in numerous editions by other Anglican orders besides the Community of St. Mary and by groups within the Lutheran and Roman communions.

The musical setting of the *Diurnal* was well advanced when the texts appeared in 1932, but was delayed by work on *The Hymnal 1940* and World War II. After Canon Douglas' death, members of the Community of St. Mary continued to prepare the manuscript for publication. The first third of *The Monastic Diurnal Noted* appeared in 1954.

In 1933 *The St. Dunstan Kyriale* appeared, combining in a single volume the twelve plainsong masses in English which over the years had been published separately. This was issued in the square notation of plainsong. Each of the individual masses continued to be issued in modern notation in *The St. Dunstan Edition of Plainchant Publications* by the H. W. Gray Company of New York. The *Kyriale* marked the final compilation of plainsong which Canon Douglas published. In it he summarized his years of work on the traditional music of the Mass (Communion Service). There remained the completion of the music for the Offices, mentioned in the previous paragraph. For his editions in the plainsong notation, Canon Douglas had purchased a complete font of type in Belgium which his publishers used over the years. Since his death the font has been given to the Community of St. Mary the Virgin at Wantage, England.

VESPERS (1934-1944)

In February, 1934, Canon Douglas reached his 67th birthday, still vigorous in spite of frequent bouts with severe illness. His wife, too, had been in frail health during most of their married life. Now her health was failing and she needed his continual presence. It was time to retire to their home in Bear Creek Canyon, at Evergreen. After four relatively quiet years there, Dr. Jo passed away in Denver on March 9, 1938.

All of the books and manuscripts were shipped West, for there was still much to complete with *The Diurnal Noted.* After 30 years, he again became a canon of St. John's Cathedral, Denver. He was also appointed Chaplain of the Western Province of the Community of St. Mary, making at least semi-annual visits to their houses in Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin. For the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church he helped prepare *A Missionary Service Book,* 1937. He prepared a new edition of *Selected Hymns and Carols* for Northwestern University, with an accompanying *Brief Commentary,* 1936.

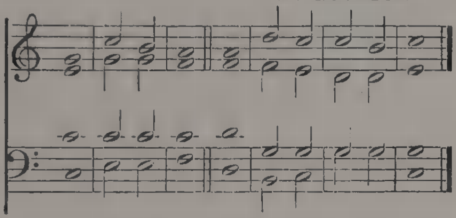
During this final decade of his life, he completed and published several choral works and organ preludes which are listed in the bibliography below. He resumed earlier interests in secular music, serving on the board of the Denver Symphony Society and Pro Musica. For the Symphony, he wrote program notes from 1937 to 1941, and lectured on its programs as well.

In 1931, 1932, and 1933, Canon Douglas gave three series of lectures at the College of Preachers, Washington Cathedral. Ideas developed there bore further fruit when in 1935 he was invited to give the Hale Lectures at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois. The lectures were published in 1937 as *Church Music in History and Practice,* with the subtitle *Studies in the Praise of God.* Here, approaching the twilight of a long life spent in doing just that, he was able to summarize all that he had taught and lived. In outline, the lectures and book followed the history of church music and especially of hymnody. Much of the illustrative material was drawn from the Episcopal *Hymnal* of 1919 for which he had been music editor, so that in effect this book served (nearly 20 years later) as a handbook to that hymnal.

In 1918, Canon Douglas had been approached by the Rev. Thomas E. della Cioppa on behalf of the Italian Priests' Association in regard to an Italian language hymnal they were preparing. He gave them a good deal of assistance in the delicate problem of adapting tunes to texts during the following decade. Their *Innario* finally appeared in the Spring of 1928. Similarly, Spanish hymns received occasional attention, as he was consulted from time to time by Latin-American missionaries on their problems of finding sufficient hymns. The Chinese *Hymns of Universal Praise,* 1936, used several of his tunes and plainsong arrangements.

On November 29, 1937, he was appointed to the reconstituted Joint Commission on the Revision of the [Episcopal] Hymnal. At first he served on the subcommittee concerned with translations and office hymns. Later he became chairman of the tunes committee and the handbook committee. The texts of the new hymnal were accepted by the General Convention of 1940, and again Canon Douglas was asked to serve as the musical editor. The following three years were hectic, with work on the *Monastic Diurnal Noted* laid aside for this pressing need on the part of the whole Church. In spite of World War II, frequent trips had to be made back and forth for committee meetings. There was heavy correspondence regarding copyrights. The Commission requested the submission of newly composed tunes for over 40 selected texts. A resultant 5,000 manuscripts had to be carefully studied. When final decision on the tunes for *The Hymnal 1940* was reached, the Commission sang the entire work through from no. 1 to no. 600 as a final check, then gleefully concluded with the following bit of verse, "sung to Goodson in C":[24]

R. GOODSON



O COME let us sing the Invitatory | Antiphon;
* Let us heartily prepare for the | Service Supplement.

2. First let it be known that we are musical | purists;
* And if we occasionally sing a hymn with a recognizable tune, it is only to | please the tourists.

3. For if we could | have our way,
* We would sing only fourteenth century | plainsong night and day.

4. For special occasions such as High Mass, weddings, funerals, and the blessed No- | vena,
* We could do something more modern, perhaps a motet of | Palestrina.

5. We would revise the hymn book to include only tunes by Nicolai, Martin Luther | and Isaak,
* Harmo- | nized . by J. S. Bach.

6. There is one more thing we should | like to say,
* Be- | fore we go our way;

7. O wonderful and marvellous Hymnal Commission, thou hast made us glad since thou | didst provide
* A *Hymnal* that, like us, can only worship God in | florid counterpoint.

On March 27, 1940, Canon Douglas married the co-author of this biography. Anne Woodward had become secretary to Bp. Irving P. Johnson and his coadjutor, Bp. Fred Ingley, in January 1926. The following summer she had worked on the Evergreen Conference staff with Canon Douglas, becoming the executive secretary of the Conference in 1931. Following her mother's death in 1932, she made her home with the Douglas family, helping Canon Douglas increasingly with correspondence and manuscripts. After their marriage, she traveled with him to the many meetings and handled the clerical details of *The Hymnal 1940*.

In February 1942, Anne and Winfred Douglas moved to Wellesley, Massachusetts, to be near the Stanhope and Plimpton Presses while *The Hymnal 1940* was being printed. When this was completed in October 1943, they returned to Denver, but only for a few days. They then proceeded to Santa Rosa, California, where, with the help of the Rev. Arthur Farlander, work was begun on *The Hymnal 1940 Companion*. Still the priest, he took charge that winter of Trinity Mission in nearby Sonoma.

COMPLINE: In manus tuus Domine
Commendo spiritum meum.

Death came from a blood clot in the heart on the evening of January 18, 1944, while carving the roast at dinner with guests in Santa Rosa. Earlier in the day, he had completed the composition of an organ prelude on the tune, *Stuttgart,* and the text: "Come, thou long expected Jesus." A plainsong Requiem was sung in St. John's Cathedral, Denver, on January 24th, with the congregation singing "He who would valiant be". Burial was in Fairmont Cemetery, Denver.

Tributes poured in from the many parts of the world he had visited and from the many organizations he had worked with. Requiem Masses were sung for the repose of his soul in the various convents and houses of the Community of St. Mary in this country and at Nashdom Abbey in England. A memorial Hymn Festival was held in St. James' Cathedral, Chicago, in which all of the choirs of that diocese participated.

Perhaps his chief memorial is the continuing Schools of Church Music each summer at the Evergreen Conference. On the Feast of the Transfiguration, 1954, the 55th anniversary of Canon Douglas' advancement to the priesthood in the Evergreen Mission, a new Möller organ was dedicated there to his memory. Several memorial gifts were made to the endowment funds of the Denver Symphony Orchestra. There is memorial silver at Trinity Mission, Sonoma, California, and at St. Mary's convent, Peekskill. Bibliographical memorials are described in following pages.

In 1892, the year Douglas left Syracuse to begin his career, the Episcopal Church had adopted a *Hymnal* which was narrowly Victorian in its content. Fifty years and two hymnals later, the same Church took justifiable pride in a *Hymnal 1940* which was full of the great treasures of Christian verse and song, from the mediaeval office hymns, the Reformation metrical Psalms and chorales, to new expressions of worship in an atomic era. While the product of a Joint Commission of the Church, this transformation was due in no small degree to the careful editorial work and patient teaching of Canon Douglas.

In 1904, when he first began to study with the monks of Solesmes, there were but a few fragments of plainsong available with English texts, and those were ineptly edited. Before he died, not only choirs but congregations were singing hymns, Psalms, and the entire Communion Service in plainsong settings.

Posthumous publication of the first part of *The Monastic Diurnal Noted* in 1954 by the Community of St. Mary brought with its reviews many fresh tributes to the life work of this devout priest, musician, scholar. The diversity of papers which published these reviews—English, Canadian, and American, Anglican, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic—gives eloquent testimony to the breadth of his influence a decade after his passing. Today his editions of plainsong with English texts are used in the daily choral services of eight English religious communities, and as many American ones, while excerpts from them have been taken into the corporate worship and hymnals of many denominations. Their wide acceptance can perhaps best be explained in the words of the personal tribute published by the Hymnal Commission of the Episcopal Church:[25]

> He was catholic in the complete sense of the word, a member of the Universal Church who was happily at home in all parts of it, and who entered with the same sympathy and fidelity into the translation of Latin Office Hymns and of Evangelical Chorales derived from the Protestant Reformation in Germany. He began his career dedicated to the Praise of God. He ended his life with the Praise of God on his mind and pen, and in his heart.

PUBLICATIONS OF CHARLES WINFRED DOUGLAS

I. BOOKS AND ARTICLES.

A brief commentary on Selected Hymns and Carols. Evanston, Ill., 1936 (*Northwestern University Information,* V, 11)

"The catholic support of foreign missions," *The Second Catholic Congress. Addresses and Papers.* Milwaukee, October 12-14, 1926.

Christian Education for Women; an address delivered at St. Mary's School. [Peekskill] June 10, 1913.

Church Music in History and Practice; Studies in the Praise of God. New York, Scribners, 1937. p. 311 (*The Hale Lectures*)

"The civic symphony as an educational project," *MTNA Proceedings,* 34th series (1940), 31-41.

Concerning the monastic breviary [n.p.] p.4.

"The diocese of Colorado and its first bishop," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* V (1936), 325-34.

"Early hymnody of the American Episcopal Church," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church,* X (1941), 202-18.

"The history and work of the Schola Cantorum," *MTNA Proceedings,* 8th series (1913), 248-60.

The Midnight Mass; poems and translations. New York, Oxford University Press, 1933. p.82.

"Missals in the Protestant Episcopal Church," *The Churchman,* CXLIV (July 25, 1931), 11-12.

"A note on the Roman Schola Cantorum," *Anglican Theological Review,* V, 1 (May, 1922), 13-20.

"Notes on the New Hymnal," *The Living Church* (December 3, 1921–December 16, 1922).

"The Oxford Movement and church music," *The Cathedral Quarterly,* VIII, 3 (July, 1934), 13-18.

"The pedagogic value of the new movement in hymnody," *MTNA Proceedings,* 14th series (1919), 68-77.

"Plainsong," *MTNA Proceedings,* 4th series (1909), 80-92.

"Plainsong at Peekskill," *The Catholic Choirmaster,* XII (1926), 10.

"The relation of church music to ecclesiastical architecture," *MTNA Proceedings,* 16th series (1921), 91-103.

St. Mary's Messenger, the bi-monthly journal of The Community of St. Mary, published a number of his sermons, retreat addresses, and poems.

A sermon preached in St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia, on November 16, 1929, after the solemn high Mass of Requiem for the repose of Lewis Alexander Wadlow, organist and choir master, 1915 to 1929. [n.p.]

The Syracusan during the years 1888-1892 contained a number of articles and poems. Not all of the latter were included in his anthology, *The Midnight Mass.*

II. LITURGIES AND PLAINSONG EDITIONS.

The Antiphons of the Blessed Virgin Mary, newly translated and adapted to their melodies. Peekskill, Community of St. Mary, 1929.

———Reprinted from *The Monastic Diurnal Noted.* Kenosha, Community of St. Mary, 1952.

Asperges Me, for use as a general introit . . . adapted from the Latin text and transcribed into modern notation. New York, J. Fischer & Bro., 1910.

Cantica Eucharistica, choral devotions to the Blessed Sacrament. Plainsong notation. New York, J. Fischer & Bro., 1910, also 2nd edition, 1910.

———3rd edition, revised and enlarged. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1923 (*St. Dunstan Edition*)

———4th edition. Kenosha, Community of St. Mary, 1955.

The Canticles at Evensong, together with the Office Responses and a table of Psalm-tones. Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915.

The Canticles at Matins, pointed for chanting, with a table of Psalm-tones. Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1916.

The Ceremonial Noted, occasional Offices of the Community of St. Mary, with the plainsong. Peekskill, St. Mary's Convent, 1923.

Cibavit eos, introit for Corpus Christi and for general use. Modern notation. [n.d.]

Compline. The Cambridge Conference for Church Work. Modern notation. [n.d.]

———The Wellesley Conference for Church Work. Modern notation. [n.d.]

———With the chant adapted to English words from the *Antiphonarium Romanum* for the use of Nashotah Seminary. Plainsong notation. New York, J. Fischer & Bro., 1910 and 1920.

Credo I. The ancient melody of the Nicene Creed. Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915. (*St. Dunstan Edition*)

Credo II. The popular melody from *Missa de Angelis.* Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915. (*St. Dunstan Edition*)

The Day Office of the Monastic Breviary, translated into English and adapted to the kalendar and Missal of the American Church. [Text only] Peekskill, Community of St. Mary, 1918.

The Kyrial, or Ordinary of the Mass, with plainsong melodies edited and adapted to the English words. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1933 (*St. Dunstan Edition*)

Merbecke Communion Service, newly adapted to the American liturgy. Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915 and 1922.

——— Modern notation. 1922 and 1933.

——— Organ accompaniment. 1915, 1922, and 1933.

Missa de Angelis, a plain chant service in the Fifth Mode, adapted to the American liturgy. Modern notation. New York, J. Fischer & Bro., 1909, 1910, and 1911.

——— Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915.

——— Modern notation. 1920. 4th edition, revised. 1929.

——— Harmonized in modern notation. Organ edition. New York, J. Fischer & Bro., 1911.

——— ——— 4th edition, revised. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1929.

Missa Dominicalis, a setting of the Holy Eucharist for Sundays after Trinity and Epiphany. Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915 and 1932.

——— Modern notation. 1932.

——— Organ edition. 1932.

Missa Ferialis. Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915.

Missa Marialis, a festival service for the Holy Eucharist, adapted to the American liturgy. Modern notation. New York, J. Fischer & Bro., 1911.

——— Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915.

——— Modern notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915, 1933, and 1948.

——— Organ edition. New York, J. Fischer & Bro., 1915.
——— ——— New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915 and 1948.
——— ——— Revised edition, in *The Hymnal 1940.*

Missa Paschalis, an Eastertide service for the Holy Eucharist, adapted to the American liturgy. Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915.
——— Modern notation. 1915, 1916, and 1927.
——— Organ edition. 1916. 2nd edition, revised. 1927.

Missa Penitentialis, an Advent and Lenten service for the Holy Eucharist, adapted to the American liturgy. Plainsong edition. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915 and 1927.
——— Modern notation. 1916, 1927, and 1955.
——— Organ edition. 1916 and 1955.

Missa pro Defunctis, a plain chant Requiem. . . adapted to the American liturgy. Plainsong notation. New York, J. Fischer & Bro., 1910.
——— New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1922.
——— Modern notation. 1932.
——— Organ edition. 1929 and 1932.

Missa Rex Splendens. Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915.

Missa Simplex. Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915.

Missa Solemnis. Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915.

The Monastic Diurnal, or, Day Hours of the monastic Breviary according to the holy rule of St. Benedict, with additional rubrics and devotions for its recitation in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer. London, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford [1932] Reprinted 1935.

The Monastic Diurnal Noted; music of Vespers, the little Hours, and Lauds of greater feasts, adapted from the original plainsong. Kenosha, St. Mary's Convent, 1952.

The Order of Matins, according to the use of the Community of St. Mary, together with Lauds of Tenebrae, Lauds of the Dead, the Gradual Psalms, and the Litany. [Words only] Peekskill, St. Mary's Convent, 1916.
——— Revised edition. 1943.

Ordinary and Canon of the Mass, with music. [n.p.] 1925.
——— [Words only] 1925.

Palm Sunday [propers and hymns for the Community of St. Mary] Plainsong notation. [n.d.]

The Patronal Feast [propers and hymns for the Community of St. Mary] Plainsong notation [n.d.]

The Proper Offices of the Sisters of the Holy Nativity, with music. [n.d.]

A Provisional Tonale [n.d.]

Te Deum Laudamus, the festival chant newly adapted [in English] from the Vatican Antiphoner. Plainsong notation. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1915.

Veni Creator Spiritus, with Bp. Cosin's paraphrase and a complete translation, set to the Sarum melody and harmonized. Plainsong notation. New York, J. Fischer & Bro. [1909]

The Vesper Psalms, pointed for chanting to the melodies of the St. Dunstan Tonale [n.p.] 1916 and 1924.

III. ORIGINAL COMPOSITIONS.

As I out rode this endris night; carol for mixed voices [and organ] the first Coventry carol. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1938 (*Church Music Review,* no. 1542)

——— Unison edition.

The Bread of the Needy, anthem for men's voices [in 4 parts, with organ accompaniment] Composed for the annual service of C.A.I.L., Trinity Church, N.Y. [1892]

Four ninefold Kyries. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1933 (*Church Music Review,* no. 1246)

Heliotrope; 4 part chorus for women's voices [unaccompanied] the words by Frank Dempster Sherman. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1916 (*Modern series,* no. 65)

I Sing of a Maiden; 15th century carol for 3 equal voices. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1933 (*Church Music Review,* no. 1245)

Liturgia Americana, a festival Mass in C [unaccompanied] New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1954.

Magnificat [for mixed voices in 8 parts, unaccompanied] New York, J. Fischer & Bro., 1939.

O *Esca Viatorum,* motet for men's voices [in 3 parts, unaccompanied] New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1926.

Sanctus [for 3 equal voices unaccompanied] [Mimeographed]

Two Hymn Preludes [for organ] I. Advent: Hymn prelude on Breslau. II. Epiphany: Hymn prelude on Stuttgart. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1947.

Two Lenten Preludes [for organ] *I. Choral prelude on "Herzlich thut mich verlangen". II. Partita on "Stabat mater dolorosa".* New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1942 (*St. Cecilia Series,* no. 684)

Two responses for mixed voices [unaccompanied] *1. Jesus saith to his disciples. 2. I heard a voice from heaven.* New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1947 (*Church Music Review,* no. 2031)

A number of hymn tunes, largely unpublished, of which *St. Dunstan's,* first published in the Episcopal *Hymnal* of 1918, has achieved widespread acceptance.

IV. EDITIONS OF CHORAL MUSIC.

The Chorales from the Organ Works of Brahms, edited and harmonized for chorus of mixed voices, with an introduction on the organ music of Brahms. New York, H. W. Gray Co., [1945]

[Eleven] *Spanish Sacred Motets* by the great masters of the XVI century, edited by Kurt Schindler, English words translated and adapted by Winfred Douglas. Boston, Oliver Ditson Co., 1919-21.

The Penitent Thief, by A. Kastalsky, the English words adjusted. . . New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1922 (*Church Music Review* no. 644)

Songs of the Church, consisting of 15 anthems for mixed chorus by Sergei Rachmaninoff, Opus 37. Edited with the English text. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1920.

[Thirteen] *A Cappella Choruses from the Russian Liturgy. . .* edited with English text. New York, H. W. Gray Co., 1913-22.

V. HYMNALS PREPARED IN CONNECTION WITH THE EPISCOPAL HYMNAL COMMISSION AND OTHERS.

The Mission Hymnal. 1913.
Hymns for Missions. [n.d.]
A Missionary Service Book. 1932 and 1937.
Selected Hymns and Carols. Northwestern University, 1936 and 1939.
The New Hymnal. 1916-20.
The Hymnal 1940. 1943.

VI. PUBLICATIONS PREPARED IN CONNECTION WITH THE EPISCOPAL JOINT COMMISSION ON CHURCH MUSIC.

The Altar Book, with liturgical music for Holy Communion. 1928.
The American Psalter [Anglican chant] 1930.
The Choral Service, a manual for clergy and organist. 1927.
The New Proper Prefaces. 1925.
The Plainsong Psalter. 1932.
Selected List of Anthems. 1927.
Selected List of Works Relating to Church Music. 1927.
List of Hymns for Sundays and Holy Days. 1931.

PART TWO

THE DOUGLAS COLLECTION
IN
WASHINGTON CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

Washington Cathedral's Library was notably enriched in 1945 by the acquisition of the major portion of Canon Charles Winfred Douglas' private library.[26] Under the terms of this generous gift of his widow, the co-author of this PAPER, the entire collection is being cataloged and integrated with the rest of the Cathedral Library's holdings, using the Library of Congress Classification System. All of classes BV300-BV550, M, ML, & MT, the material in hymnology and music, is housed in a separate section of the Library designated as the Douglas Collection. This Collection now contains not only the material in these fields collected over a lifetime by Canon Douglas, but also nearly an equal amount of books and music acquired by gift and purchase prior and subsequent to the basic Douglas gift. Theological and other material from Canon Douglas' private library is now elsewhere in the Cathedral Library, identifiable by special bookplates.

Winfred Douglas' father, Virgil Chittendon Douglas, had acquired, during his years as an educator, a fine collection of books largely in the field of literature, which was inherited by his son. From early college days, Winfred spent his money on books rather than clothes. In his early years at Denver, he acquired some of his theological material from the Rev. Percival H. Hickman, examining chaplain to successive Bishops of Colorado. He bought extensively during his periods of study in England and on the continent. The special boxes, built like individual book-shelves with which to ship his books back to the United States, did service over a half-century in moving back and forth from New York to Denver and finally in shipping the Collection to its permanent abode in Washington.

One other special source of Canon Douglas' books, especially of hymnals, was the private library of his brother-in-law, the Rt. Rev. G. Mott Williams (1857-1923) Bishop of Marquette and member of the Joint Commission which prepared the Episcopal *Hymnal* of 1916.

Prior to the Douglas gift, Washington Cathedral Library had already acquired a sizable number of hymnals from three other sources. Included in the following check-list are hymnals from the library of the Rev. John Sebastian Bach Hodges (1830-1915) founder of the choir-school and rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, composer of many hymn tunes, and active in the revisions of the Episcopal *Hymnal* in 1874 and 1892. Other hymnals and chant books are from the collection of the Cathedral's first organist-choirmaster, Edgar Priest (1878-1935).

The George C. Stebbins Memorial Collection of gospel-song material consists of over 1200 hymnals and tunebooks largely of American imprint, dating from the mid-eighteenth century, especially centered around the Moody and Sankey movement. It contains a complete file of the compositions of P. P. Bliss (1838-1876) and of George C. Stebbins (1846-1945). Included also are over a hundred notebooks in which Stebbins had pasted separate copies of individual gospel-songs in alphabetical order, culled from songbooks published during his long lifetime. The George C. Stebbins Memorial Collection was compiled by the Rev. J. B. Clayton, D.D. and presented by him to the Cathedral Library in 1930, with additions made from time to time until 1949.

The following check-list contains entries for all of the holdings in the Douglas Collection, and therefore all of the holdings of Washington Cathedral Library in hymnology and music with the following exceptions: Secular music, music theory, choral music, and organ music have been omitted. The gospel-songbooks of the George C. Stebbins Memorial Collection are not included, although a few gospel-songbooks which were owned by Canon Douglas are listed. For ease of reference, the check-list has been arranged in the following groups:

I. Hymnals, with or without music, including metrical Psalters. Those without music are indicated by the sign §.

II. Psalters, for chanting the Psalms.

III. Works on hymnology and church music.

IV. Chant and tune books containing no more than the first stanzas of hymns.

V. Works on liturgics.

VI. Plainsong studies.

VII. Plainsong editions.

I. HYMNALS.

[A., W.E.][27] *Sunday School Hymns,* compiled by a presbyter of the diocese of Michigan. New York, 1867. § [28]

Abbott, Lyman, ed. *The Plymouth Hymnal.* New York, 1893.

Adam of St. Victor. *The Liturgical Poetry. . .* [tr.] by Digby S. Wrangham. London, 1881. 3 v. §
——— *Les proses. . .* Texte et musique, précédées d'une étude critique par l'abbé E. Misset et Pierre Aubry. Paris, 1900. *(Mélanges de musicologie critique)*

The Additional and Selected Hymns, from "Hymns Ancient and Modern," and "Hymns for Church and Home," prepared at the request of several of the bishops. . . New York, 1869. §
——— New York, 1870. §

Alexander, Cecil Frances. *Hymns for Little Children.* 2nd edition. London, 1848. §
——— ——— 58th edition. London, 1880. §
——— *Narrative Hymns for Village Schools.* 6th edition. London, 1861. §

Alexander, Juliette, comp. *Sacred Songs for Church and Home.* New York, 1923.

Alford, Henry, ed. *The Year of Praise; being hymns, with tunes, for the Sundays and holidays of the year, intended for use in Canterbury Cathedral. . .* London, 1867.

The Altar Hymnal. London, 1884. §

American Tract Society. *Songs of Zion, a manual of the best and most popular hymns and tunes for social and private devotion.* New York [1851]

Anjou, N. E., ed. *Folkskolans Koral-psalmbok eller Svenska Psalmboken af konungen gillad och stadfäst ar 1819. . .* Sjette upplagan. Stockholm [1894]

Augustana Synod, Lutheran Church. *Kyrko-Handbok.* Rock Island, Ill., 1895.

Baden Gesangbuch. *Gesangbuch für die Evangelische-Protestantische Kirche des Grossherzogtums Baden.* Achte Auflage. Lahr, 1903.

Barbauld, Anna Laetitia. *Barbauld's Hymns in Rhyme, for Young Children.* London, 1838. §

Barlow, J. Herbert, ed. *The Bach Chorale Book, a collection of hymns set exclusively to chorales harmonized by J. S. Bach.* New York [1922]

Barlow, Joel, ed. *Doctor Watt's Imitation of the Psalms of David, corrected and enlarged, to which is added a collection of hymns. . .* 4th edition. Hartford [1785] §

Basilian Fathers, comp. *St. Basil's Hymnal. Revised edition. An extensive collection of English and Latin hymns. . .* Chicago [1918]
——— ——— 32nd edition. Denver [1925]
——— ——— 38th edition. 1935.

The Bay Psalm Book, being a facsimile reprint of the first edition, printed by Stephen Daye at Cambridge, in New England in 1640. Prepared for the New England Society in the City of New York [1903] §

Baynes, Robert H., comp. *Lyra Anglicana; hymns and sacred songs.* 48th thousand. London, 1870. §
——— ——— 66th thousand. London, 1879.

Beecher, Henry Ward, ed. *Plymouth Collection of Hymns and Tunes; for the use of Christian congregations.* New York, 1855.

The Believers' Hymn Book. [T.p. missing.] §

Belknap, Jeremy, ed. *Sacred Poetry, consisting of Psalms and Hymns. . .* A new edition, with additional hymns. Boston, 1817.

Benedict, Erastus C., tr. *The Hymn of Hildebert and Other Mediaeval Hymns, with translations.* New York, 1867. §

Benson, Louis F. *The Best Church Hymns.* Philadelphia, 1899.
——— *Hymns, original and translated, set to the music of various composers.* Philadelphia, 1925.

Bickersteth, Edward Henry. *From Year to Year; poems and hymns.* 3rd edition. London, 1895 §

Billings, William. *The Continental Harmony.* Boston, 1794.
——— *The Singing Master's Assistant.* Boston, 1778. [t.p. missing]

Bliss, P. P. *Sunshine for Sunday-schools.* Cincinnati, 1873.

Boisen, Anton T. & Cecil Michener Smith. *Hymns of Hope and Courage. . .* a revised edition of *Lift up your Hearts.* Boston [1931]

Bonar, Horatius, ed. *Lyra Consolationis.* New York, 1866. §

A Book of Hymns for Public and Private Devotion. 11th edition. Boston, 1859. §

Borthwick, Jane Laurie. *Hymns from the Land of Luther.* 11th thousand. Edinburgh [n.d.] §
——— ——— New York, 1857. §

Boston Academy of Music. *The Boston Academy's Collection of Church Music.* Boston, 1836? [Title page, p. 1-6, missing]

Bradford, Yorkshire. College Chapel. *Appendix to the Bristol Tune-Book, compiled for the special use of the choir and congregation of College Chapel.* [Bradford, 1872]

Bramley, Henry Ramsden, ed. *Christmas Carols New and Old . . . the music edited by John Stainer.* London [n.d.]

Bridges, Robert, ed. *The Small Hymn Book; the word-book of the Yattendon Hymnal* [n.p.] 1899. §
——— ——— Oxford. 1914. §

Bridges, Robert & H. Ellis Wooldridge, ed. *Hymns. The Yattendon Hymnal.* London, 1920.

Briggs, G. W., Percy Dearmer, [et al.] ed. *The Daily Service. Prayers and hymns for schools.* (Revised edition). London, 1947.

Bright, William. *Hymns and Other Poems.* London, 1866. §

Brock, Mrs. Carey, *The Children's Hymn Book . . . published under the revision of the Right Rev. W. Walsham How . . . with accompanying tunes.* London [n.d.]

Brooks, Murray & Helen Morton, ed. *Hymns for Worship.* Prepared for the Council of North American Student Christian Movements of the World's Student Christian Federation. New York, 1939.

Brown-Borthwick, Robert. *Hymn Tunes, with their words.* London, 1885.
——— ed. *The Supplemental Hymn and Tune Book* (with new appendix) 4th edition. London [n.d.]

Brownlie, John. *Hymns from the East, being centos and suggestions from the service books of the Holy Eastern Church.* Paisley, 1907. §
——— *Hymns from the Greek Office Books, together with centos and suggestions.* Paisley, 1904. §
——— *Hymns of the Apostolic Church, being centos and suggestions from the service books of the Holy Eastern Church* (fifth series) Paisley, 1909. §
——— tr. *Hymns of the Greek Church.* Edinburgh, 1900. §
——— tr. *Hymns of the Russian Church.* London, 1920. §
——— tr. *Hymns of the Holy Eastern Church.* Paisley, 1902. §

Buchanan, Alice L., ed. *Hymns of the Widening Kingdom. This edition printed for the 11th quadrennial convention of the Student Volunteer Movement, Buffalo, N. Y., Dec. 30, 1931, to Jan. 3, 1932.* New York [1931]

Burrows, Lansing, ed. *The Baptist Hymn and Praise Book.* Nashville [1904]

[Bury, Charles, ed.] *A Musical Psalter; containing fifty sacred songs.* London, 1861.

Butts, Thomas, comp. *Harmonia Sacra, or, a choice collection of Psalm and hymn tunes.* [3rd edition? London, 1776?]

Byström, O. *Ur Medeltidens Kyrkosang i Sverige; Sekvenser, Antifoner och Hymner.* Stockholm, 1900.

Calvinistic Methodist Church of the U.S.A. *Can a mawl. Song and praise . . . Hymnal* [n.p. 1918]

Cambridge, Ada. *Hymns on the Holy Communion . . . from the last London edition.* New York, 1866. §

Carden, Allen D., comp. *The Missouri Harmony; or a collection of Psalm and hymn tunes* . . . Cincinnati, 1848.

Carols for Christmas and Epiphany, words and music, traditional and modern; the modern by well known authors and composers. London [1886]

Caswall, Edward, tr. *Lyra Catholica: containing all the Breviary and Missal hymns.* London, 1849. §

Catholic Congress. *Hymns for use at the Catholic Congress.* [n.p.] 1927-1933, 2 v. §

Chamberlain, T., ed. *Hymns: chiefly for the minor festivals.* London, 1863. §

Chambers, John David, tr. *Lauda Syon, ancient Latin hymns of the English and other churches.* Part I. London, 1857. §
——— ——— 2nd edition. London, 1866. §
——— ——— Part II. London, 1866. §

Chandler, John, tr. *The Hymns of the Primitive Church.* London, 1837. §

Chapel Hymns and Services. Boston, 1923.

Chetham, John. *A new and enlarged edition of Cheetham's* [!] *Psalmody, harmonized in score; with an arrangement for the organ or pianoforte, by J. Houldsworth . . . with a supplement by Dr. Roberts.* London [n.d.]

Chope, R. R., ed. *Carols for use in Church . . . music edited by* Herbert Stephen Irons. London [1875]

Choralbuch—die evangelische Kirche in Würtemberg-Stuttgart. 1876.

The Chorister's Companion, containing, besides the necessary rules of Psalmody, a choice and valuable collection of Psalm-tunes, hymns and anthems, from the most celebrated ancient and modern authors; together with several tunes never before published. The second edition, corrected and enlarged. New Haven [1788]

The Christian Science Hymnal. Boston, 1910.

Christian Worship; a hymnal [prepared by a joint committee of the Northern Baptist Convention and Disciples of Christ] Philadelphia, 1941.

The Christian Year; thoughts in verse for the Sundays and holydays throughout the year. The 75th edition. Oxford, 1863. §

Church Hymns and Services. Fond du Lac, Wis., 1934.

Church of England in Canada. *The Book of Common Praise.* Sir George C. Martin, ed. Oxford, 1909.
——— ——— Annotated edition compiled by James Edmund Jones. Toronto, 1909. §
——— ——— Revised. Oxford, 1938.
——— ——— ——— Annotated edition compiled by James Edmund Jones. Oxford, 1939. §

Church of England Sunday School Institute. *A Liturgy for Church Sunday Schools* [and] *The Church Sunday School Hymn Book.* London, 1868. §

Church of Scotland [and other British Presbyterian bodies] *The Church Hymnary.* Revised edition with music. London, 1927.
——— *The Scottish Hymnal. Hymns for Public Worship.* Edinburgh [18—] §
——— *The Scottish Mission Hymn Book.* Edinburgh, 1912.

Church Psalmody—Psalms and Hymns. Boston, 1843.

Churches of Christ in Great Britain. *The Christian Hymnary, revised.* Birmingham, 1938. §

The Churchman's Hymn-Book, a collection of hymns old and new for use in the services of the church. Philadelphia, 1874. §

The Clarendon Hymn Book. London, 1936.

Coles, Abraham. *Psalms in English Verse.* [n.p.] 1888. §

A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, for social and private worship. 2nd edition. New York, 1822. §

Companions of the Holy Cross. *Hymnal of the Society* . . . South Byfield, Mass., 1918.

Congregational Church Music: a book for the service of song in the house of the Lord. With a preface by the Rev. T. Binney. Enlarged edition—instrumental score. London [1859]
——— ——— Part I. *General Psalmody.* London [1853]

Cooke, William & Benjamin Webb. *The Hymnary, a Book of Church Song.* London, 1871. §
——— ——— 2nd music edition by Joseph Barnby. London [n.d.]
——— ——— ——— 10th thousand. London [n.d.]
——— ——— ——— [oversize edition for organ. London, n.d.]

Coonley, Levi K., comp. *The Hymns of Progress.* Boston, 1864. §

Cooper, Joseph Thomas, ed. *The Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer, with accompanying tunes* [2nd edition] London, 1875.
——— ——— Revised and enlarged edition. London [1877]
——— ——— Organ edition, London, 1877.

Copeland, William J., tr. *Hymns for the Week, and Hymns for the Season, translated from the Latin.* London, 1848. §

Costellow, Thomas, ed. *Sunday's Amusement, a selection of sacred music, as sung at Bedford Chapel* . . . London [1805]

Council of North American Student Christian Movements. *Hymns for Worship.* New York, 1939.

Cox, Frances Elizabeth, tr. *Hymns from the German,* 2nd edition, revised and enlarged. London, 1864. §

Crawford, William H., ed. *A School Service Book.* New York, 1939.

Crüger, Johann. *Praxis Pietatis Melica.* Berlin, 1656.

[D., W. J.] *Lyra Sanctorum. Lays for the minor festivals of the English church.* London, 1850. §

A Daily Hymn Book. Accompaniments. London, 1932.

Daniel, Herm. Adalbert. *Thesaurus Hymnologicus, sive, hymnorum canticorum sequentiarum circa annum MD usitatarum collectio amplissima.* Tomus primus, Halle, 1841.

Daniels, Louis E., ed. *Songs of Praise for America, a hymn supplement for all churches, including a short Psalter with canticles simply pointed.* New York, 1938.

Davies, Henry Walford, ed. *Hymns of Western Europe, selected and edited by H. Walford Davies, W. H. Hadow, R. R. Terry.* London, 1927.

——— *A Students' Hymnal for Use in Schools & Colleges . . . for the National Council of Music in Wales and the Welsh County Schools Association:* Harmonized edition. London, 1923.

Davis, William Vail & Raymond Calkins. *Hymns of the Church, new and old.* New York, 1912.

Dawson, W. J., ed. *The American Hymnal.* New York, 1913.

Dearmer, Percy, with R. Vaughan Williams & Martin Shaw. *The Oxford Book of Carols.* London, 1928.

Dearmer, Percy, ed. *Songs of Praise.* London, 1925.
——— ——— Enlarged edition. London, 1931.

Detty, Victor Charles. *P. P. Bliss, July 9, 1838—December 29, 1876; a centennial sketch . . . with selected gospel hymns.* Wysox, Pa., 1938.

Deutsches Evangelisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch. In 15- Kernliedern. Stuttgart, 1884.

Devotional Hymns. [n.p.,n.d.] §

Di Sano, Carmelo, ed. *Inni e cantici per tutte le feste dell' anno.* New York [n.d.] §

Dodd, Ira S. & Lindsay B. Longacre. *The Riverdale Hymn Book.* New York [1912]

Doddridge, P. *Hymns, founded on various texts in the Holy Scriptures. Published from the author's manuscript, by Job Orton.* London, 1817. §

The Dominical Vesper Hymnal (plainsong) [compiled for the use of Saint Saviour's Church] Old Greenwich, Conn., 1932.

Donahoe, Daniel Joseph, tr. *Early Christian Hymns, translations of the verses of the most notable Latin writers of the early and middle ages.* New York, 1908. §

Dulles, John W. & Theodore F. Seward. *Westminster Sabbath-School Hymnal.* Philadelphia [1883]

The English Hymnal with tunes. Oxford, 1906.
——— ——— Treble part. London, 1933.
——— ——— London [1906] §

Ephraim the Syrian, Saint. *Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus. Translated from the original Syriac . . . by Henry Burgess.* London, 1853. §

Evangelical Association. *Gesangbuch der Evangelischen Gemeinschaft für offentlichen und hauslichen Gottesdienst.* Cleveland, 1912.

Evangelical Lutheran Church. *Hymns, selected and original for public and private worship.* 37th edition (8th edition with the Appendix) Baltimore, 1845. §
——— *A Collection of Hymns, and a Liturgy for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches.* Philadelphia, 1817. §

Evangelical Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania. *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung . . .* Dritte Auflage. Germantown, 1803.

Evangelical Lutheran Hymnbook with tunes. Edition of 1930. St. Louis [n.d.]

Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of N. A. *The Lutheran Hymnal.* [W. G. Polack, chairman] St. Louis [1941]

Everett, Grace Morrison. *Hymn Treasures.* Cincinnati, 1905.

Excell, Edwin Othello. *Coronation Hymns for the Church and Sunday-school.* Chicago, 1910.

Faber, Frederick William. *Hymns.* 2nd edition. London, 1871. §
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NOTES

[1] The monastic "Hours" are the daily services or choir offices sung or said in the chapels of monastic communities since the early Middle Ages. Theoretically they came at three hour intervals throughout the day and night, but in practice several offices are often combined. In the 16th century, the Anglican Church combined the eight offices into the two daily services of Morning and Evening Prayer. The use of the names of these monastic hours or offices as chapter headings follows an outline jotted down by Canon Douglas in the late 1930s, after Oxford University Press had suggested his writing an autobiography. Nocturn I and II are the two parts of Matins, the midnight office.

[2] Charles H. J. Douglas, *A Collection of Family Records,* 1879.

[3] *Proceedings of the Educational Convention held at Oswego . . .* 1862; Andrew Phillip Hollis, *The Contribution of the Oswego Normal School,* 1898.

[4] Quoted in *St. Mary's Messenger,* XLV (March, 1944), 146-7.

[5] An article about her library, by Mildred A. Kenney, "Upon a rock", is in *The Library Journal,* LX (1935), 507-8. Her obituary is in *The Library Journal,* LXI (1936), 69.

[6] Presumably the first of many subsequent contacts with the American Indian.

[7] Nothing more is known of this work.

[8] Years later published in his *Midnight Mass, poems and translations* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1933) dedicated "to the revered memory of Frederic Dan Huntington, Bishop, for whom the earliest of these poems was written."

[9] Arthur L. Evans, *Fifty Years of Football at Syracuse University,* 1939, p. 13. Douglas may be seen in the group pictures of the teams for 1890 and 1891.

[10] A perpetual deacon is one who, having been ordained to the first or lowest of the Holy Orders, deliberately remains in that order for reasons of service rather than advancing to the priesthood after the customary probationary year.

[11] From this bedside meeting, there grew a lifelong friendship and cooperation. Irving P. Johnson became Bishop Coadjutor of Colorado in 1917, diocesan the following year, and served as its Bishop until his death in 1938.

[12] Described in volume two of Alfred L. Donaldson, *History of the Adirondacks,* 1921.

[13] Gibbs had been delegated by the monks to meet the young Anglican priest and escort him to the monastery. In 1934, Gibbs took over Canon Douglas' classes at Union Theological Seminary when Dr. Jo's illness compelled him to remain in Colorado.

[14] The Community of St. Mary is the oldest of the 13 monastic communities for women in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Founded in 1865, it maintains two convents and ten branch houses, the latter consisting of schools, retreat houses, homes and hospitals for children. A detailed description of the life and work of the Community may be found in *Religious Communities in the American Episcopal Church,* compiled by the Poor Clares of Reparation and Adoration (West Park, N. Y., Holy Cross Press, 1945).

[15] The process is described in his article, "Plainsong at Peekskill", *The Catholic Choirmaster,* XII (1926), 10.

[16] *St. Mary's Messenger,* XIII (1912)

[17] Nampeyo was one of the famous women pottery makers. Her work has since become almost priceless.

[18] Cf. his obituary in *The Explorers Journal,* XXIII (1945), 9-10.

[19] Joint Commission in the sense that membership is from both the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies, comparable to Joint Committees of the United States Congress.

[20] *St. Mary's Messenger,* XLV (1944), 148.

[21] Cf. p. 14.

[22] Virgil Douglas, years earlier, had told his son that he had named him "Winfred" because it meant "Peace-maker".

[23] The basic problem is discussed in the columns of *The Living Church,* LXXII (November 22, 1924) through LXXIII (May 30, 1925).

[24] Chant no. 609 in *The Hymnal 1940.*

[25] *The Hymnal 1940 Companion,* p. 422. Its frontispiece reproduces the portrait of Canon Douglas by the Sister Mary Veronica, C.S.M.

[26] His entire library came to Washington with the exception of some examples of fine printing, publications of private presses, which are in the Charles Winfred Douglas—Frederic H. Douglas Special Collections Room in the Denver Public Library. Other gifts were made during his last years to various institutions of Denver which could profit from the results of his manifold interests:

The Denver Art Museum received his articles of Indian art and craft, forming the basis of their famous collection. It also received a large collection of Japanese prints.

The Mary Reed Library of Denver University received a collection of Igorot weaving, gathered during the trip to the Orient in 1925, and a large collection of poetry.

The Denver Public Library in 1939 received the volumes on opera and symphony which Canon Douglas had used in writing program notes for the Denver Symphony Orchestra. Its Western Room received a collection of original survey maps of the West.

[27] Brackets, [ ], are placed around all information not found on the title-pages.

[28] Collections marked § contain words only.

[29] Prose psalters pointed for chanting only. Metrical psalters were included in Section I with the hymnals.

[30] The editions of Canon Douglas, listed earlier with his works, are not repeated here. Principal liturgical collections are entered directly under their form, e.g. Antiphonary, without regard as to which denomination they are fitted.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The Rev. Leonard Ellinwood was born in Thomaston, Conn. He attended the public schools of Littleton, N. H.; Aurora College, B.A.; Eastman School of Music, M.Mus., Ph.D. He taught instrumental music in the West Aurora (Ill.) Public Schools, 1925-7, and at Mount Hermon School, 1927-32. He was a Fellow of Eastman School, 1933-6, then instructor in musicology at Michigan State College, 1936-9. Since 1940, he has been a subject cataloger in the Library of Congress and a contratenor in the Washington Cathedral choir. Ordained deacon by Bp. Dun in 1948, he has since been assistant minister at the Cathedral. He is author of numerous articles on mediaeval and church music, *Musica Hermanni Contracti, The Works of Francesco Landini, The History of American Church Music,* and is currently chairman of the Hymn Society's committee on the projected *Dictionary of American Hymnology.*

Anne Woodward Douglas was born in Leadville, Colorado, where she attended public schools before going to the Walnut Hill School for Girls, Natick, Mass., and Wellesley College, A.B. She did banking and legal secretarial work, 1918-25, then was secretary to successive bishops of Colorado until her marriage to Canon Douglas. (See p. 27) She was executive secretary of the Evergreen Conference, 1931-46, president of its board of trustees since 1946. In the Woman's Auxiliary of the Episcopal Church she has served as Colorado diocesan secretary, 1944-7, president, 1948-54, provincial secretary, 1949-55, provincial vice-president, 1955-7, and a member of the national executive board since 1955. She was a delegate to the Anglican Congress of 1954. She has been a member of the board of directors of the Denver Symphony Guild since 1945, its president, 1951-3; treasurer of the Denver Chamber Music Society since 1954; treasurer, 1938-40, and secretary, 1944-8, of the Denver branch of the American Association of University Women; also a member of the board of directors of the Women's Committee of the Denver Art Museum.

A decade ago, Mrs. Douglas and Dr. Ellinwood collaborated in the preparation of *The Hymnal 1940 Companion* for the Episcopal Church.

The Committee on the Papers of the Hymn Society
of America

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THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

JAMES RAWLINGS SYDNOR, *Editor*

XXIV

ADDRESSES AT THE INTERNATIONAL HYMNOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

September 10-11, 1961 New York City

THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA
NEW YORK CITY
1962

On September 10-11, 1961 in New York City, an International Hymnological Conference was held under the sponsorship of The Hymn Society of America and the Department of Worship and the Arts of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America. This was the first International Hymnological Conference to be held in America, and the second such gathering, the first having met in Lüdenscheid, Germany, in September 1959.

In addition to an organ recital of hymn preludes, a hymn festival, and a choral concert, five papers were read. Four of the papers are included in these covers:

William Billings: His Psalm and Hymn Tunes by Charles L. Atkins, Minister, First Congregational Church, Eliot, Maine.

The Negro Spiritual by John W. Work, Professor of Music and former Director of the Jubilee Singers, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Twentieth Century Hymnody in the United States by James Rawlings Sydnor, Professor of Church Music, Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond, Virginia.

Aspects of American Catholic Hymnody by J. Vincent Higginson, Organist and Choirmaster, St. Sylvester's Roman Catholic Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., and Managing Editor, *Catholic Choirmaster.*

The fifth paper is *The Roots of German Hymnody of the Reformation Era* by Konrad Ameln, Chairman, International Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Hymnologie, and Editor, *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie,* Lüdenscheid, Westphalia, Germany. This paper, together with the musical examples, is being published separately by Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Missouri.

The Committee on the Papers of The Hymn Society of America

RUTH ELLIS MESSENGER
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NANCY WHITE THOMAS
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WILLIAM BILLINGS: HIS PSALM AND HYMN TUNES

CHARLES L. ATKINS

When the English emigrants settled on the New England shore in the seventeenth century, they brought with them the psalm books they had been using in their home churches. Psalm books they were, too, for Separatist and Churchman alike rejected hymns of human composure. The Independents, who had lived a few years in Holland and now settled Plymouth Colony, brought with them Ainsworth's *Psalms,* first printed in Amsterdam in 1612. Ainsworth had set tunes to his version, using melodies from the Genevan Psalter. The Church of England settlers, who established themselves around Massachusetts Bay, brought the *Old Version* of Sternhold and Hopkins, having for music at least the setting of Ravenscroft, 1621. Both of these books were good, Ravenscroft's lacking the rhythmic variety of Ainsworth but possessing a fine set of harmonizations. It is to be presumed that both groups had competent practitioners of the musical art on their arrival on these shores; indeed, the Plymouth Separatists were specifically commended for their fine singing.

But the hardships of pioneering in a difficult and alien terrain, added to the ecclesiastical problems involved in the conflict between Establishment and Independents, caused the arts to languish, perhaps music particularly. The deterioration was speeded up by the practice of lining-out, or "deaconing" the psalms, so that in less than a century from the first settlement, church music was almost inconceivably bad. By this time the colonists' own translation, commonly called the *Bay Psalm Book,* was in almost universal use. That volume carried no tunes until 1698 when thirteen tunes were included, mostly of the one-note, one-syllable, equal-length variety. These were no doubt the survivors of two or three generations of music led by deacons chosen for their piety and not for their musical ability. Of the latter, too many had none whatever. Sometimes the deacon would simply name the tune the congregation was to try to sing, then read the words, leaving the rest to chance. Others would line out by singing the tune. The result was almost complete chaos, different members of the congregation singing at quite different tempos, starting on any note that struck the singer's fancy. Then, too, there was such uncertainty that one man might be singing the tune of YORK while his neighbor was doing his best with ST. DAVID'S. The Rev. Thomas Walters of Roxbury, one of the early reformers of church music, said, in the Introduction of his book *The Ground and Rules of Music,* that the singing in country congregations, with quavering and turns *ad libitum,* sounded like "five hundred different tunes roared out at the same time whose perpetual interfearings with one another, perplexed Jars and unmeasured periods would make a man wonder at the false pleasure."

Early in the eighteenth century, active steps were taken to improve the psalmody, with the Rev. Thomas Symmes of Bradford daringly attacking the old custom and the Rev. John Tufts of Newbury preparing not only a treatise on how the tunes should be sung, but also a selection of tunes in an interesting notation that he thought would be easier for an uninstructed layman to read. His book was kept in print through various editions for forty years and may well be one of the volumes read by a young tanner's apprentice named Billings.

A few years after Tufts, the Rev. Mr. Walter in his *Ground and Rules* included a number of tunes which he hoped would lead New Englanders into better musical ways. His book also was kept in print for many years.

While Tufts and Walter were still being issued, various others printed small collections of tunes, mostly to be bound up with the words as added supplements. The Rev. John Barnard of Marblehead made his own translation of the psalms and added a selection of forty-nine tunes. Thomas Johnston, a printer and engraver, prepared selections that might be bound up with anyone's book. In the 1760's Daniel Bayley of Newburyport issued several reprints of books of music currently popular in England, notably those of Aaron Williams and William Tans'ur, and printed a little selection of his own called *The Psalm-Singer's Assistant.* There can be little doubt, too, that English copies of current books were imported into Boston, for examples of the tunes of J. Arnold and William Knapp and others are found in the earliest American books. The young tanner probably had access to these, for he quotes from Arnold and Tans'ur in one of his books.

By 1764, Josiah Flagg of Boston felt the time ripe for the producing of an American book of psalm tunes, not merely a supplement or a reprint, but, like Lyon's *Urania,* from Philadelphia, a straight out-and-out book of music by an American for Americans. He was handicapped by a lack of American composers and apologizes in his Introduction. "It is hoped," he said, "it will not diminish the Value of this Book in the Estimation of any, but may in some Degree recommend it even to those who have no particular relish for Musick, That however we are oblig'd to the other Side of the Atlantick *chiefly,* for our Tunes, the Paper on which they are printed is the Manufacture of our own Country." This patriotic book was engraved by Paul Revere. Flagg's use of the word "chiefly" has led some to believe that some of the tunes in his collection are of American composition, and it may be so, but none has been so identified.

George Whitefield, an English revivalist, had conducted meetings in the colonies in the 1750's which stirred great multitudes, and one of the chief means of promoting the gospel was by song. They sang hymns, not psalms, using the work of Isaac Watts, whose very psalm transcriptions had a swing to them that the *Bay Psalm Book* never had. These hymns demanded lively new tunes, with slurs and turns and several notes to a syllable. The still-popular tune of ST. MARTIN'S, for instance, was composed by William Tans'ur in 1740 and Flagg used it in his Collection.

So by 1770 church singing in New England was in a state of utter confusion. There were old conservative churches that still lined out their psalms, against vociferous protests from the younger members; there were the daring churches that not only sang hymns but set aside seats in the gallery for the singers and used musical instruments to set the pitch. In these latter churches there were aged deacons who still tried to set the psalms and wept literal tears of frustration when the congregation irresistibly overran their feeble attempts. It was time for a catalyst.

The catalyst came in 1770 in the person of William Billings.

William Billings was born in Boston in 1746 and lived there all his life. After a brief spell of common school education he was apprenticed to a tanner and apparently carried on that trade to at least a journeyman's status. He married twice, his second wife being one of the singers in a school Billings conducted in Stoughton, a village southeast of Boston. His interest in music began early, and the story goes that his earliest tunes were marked with chalk upon the wall of the tannery where he worked. With his second wife he had eight children, of whom six survived. He died in poverty in 1800 and lies in an unmarked grave in the little burying ground on Boston Common.

It is not known just when Billings began to interest others in his consuming passion, but he must have been a very young man for his first book was published when he was only twenty-four years old and he says in the preface that its printing was only determined on after he had been "repeatedly importuned by [his] friends" to make the tunes available to the public. The Rev. William Bentley of Salem comments at the time of Billings' death in 1800 that thirty years before he had "the direction of all the music of our churches." Billings also apologizes for an eighteen months' delay in the appearance of the book, stating that he was waiting to get American-made paper. That means that at twenty-two he had been pressured to have his work published.

This first book was *The New England Psalm-Singer, or American Chorister,* printed in Boston in 1770 by Edes and Gill and engraved by Paul Revere. It contains 119 psalm tunes, of which ninety-four were not repeated in any of his later books. In the preface of his next book, *The Singing Master's Assistant,* he gives what may be the reason for this drastic weeding-out process. He says: "Kind reader, no doubt you will remember that about ten years ago I published a book entitled *The New England Psalm-Singer;* and truly a most masterful performance I then thought it to be. How lavish I was of encomium on this my infant production! 'Welcome, thrice welcome, thou legitimate offspring of my brain. Go forth, little book, go forth and immortalize the name of your author; may your sale be rapid and may you speedily run through ten thousand editions.' But to my great mortification I soon discovered that many pieces were never worth my printing or your inspection."

This volume carries a frontispiece which depicts a group of seven singers around a table on which lie music books, some open and some closed. Around the whole is what Billings calls "A Canon of 6 in one with a ground. The words by the Rev'd Dr. Byles. . . ." The late Professor MacDougall of Wellesley College thinks this canon would be very monotonous. The words by Dr. Byles are:

Wake ev'ry breath & ev'ry string,
To bless the great Redeemer King;
His Name thro' ev'ry Clime ador'd,
Let Joy & Gratitude and Love
Thro' all the Notes of Music sound,
And JESUS sound on ev'ry Chord.

Though Billings felt thus apologetic about the great majority of the tunes in this book, a few of them were among those which continued long in use. Such tunes as AFRICA, CM; AMHERST, HM; BROOKFIELD, LM; and above all, CHESTER, LM, were sung well into the next century, especially in collections of old songs, such as *Ancient Harmony Revived,* 1855, and the "Old Folks' Department" of other tune books.

Following the publication of his first book, Billings seems to have continued in his dual capacity of tanner and music director; now as the tunes bubbled up in his mind he chalked them on pieces of finished leather rather than the wall which had to suffice at an earlier time. In 1774 he is known to have conducted a school at Stoughton, and there is proof of his connection with at least the Brattle Street Church and the Old South Church. In 1790 a benefit concert of music was conducted for the musician, now in reduced circumstances. This benefit was held in the Stone Chapel, today called Kings' Chapel.

It is said that William Billings had a powerful bass voice which he used to capacity, a practice which did not endear him to his neighbors. This may account for his partiality to the bass part of his psalm tunes and anthems and may be the reason for his suggestion that in any chorus of forty voices, at least twenty should be bass for they provide the basic essentials of all singing. The melodic line of many of his tunes is also of interest. Concerning the effect of his singing upon his neighbors, it is said that a swinging sign before his place of business carried the words "Billings' Music" and that on one occasion two cats were suspended by their tails from this sign, their caterwauling giving the pranksters' idea of how "Billings' Music" sounded in other ears.

As has been suggested, Billings was very patriotic. He composed the words as well as the music for the tune CHESTER, which had one stanza only in 1770:

Let tyrants shake their iron rod,
And slav'ry clank her galling chains,
We fear them not; we trust on God,
New England's God forever reigns.

The preface to the *Stoughton Collection* tells how CHESTER became the rallying song of the Revolution, and "had often awoke the echoes of night and revived the patriotism so severely taxed." Of course, the one stanza was not enough and others were added; when we cannot know, but four more appeared in *The Singing Masters' Assistant,* 1778.

Howe and Burgoyne and Clinton, too,
With Prescott and Cornwallis join'd;
Together plot our overthrow
In one infernal league combin'd.

When God inspir'd us for the fight,
Their ranks were broke, their lines were forc'd,
Their ships were shattered in our sight,
Or swiftly driven from our coast.

The foe comes on with haughty stride,
Our troops advanc'd with martial noise;
Their Vet'rans flee before our Youth,
And Gen'rals yield to beardless boys.

What grateful off'ring shall we bring?
What shall we render to the Lord?
Loud hallelujahs let us sing,
And praise His name on ev'ry chord.

His "Lamentation over Boston," also from *The Singing Masters' Assistant,* would seem to have been written somewhat earlier than the last stanza of CHESTER, when the British were occupying Boston and vicinity and American Tories were siding with the redcoats. It is an imitation of the 137th Psalm.

> "By the rivers of Watertown we sat down and wept; we wept when we remembered thee, O Boston. Forbid it Lord that those who have suck'd Bostonian breasts should thirst for American blood. . . . If ever I forget thee . . . yes, if ever I do not remember thee . . . . . let harmony be banish'd hence, and consonance depart. Let dissonance erect her throne and reign within my breast."

And lest we think this unduly chauvinistic, let us remember that at this same time in England Charles Wesley was calling down maledictions upon American heads with equal fervor if somewhat less naïveté. A love of country and hatred of oppression are common to every nation and every tongue.

The second volume of church music issued by Billings was *The Singing Master's Assistant,* the edition used in preparing this paper, dated 1778. Professor MacDougall says there were also editions in 1779 and 1781. There were sixty-four named tunes of which several were anthems and one, JARGON, a bitter joke. Among tunes new in this book which attained some popularity were AURORA, a fuge tune;[1] DAVID'S LAMENTATION, really a short anthem; MAJESTY, an exuberant Common Meter tune to Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalm 19 and kept in common use for more than a century, even today appearing in standard books; and SAVANNAH, called Long Meter by Billings but really 8s D Anapaestic. Slightly revised and called UNION HYMN, it carried a hymn by Thomas Baldwin, a Boston Baptist preacher, "From whence doth this union arise?"

William Billings was not altogether prepossessing in physical appearance, according to the meager contemporary reports we have. Dr. Bentley of Salem in a note made in his Diary a day or two after Billings' death describes him as of "moderate size, short of one leg, with one eye, without any address and with uncommon negligence of person. But in spite of these defects he remained in popular esteem as a music leader and continued to publish books of tunes, fuges and anthems."

Music in Miniature is a small paper-bound volume, apparently intended to be bound up with psalm or hymn books, as had been several other selections of tunes. The fact that he included eleven popular tunes of the time (among them ST. MARTIN'S) among his own contributions lends color to this thought. Even so, with the smallness of the page (two and a half inches wide by six inches tall) and the large number of tunes (seventy-four), the music is so very difficult to read that it is questionable whether it could have had any large practical use. Of the original tunes in *Music in Miniature,* only PARIS attained any great success.

The remaining three volumes of Billings' music were the *Psalm Singer's Amusement,* 1781; *Suffolk Harmony,* 1786; and *The Continental Harmony,* 1794, the last being printed from music type by Isaiah Thomas of Boston. Each book had several originals, and at least one from each volume attained some popularity. EMMANUEL, from *Psalm Singer's Amusement,* was set to a widely used Christmas song, "As shepherds in Jewry were guarding their sheep." Billings may be the author of the words as well as the music; they appear in many books of a later date but, so far as I have been able to discover, in none earlier.

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[1] Here the spelling of "fuge" consistently follows that of the composers. Dr. Leonard Ellinwood's suggestion that a "fuge" and a "fugue" are quite different matters has appeal.

From *Suffolk Harmony* come JORDAN, CMD, perhaps more widely used than any other single tune of the composer. WEST SUDBURY, a Short Meter tune from *The Continental Harmony* having only the deep voices singing "Tho' death should lay him low," attained some later use.

The closing years of Billings' life are obscure. After his death in 1800, Dr. Bentley says, "He died poor and neglected and perhaps did too much neglect himself." Not only is his grave unmarked, but Boston has no plaque or monument to honor her first vivid native composer.

With the exception of a handful of psalm tunes and perhaps an equal number of anthems, the music of William Billings rapidly disappeared from popular collections. After the turn of the century a group of American musicians cast scorn upon the fuging tune and all that they were pleased to call the ignorance and crudity of the whole school of exuberance. Samuel Holyoke is perhaps the foremost composer representative of this school, and he issued several volumes. His massive *Columbian Repository*, perhaps physically the largest such book ever issued, appeared in 1802 and is almost as vast in its dullness as in its size. In a total of 734 tunes he included five by Billings, none, of course, a fuging tune, although JORDAN does have a duet in the middle part.

But the vogue of the native composer was passing, and collections of English tunes took their place. The *Bridgewater Collection,* later called the *Templi Carmina,* consisted nearly altogether if not wholly of importations, and this collection, whose first edition appeared in 1802, ran through many editions until 1839. In 1805, Timothy Olmsted of Hartford, Connecticut, issued his *Musical Olio;* the second edition in 1811 contained twenty-six of his own tunes and not a single other American composition.

Billings' tunes were not altogether forgotten, however. Perhaps the professional musicians scorned him, but the people evidently still revered his melody. Besides the Christmas Hymn and the Union Hymn there were others, reference to which must be sought in the handbooks for revivals and camp-meetings. It is said that his tunes penetrated the South and that his fuges continued in use there. The fuging tune certainly continues, but with the exception of the tunes already mentioned and a few others, I have found little of Billings' own. Admittedly my study in this area has not been deep.

In 1831 was issued *The Psalmist; or Chorister's Companion,* whose anonymous editors tell us that the original design was "that it should contain no tunes already before the public. A very few are, however, inserted." As all the tunes in the book are anonymous we cannot tell whether the editor knew who wrote the tunes, but he "inserted" four by Billings. In the next few decades it became quite the thing to compile a book of "Ancient Church Music," and of course William Billings was prominent in all of these. Old Folks' Concerts sprang up all over the country, too, and people sang lustily what they thought their grandsires had sung. Perhaps the most popular of the singing groups was Father Kemp's, whose collection is still in use. In this there were six by Billings, three hymn tunes and three anthems. In recent years he has been enjoying a genuine revival, not on the basis of his historical value but for his musical qualities.

It will always be a question whether his contemporaries who composed in the fuging idiom learned it from Billings, or from the same source as Billings. Certainly he pioneered in this country. Andrew Law in his *Select Harmony*, of uncertain date but probably early in the 1780's, has several fuging tunes, some native and some by the English Stephenson. Timothy Swan, Oliver Holden, and Daniel Read composed several fuging tunes, each of which attained considerable use, and there were numerous other composers who are chiefly remembered by single examples. The tune LENOX by Lewis Edson, which first appeared in Jocelyn's *Chorister's Companion* in 1782, is still widely used, but for the most part with the fuging part compressed. With Wesley's words "Blow ye the trumpet, blow," this tune is said to have been John Brown's favorite marching song. These examples are enough to show the great popularity the fuging tune had at the end of the eighteenth century and the suddenness with which it disappeared except in the Southern mountains, where it still holds its own.

Billings composed both psalm tunes and anthems, but this paper is concerned only with the former. Interesting studies have been made of the development of the anthem at the hands of this devotee of the exciting in music. In *The New England Psalm-Singer* the anthems are few and for the most part are little more than extra long psalm tunes, while the anthems in his later books are well worth the study of any serious student of choral music.

When we remember that the prevailing metrical scheme was the Common or Ballad Meter, consisting of stanzas of eight syllables alternating with six, either in four-line or eight-line stanzas, the variety in Billings is startling. The *Ainsworth Psalter* brought from Holland by the Pilgrims had a remarkable diversity of meter, but by Billings' time Ainsworth had not been used for a hundred years. The prevailing psalters were the *Old Version*, the *Bay Psalm Book*, and Tate & Brady's *New Version* of 1696-8. In all of these, and also in the new psalms of Isaac Watts preferred by the youth party, in addition to Common Meter there were in fairly extensive use, Long Meter, four- or eight-line stanzas, each line of four iambic feet, and a smaller number of Short Meter hymns—syllables in the order 6, 6, 8, 6. There were a few other meters, such as the Old Version 136th, four lines of six syllables and two of eight comprising a stanza, or the 50th, with six lines of iambic pentameter. These were the exceptions to the vast majority of Long, Common, and Short meters. In the edition of Walters used in preparing this paper, there are forty-seven tunes, all but one in the prevailing style. In Flagg's 1764 book of 117 tunes, only eighteen are not of the Big Three. Billings went along with the crowd in his first book, and *The New England Psalm-Singer* has only seven maverick tunes. But in Barbour's comprehensive Index, sixty are in new meters. Perhaps the influence of the hymns of the Wesleys with their great variety was beginning to make itself felt, perhaps it was Billings' own desire to be doing something different. Anyway, as the years passed he found pleasure in such exotic measures as Hallelujah Meter (the Old Version 136th), the 5555 6565, and even 565 6664 and 664 55 10.

Two qualities characterize all of Billings' compositions, whether psalm tunes or anthems. The first is an unbounded enthusiasm. He admitted it and was proud of it. In the Preface of his first book he says: "Perhaps some of my grave readers may conclude that I am possessed with a musical enthusiasm if I insist too much on the marvellous. That I am a musical enthusiast I readily grant, and I think it impossible for the votaries to be otherwise, for when we consider the many wonderful effects which music has on the animal spirit, and upon the nervous system, we are ready to cry out in a fit of enthusiasm, 'Great art thou, O Music.' "

This enthusiasm manifests itself in all sorts of ways, most of them exciting. There are upward sweeps of melody, sudden changes of rhythm, clashing discords—anything to express the words he is setting. And that, of course, is what he is concerned with—it is not music in the abstract or even instrumental music that interests him—it is always music as a vehicle to carry words. Most of the time it is an almost independent vehicle, quite interesting in itself if you have not heard it sung, but any tune takes on added interest when Billings' chosen words are used with it. Examples of his various means to attain exuberance might be given: MAJESTY and AURORA to illustrate sweep of melody; EMMANUEL for change of rhythm; MARYLAND for planned discord; DAVID'S LAMENTATION for a piece of mood music.

But of course the crowning examples of his exuberance are to be found in his fuge tunes. These fuges were not an original device with Billings, as has been shown by several students of recent years—Louwens, Daniel, and Barbour, for example. It is probably true, however, that Billings did inspire the use of the form by other American composers, whose names have already been suggested. I have two copies of Andrew Law's *Select Harmony*, neither one dated (title page missing), but the one shown by internal evidence to be the earlier is dated by Dr. Brigham of the American Antiquarian Association as 1779 and the other is dated tentatively by Dr. Appel of the Boston Public Library as 1782. Among other tunes classified as fuging, under a wide definition, was WORCESTER, a Short Meter tune set to Watts's "How beauteous are their feet." This tune continued in use for many years, not only in Old Folks' Concert books but in Southern books as well. Under the title of ZION'S HILL, Annabel Buchanan has included it in her *Folk Hymns of America,* 1938, although in her arrangement Mrs. Buchanan has taken the fuging qualities away. The tune is usually attributed to Abram Wood, whose own book, *Columbian Harmony,* did not appear until 1793. He is known to have printed music much earlier than this, however. At any rate here is an indigenous fuge tune which attained great popularity very close in date to Billings' earlier books. We must not forget LENOX by Lewis Edson, either, published in 1782.

Whether Billings inspired these composers or speeded up inspiration that had already been gained from their use of the English collections is quite beside the point. In his first book he waxes ecstatic about the style. "It has more than twenty times the power of the old slow tunes, each part straining for mastery and victory, the audience entertained and delighted, their minds surpassingly agitated and extremely fluctuated, sometimes declaring for one part and sometimes for another. Now the solemn bass demands their attention, next the manly tenor; now the lofty counter, now the volatile treble. Now here, now there, now here again,—O ecstatic! Rush on, you sons of harmony!"

Dr. Mather Byles, whom we have met before, evidently agreed with Billings as to the entertainment value of the fuge tune. As the witty versifier of the day, he puts Billings' heightened prose into rhymed couplets.

Down steers the bass with grave majestic air,
And up the treble mounts with shrill career;
With softer sounds, in mild Melodious Maze,
Warbling between, the Tenor gently plays;
But if th' aspiring Altus join in force,
See! like the lark, it wings its tow'ring course;
Thro' harmony's sublimest sphere it flies,
And to angelic accents seems to rise;
From the bold height it hails the echoing Bass,
Which swells to meet and mix in close embrace;
Tho' diff'rent systems all the parts divide,
With Music's chords that distant notes are ty'd;
And sympathetic Strains enchanting winde
Their restless race, till all the parts are join'd;
Then rolls the rapture thro' the air around
In the full magic melody of sound.

Musicologists have analyzed the tunes of Billings that might be called "fuging" and find several varieties. Since it is not our purpose to tear the daisy to pieces to see if one petal differs from another, I have called all of the composer's tunes "fuging" where the parts are staggered, whether the second voice to enter echoes the first or goes off on an independent course. In spite of the almost universal thought that Billings and fuge are synonymous terms, he made proportionally little use of even the broad definition I have used. In his first book, for instance, out of 119 tunes only four could be called fuges. In his second book, *The Singing-Master's Assistant,* commonly called "Billings' Best," there are fifteen out of sixty. Of course, there are many more in the anthems.

After his lively exuberance, the most marked characteristic of Billings' music is his almost total disregard for the formal rules. His independence is so great that one student has opined that he could not have seen any book of rules with the possible exception of Tans'ur, and Tans'ur himself was steeped in ignorance. Professor MacDougall thinks he could not even have read Tans'ur very closely, for that composer warned against parallel fifths and octaves. Until about twenty years ago Professor MacDougall's view was almost universally held. His book, *Early New England Psalmody,* appeared in 1940, and in the same year Dr. Henry Wilder Foote in his *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* says, "Billings' music, though immensely popular, seems shockingly illiterate to the modern trained musician." Since that comparatively recent date the trained musician has heard music highly praised that would make Billings' most shocking compositions sound like a lullaby and has learned what would be obvious, that parallel fifths and octaves are to be avoided, not because the rule says that they must, but because their sound has a tendency to grate on the ear. So if the composer wants his tune to grate on the ear he is justified in paralleling his fifths. The rule book is not a Procrustean bed but a crutch to help the composer who has not enough native ingenuity to write without it.

In the preface to *The New England Psalm-Singer,* Billings an-
that I should say something concerning Rules of Composition; to these I answer that *Nature is the best Dictator,* for all the hard dry studied rules that ever were prescribed, will not enable any person to form an air, any more than the bare knowledge of the four and twenty letters and strict grammatical rules will qualify a scholar for composing a piece of poetry. . . . For my part, as I don't think myself confined to any rules of composition laid down by any that went before me, neither should I think (were I to pretend to lay down rules) that any who come after me were in any ways obliged to adhere to them any further than they should think proper: So in fact I think it best that every composer should be his own carver."

Yet he remembers that he was only twenty-two years of age when the collection was compiled and he does add a note of modesty. "Perhaps there may appear in the eyes of the accurate much incorrectness that I was not able to discern; errors, which through inexperience may happen to have escaped the notice of a youth in the course of so large a volume." And we have seen how his sense of self-criticism led him to scrap ninety-four of the 119 tunes in this book. In my own collection nineteen of these 119 have found subsequent use; while of the sixty in "Billings' Best," forty-three have been used by later editors. For a man who gloried in ignorance, he seems to have had a remarkable ability to criticize his own works.

Typical of his comments on the rules as given by earlier musicians is his comment on the Hold. In his final book, *Continental Harmony,* Billings has a long dialogue between Scholar and Master in which various rules are discussed at length. In this Dialogue, SCHOLAR says: "Sir, I do not well understand the true intent of a Hold; for Mr. Arnold saith that a note under a Hold must be holden something longer than the time it contains; and Mr. Tans'ur does not say positively that it must, but that it may be holden longer than the note contains if the performer pleases; he tells us that the French call it the *surprize.* MASTER: And in my opinion it is very rightly named; for it is a matter of very great *surprize* to me that any author should give license and such room for dispute as may (and to my certain knowledge does daily) arise from such a paltry insignificant thing; which is so far from being any benefit, that I have known a company of musicians to break off in the middle of a piece, because they were divided in sentiment at the occasion of a *Hold;* some were for holding on the sound something longer than the time; some were for stopping to take breath and perhaps in this party no two would be agreed about the length of time they purposed to stop but would begin one after another as if they were performing a *Fuge;* others would be for going on without taking any notice of the *Hold* which (in my opinion) is much the best way . . ."

In the course of this dialogue Billings pays his respects to the custom of lining out, which he calls "reading between the lines," and which evidently was still in large use. The discussion is on the use of Double Bars in psalm tunes.

"Double Bars," he says, ". . . are placed at the end of the lines for the benefit of the sight to direct the performer where to stop, in congregations where they keep up that absurd practice of reading between the lines, which is so destructive to harmony, and is a work of so much time that unless the performers have very good memories they are apt to forget the tune while the line is reading. I defy the greatest advocates for reading between the lines to produce one word of scripture for it and I will leave it to all judicious people whether it is founded on reason; and certainly what is founded on neither reason nor religion, had better be. . . ." (Final words rubbed off.)

Parenthetically, this excerpt indicates that the precentor merely read the lines to be sung, not attempting to sing them himself, perhaps naming the tune he wanted sung and reciting the line on the note intended for beginning the melody. A century earlier Judge Sewall evidently sang the tune himself, for on more than one occasion he says mournfully that he tried to set the tune of YORK, only to have the congregation go over willfully into ST. DAVID's on the second line.

If instead of thinking primarily of his knowledge or his ignorance of the formal rules, we think first of all of what he wanted to accomplish, we shall be less likely to tear his tunes apart bar by bar to catch him in a parallel fifth. If our purpose in studying Billings is to find awkward phrases and uncouth passages we can easily succeed. As we have seen, Tans'ur's Rules were also subjected to severe criticism, yet some of his tunes enjoy great popularity even today, while the old, dull, completely correct tunes are forgotten as though they had never been.

Well, what were some of Billings' purposes? First, I think it was to get people singing and enjoying the art. Second, he thought the church to be the place where everyone could participate actively and not be auditors only, as at concerts. Most of the leaders of these schools were not connected with any particular church for long at a time. From Abington to Natick to Sudbury the master would go, training all who would attend in the rudiments of choral singing and selling his books. But it was also expected that those who attended the schools would put what they had learned into practice and that there would come from the school not only those who could carry a tune straight through from the opening notes, but also at least one who would lead the congregation without having to resort to "reading between the lines." Billings, however, was not an itinerant master. He had a trade and a business in Boston and, as we have seen, he did lead the singing in various churches in the metropolis. A recent book which calls him a "Yankee rural singing-master" is right in calling him a "Yankee," but he was neither rural nor a singing-master.

He aimed at the same audience as Sternhold and Hopkins, "the man at the plow and the woman at the loom." He wanted everyone to sing and to have a good time at it. How well he succeeded is indicated by the great popularity of his tunes for at least a generation, and the great proliferation of his kind of music throughout New England and its extension into the rural South. His anthems appealed to primitive emotions, perhaps, but it was not the highly sophisticated, trained musicians Billings was interested in. He wanted singing to be not an esoteric cult, but the natural outpouring of the common man and woman. It would be interesting today to see how much his music would be enjoyed if given to a large group of people gathered to sing together because they love it and presented by one in sympathy with his purpose. I have seen Billings' music prepared for modern use in a form in which he has been so "corrected" that the result is only a part of the original, and that the less interesting. There are phonograph records purporting to be Billings in which the singers sing as though it were an anthem by John Stainer.

To sum it all up, in the midst of musical chaos, where it was nearly true that every man did that which was right in his own ears, the music in no two churches being quite the same and the tunes ranging from the old, staid psalm tunes dragged out interminably to racing through the latest fuge imported from England, the deacon trying to make himself heard and the young people gaily shouting him down, came a nearly untutored genius with a heavy bass voice and unmitigated gall. This young twenty-two-year-old tanner took charge of music in Boston churches and soon spread his presence and his influence throughout New England. He composed at a furious rate and published his compositions as political conditions in Boston permitted, six volumes in all. The enthusiasm of his labors and works communicated itself to many other musically inclined citizens, both professional and lay, and for the generation between 1770 and 1800 the music of New England churches was a pleasant mixture of this free and uninhibited style mingled with a few of the old tunes and many English tunes of eighteenth-century vintage. But even before he died, Billings saw the coming of the end. In 1792 Samuel Holyoke and others were attacking his ignorance of technical rules and especially the wild fuging tunes. Andrew Law, who had himself been a prominent practitioner of the art of fuge, joined the reformers and Daniel Read softpedaled his tendency to exuberance. In 1800 Billings died, almost forgotten, still a young man of fifty-four, but either out of men's minds or looked on with a somewhat commiserating contempt. The Rev. Mr. Bentley of Salem, in his Diary, perhaps gives Billings' best contemporary epitaph: "His *Reuben* (the *Singing-Master's Assistant*) as he whimsically called it, with all its great imperfections, had great fame, and he may justly be considered as the father of our New England music. Many who have imitated have excelled him, but none of them had better original power. His late attempts, and without a proper education, were the true cause of his inferior excellence."

Perhaps the intensive study now belatedly given to this early master by various scholars may provide a juster idea of how great or how little this "excellence" truly is.

THE NEGRO SPIRITUAL

JOHN W. WORK

Almost a hundred years ago, 1867, William Allen published what is generally accepted as being the first collection of American Negro folk songs, *Slave Songs of the United States.*[1] In 1873 Fisk University published its first collection of spirituals,[2] which was followed shortly by other volumes collected by various persons. Prior to the publication of these collections, several journals had published interesting articles calling attention to this extensive body of song.

However, the attention of the United States and Europe was dramatically drawn to the spirituals by the Fisk Jubilee Singers with their history-making concert tours extending from 1871 to 1878. The unprecedented achievements and spectacular incidents which attended these concerts and tours have been described and noted well, though probably inadequately estimated, in books and magazines—some fairly recent.

People heard in these songs many new stirring musical elements. Let us list a few of these:

1. New rhythms and use of syncopation.
2. Melodic phrases which were a combination of segments and repetitions.
3. Melodies with new tonal combinations and new cadences. (You will observe that I am using the term "new" rather than "strange" because enjoyment of these songs did not have to grow on the listeners. It was immediate and spontaneous.)

What person in the European tradition had heard such melodies as these?

Walk Together, Children
Roll, Jordan, Roll
I, John, Saw the Number (a minor melody beginning with the subdominant)
Hammering
Calvary
Run, Mourner, Run
My Soul's Been Anchored in the Lord
Going Home in the Chariot in the Morning

Following the tours of the Fisk Jubilee Singers further favorable attention was drawn to the spirituals by Anton Dvorak's estimation of Negro folk song as worthy thematic material in creating serious American music and his own employment of "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" as the opening theme of his *New World Symphony.*

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[1] William Allen, *Slave Songs of the United States,* New York, 1867.
[2] G. D. Pike, *The Jubilee Singers,* Boston, 1873.

In 1905 the Oliver Ditson Company commissioned the Afro-Anglican composer Samuel Coleridge-Taylor to transcribe 24 Negro melodies for piano and invited the famous educator Booker T. Washington to write a preface to the volume.[3] The preface has been frequently quoted, and the transcriptions have been widely performed.

Up to this time publishers of spirituals were mostly concerned with collections and arranging them for performance—and, I might add, with good commercial results. In 1914 the eminent music critic Henry F. Krehbiel published his now famous treatise, *Afro-American Folk Songs*. In this work, which went into many editions, the objective was the analysis and study of the music of these songs. This volume brought the spiritual to the attention of the non-music scholar. Sociologists, anthropologists, English scholars, and theologians began to write treatises and articles analyzing the spiritual in the areas of their specific interests.

In 1893 Richard Wallaschek, European anthropologist, wrote that the spiritual was not a Negro original but was imitative of the white hymns, gospel songs, and folk songs with which the Negro was surrounded.[4] This question of the originality of the Negro spiritual occupied the attention of the scholars in the twenties and thirties.

Dr. George Pullen Jackson, at the time Professor of German at Vanderbilt University, wrote a sizable book in 1933 entitled *White Spirituals of the Southern Uplands*.[5] In this book Dr. Jackson claimed that the Negro spiritual was a derivative of White spirituals and gospel songs. He cited numerous examples of Negro spirituals which were strikingly similar to white songs. He proved undeniably that some of the Negro spirituals were imitations. But there were many more that he did not so classify. He could not! The invalidity of his contention lay in the author's reliance upon the verse of the songs rather than upon the music, and upon his ignoring the most highly determining factor in the question—the musical form of the spirituals. By far the largest number of the spirituals embrace the African "call and response" chant form, first noticed by Krehbiel but frequently overlooked by the later non-music scholars.

Several years ago an internationally renowned anthropologist came to Fisk University as a guest lecturer. He delivered a speech on one occasion to a closed society "across town" in which he stated unequivocably that Negro spirituals were imitations of Scotch, Irish, and English folk songs. Apparently, he was unaware that there was a newspaper reporter in attendance and was as chagrined as we on the campus were to see in the paper the next morning an important headline describing the professor's statement about the spirituals. Ironically, the article made no mention of the subject of the professor's speech or his treatment of it. The eminent professor was bombarded with questions by persons on the campus which he could not answer satisfactorily. Finally, the harassed professor admitted that he knew nothing about spirituals—nor music—but in his speech had echoed the point of view held by Dr. Wallaschek.

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[3] Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, *Twenty-four Negro Melodies, Transcribed for the Piano*, Op. 59, Boston, 1905.

[4] Richard Wallaschek, *Primitive Music*, London, 1893.

[5] George Pullen Jackson, *White Spirituals of the Southern Uplands*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1933.

It is not the plan of this paper to dwell on the point of the originality of the spiritual or the amount of African survival to be found in it, but merely to list it as one of the problems considered by scholars in their study of spirituals. It would be safe to accept the opinion expressed by Dr. Newman White in his very excellent book *American Negro Folk Songs:* "The songs of the Negro today are beyond question the Negro's songs—They have become thoroughly naturalized as vehicles of the Negro's imagination."[6]

A second problem which has engaged the attention of scholars in the study of the spirituals is the meaning of their words. Probably no one today knows what the first Africans in America thought and sang about. When Negro song evolved into the spiritual in the eighteenth century as the Negro embraced Christianity, and flowered in the early nineteenth century, we were given a mass of study material. To whom was the spiritual singer singing—to himself—to God—or to a neighbor? When the Negro slave sang "My Lord's Goin' to Move This Wicked Race" to whom was he referring? Was this "wicked race" generic or was it the group of plantation owners? What was the intended meaning of the line, "Nobody knows who I am," or the line "Hold the wind, don't let it blow"? What did the singer mean when he sang, "I'm going to stand on a sea of glass"?

Dr. White contends that the lines and various expressions to be found in the spirituals are entirely biblical and worshipful. He singles out none that he can label as protest or warning, free of its biblical association.

On the other hand, Dr. Miles Mark Fisher, a theologian, surprises us in his recently published dissertation with the theory that these songs served as signals to convene secret meetings. He proposes that the favorite spiritual "Steal Away to Jesus" was authored by Nat Turner, who used the song to convene his followers and who led the slave insurrection at Southampton, Virginia in 1831.[7] Fisher's claim for this origin of "Steal Away" seems to confute the formerly accepted story which places the origin of "Steal Away" in the Red River area in Arkansas and defines its function as the signal to gather for forbidden religious meetings.[8]

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[6] Newman White, *American Negro Folk Songs,* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, p. 25.

[7] Miles Mark Fisher, *Negro Slave Songs in the United States,* Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1953, p. 66.

The "wilderness" used in so many spirituals, according to Dr. Fisher, was something more than some "woods." The "wilderness" was the secret meeting place of the Negroes, and in the song it was the signal alerting them to a pending meeting. Dr. Fisher cites many similar double meanings of words and phrases usually regarded as commonplace.

Whatever the meaning of these poetic lines in 1840, post-Civil War use of the same lines has eliminated hidden meanings—or so we presume.

The classical spirituals, these songs whose forms evolved among the unlettered Negro folk of the nineteenth century, were conceived as linear music, without the aid of the keyboard. Other musical instruments—fiddles, guitars, etc.—were forbidden by church policy. The song creators conceived the spirituals without the use of keyboard, and the congregation sang them without keyboard support or the experience of listening to a keyboard. These songs had no preconceived harmony, and in the rural churches they were sung without harmony. Such harmony as one might have heard was an incidental alto or a tenor supplied by individuals who might have had keyboard experience. Occasionally, one heard a bass singing the melody two octaves below the soprano, but never is a real bass part encountered. But in spite of the spiritual's incubation in a purely linear style, the melodies of the spirituals lend themselves readily to four-part harmonization.

There was in the congregational singing the phenomenon of frequent variation of the phrase and improvisation on it. In the city churches, among literate worshipers where hymns are sung from hymnals, there is almost a uniform reliance upon a single melody. But among the rural folk, where the transmitting of songs is entirely oral, not only does the melody undergo some change with each performance but there are frequent changes in the words also. When a collector transcribes a folk melody from an individual folk singer, he knows that he is writing the melody as that particular singer sang it *that time*. The next singer interviewed will surely sing it differently. This variation principle found in individual performance is multiplied a hundred times in congregational singing in a folk performance.

Please indulge me in the unscholarly, overly enthusiastic statement I am about to make. I probably should not include it in such a paper and should keep it associated informally only.

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[8] John W. Work (Sr.), *Folk Song of American Negro*, Nashville, Fisk University Press, 1915, p. 77.

In my opinion the most beautiful ritual in American worship is the service of the Negro Primitive Baptist Church. This church is primarily a rural folk church found principally in the Mid-South. Prior to twenty-five years ago, no musical instrument was used in the service nor was any printed material used except the Bible. The music in the worship service consisted occasionally of spirituals and the wonderful hymns of Dr. Watts never heard outside of worship. These latter hymns begin with a verse line intoned by a leader and repeated by the congregation in a long-drawn-out melismatic melody, the original of which might or might not have been taken from the New England hymnody.

However, the original melodies had a definite beat and measure division. As they are sung in this Primitive Baptist style there is no meter and to me the original melody is not distinguishable. Each singer derives his personal melody from this nebulous original and adds to it his own melismas, interpolations, and, in many instances, his own principles. When a hundred aroused singers so intone, the resultant sound is indescribable and impossible to transcribe. Any chording instrument would be totally out of place in such a performance and harmony unthinkable.

Now, to an extent, this variant-melodic style of the Dr. Watts singing of the Negro Primitive Baptists is a factor in the singing of the spirituals in the folk church.

To return to the spirituals and the question of harmony, it is important to repeat that in the folk congregational singing, harmony is rare and where it does occur it is only incidental. But an important purveyor and creator of spirituals, the folk quartet or folk ensemble, does use harmony and a style of free counterpoint to a remarkable degree. The tonic, dominant, and subdominant chords with various added notes are their chief stock in trade. The II^7 with the third raised which featured the quartet singing of fifty years ago has almost disappeared from use. Minor triads are used infrequently. In fact, these ensembles rarely sing in the minor key. The congregations, however, sing in the minor key freely.

About thirty years ago, in the new kind of gospel song which emerged, the piano was added to the music of the folk church. Not only did the piano bring dance rhythms to the music but it also brought a harmonic texture out of which the new melodies and a new type of melody—an inferior type of melody—grew. I choose to call the new gospel songs the *new spirituals*. They are created by the same folk who created the older spirituals. They serve the same folk worship function. But now harmony becomes an important factor in the folk church, although it is subordinate to the new dance rhythms.

In another folk church, the Holiness Church, other instruments—the tambourine, guitar, and some woodwind instruments—have been added to the musical accompaniment. Time does not permit further development of this point. I am not sure but that any discussion of spirituals should be labelled: Spirituals BI (spirituals before instruments) and Spirituals AI (spirituals after instruments).

Except for this reference to the present-day gospel song this discussion is concerned entirely with the nineteenth-century spiritual, which I term the "classical spiritual."

A few spirituals appearing in collections are written in 3/4 and 6/8 meter. These are rare and atypical—and probably non-Negro. The meters of the spiritual are 4/4 and 2/4. These may be in a slow swing with two beats to the measure or in a rapid, fiery four beats to the measure stimulated by foot beats and hand claps, actual or implied. These rhythms are unrelenting and dictate the limits of the melody. The melody must conform to the demands of the rhythm. In some collections 5/4 and 6/4 measures do appear. The accuracy of these is challenged. Any individual informant might have sung the song with these unusual measures, but it is doubtful whether a congregation would sing the song with such an interrupted rhythm. Slowly sung triplets do occur in spiritual melodies, and 12/8 rhythms do feature the dance music of the secular Negro folk song, particularly the blues.

The rhythm and melody take precedence over words in the spirituals. So strong is the dominance of music over words that deleting word syllables may occur which alter the intended meaning of the singer. In the spiritual, "I've Found Free Grace an' Dying Love," note that the phrase is obviously the opposite of the intended meaning. In the rhythmic pattern allowance was made for one syllable on the fourth beat when originally there were two in the word-phrase, "an' undying Love." One of these must be omitted. Unfortunately as a result the important qualifying syllable "un" was sacrificed in favor of the unimportant "an'."

Because of these essential rhythmic patterns which evolved, the words were frequently compressed into one thought often repeated and nonsensical, or trivial words were inserted to fill the demands of the patterns. For instance:

> Little David, play on your harp, Hallelu, Hallelu
> Little David, play on your harp, Hallelu

The word "hallelu" is not necessarily a dialect term. It was compressed into "hallelu" by the demands of the rhythmic patterns. The complete "hallelujah" is commonly encountered in the songs.

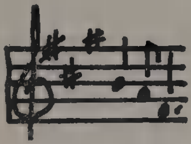
Or consider this example:

My troubles is hard, Oh, yes
My troubles is hard, Oh, yes
My troubles is hard, Oh, yes
Yes indeed my troubles is hard.

In fact, the dominance of this rhythmic pattern was surely a factor in the creation of dialect—not the only one, but an important one. In one instance, the verses to a well-known song say, "I wonder where Brother Moses' gone" or "I wonder where Sister Mary's gone." But never, "I wonder where Brother Elijah's gone." Here the pattern is destroyed. This verse is heard, "I wonder where Brother 'Lijah's gone." This is not illiterate speech. Rather it is a line dictated by the dominance of the rhythmic patterns.

A word pattern inspired the musical pattern, as is true of all good vocal music, but in the case of the Negro folk song the musical pattern once established dominates the words for the remainder of the song. It must be observed that some of these patterns, used repeatedly because of their appeal, became idioms and were added to the racial repertory. These idioms and their countless variants were the common property of the song creator and the group alike. Such idioms are melodically distinctive and immediately recognized by the folk group, and freely reproduced by it. Sometimes the idiom is distinguished by certain notes, such as the flatted seventh and flatted third.

The following is a common but distinctive melodic pattern. If one of you should visit a rural folk church service during a prayer or the sermon, you surely would hear a member, usually a woman, hum this musical phrase:



She would just as likely interpolate "Well, Well, Well." A charming little pattern in the minor mode—re do la. It is not only a charming pattern, it is an important and frequently used one. Practically every one of the true Negro spirituals has in it a characteristic pattern.

Most of the spirituals are in the major mode. But there are many in the minor or at least in the Aeolian mode. Occasionally, one is encountered which is neither. The spiritual, "I Ain't A-Goin' to Die No More," is such a song.

There is a wide variety of features in the melodies of the spirituals—some are fast, others slow; some phrases are sustained, as contrasted with fragmentary melodies; melodies which ascend by leap, melodies which descend by leap; some melodies with a wide compass and melodies with a narrow compass. One such song, "Keep A-inching

Along," consists of only three notes and has a compass of a major third. Its interest is found in the distribution of the notes and the rhythmic patterns. Two other songs, "Hammering" and " 'Twas on One Sunday Morning," have a range which exceeds an octave.

Musically, spirituals may be classified into three large groups or types: the "call and response" chant; the slow, sustained long-phrase melody; the syncopated segmented melody.

The first of these, the "call and response" chant, may be identified by the alternation of a solo verse line with a choral response of a short phrase or word. The leader's call changes from line to line but the choral response rarely changes, though it may be in two parts and on occasion may have an ending phrase which serves as a release. These songs usually are characterized by a rapid tempo and a pounding rhythm although the best-loved and best-known of all spirituals, and one which illustrates the form well, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," is sung in the opposite manner. Answering the leader who sings many lines beginning with "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" the chorus responds with the line "coming for to carry me home." The well-known song "Go Down, Moses" uses the choral response "Let my people go" to answer the leader's varying call line. Another striking example of this type of song is "Walk Together, Children."

"Deep River," "Lord, I Want to Be a Christian," "O the Rocks and the Mountains Shall All Flee Away," "My Lord, What a Mourning," and "There Is a Balm in Gilead to Heal the Sin-sick Soul" are good examples of the second type of spiritual, having slow, sustained, long-phrase melodies.

In general the best-liked of the spirituals are those with the episodic, segmented melodies and the syncopated rhythms. These are the third type of spirituals. Such songs as "Little David, Play on Your Harp," "O Give Me Your Hand," "Got Religion All Around the World," "Oh Bye and Bye I'm A-going to Lay Down My Heavy Load," "Ain't Goin' to Study War No More," and "Ain't I Glad I Got Out of the Wilderness" are good examples.

In the folk community the church sponsored and controlled certain semireligious activities. Important among these were musical programs. Featured performers on these occasions were the folk quartets who, in addition to the traditional spirituals, created and performed another type of spiritual—the ballad spiritual. Certain singers had the inimitable ability to create chain verses commemorating the feats of prominent biblical characters. Most of you are familiar with the spiritual extolling the exploits of Joshua at the battle of Jericho. David and Daniel have come into their share of honor. Perhaps the man who captured the fancy of these song creators more than any other was Samson. There are several songs and many verses devoted to the exploits of this strong man. But not only did the folk singers single him out for attention. Did not two opera composers do the same? This ballad type of spiritual pays homage mostly to Old Testament heroes. But the most beautiful of all these songs goes to the New Testament for its subject, Mary, in "Mary Was the Queen of Galilee."

I have described for you how spirituals were performed in folk churches—without harmony, with no varying dynamics, and with freely sung melodies. Now let us return to the Fisk Jubilee Singers in 1871. Their director wrote the melodies down, thereby making each written version permanent. His next step was to supply these melodies with academic harmony. The best possible voices were carefully trained and blended to give these songs an artistic interpretation. The result of this treatment, an epochal result, was the successful translation of the spiritual from the rural church to the formal concert hall.

The Coleridge-Taylor transcriptions of the Negro melodies for the concert piano have been mentioned. A few years later, Harry T. Burleigh began his important series of arrangements of spirituals for solo voice and piano. Some of America's finest singers added these to their recital repertory. Through this series, America learned to love "Deep River," "Go Down, Moses," and "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen."

But the spirituals remained largely a body of music to which America listened with great pleasure. In 1914 R. Nathaniel Dett published a spiritual arranged for chorus.[9] To this spiritual he added an easy-flowing counterpoint. He also created a three-part song form, adding a middle section using original music in a new key. The result was the anthem "Listen to the Lambs," which became one of the most widely used church anthems as well as a concert piece. Another translation! The spiritual was no longer a folk song in library archives, or the plaintive melody sung to guitar or piano accompaniment, or the subject of a paper. In its arranged form it became music which was alive and an active addition to the American choral repertory, enjoying fast-growing appreciation.

The inevitable happened, of course! Every uninspired, unskilled music writer in the country began to arrange spirituals. His rarely varied equipment was: a syncopated melody, a pungent verse line, a diminished seventh chord, and a very loud note to end on. All sorts of banalities crept in. Hardly before the arranged spiritual became recognized as a form it fell into disrepute, and the composer who made these arrangements, whether excellent or poor, became stigmatized.

However, the lesser composer pointed the way. Writing in the Bulletin of the American Choral Foundation for May 5, 1959, Harvard

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[9] R. Nathaniel Dett, "Listen to the Lambs," New York, G. Schirmer, Inc., 1914.

University's G. Wallace Woodworth gives a place to the arranged spiritual in the American choral repertory. When the better composer is moved to write choral music with the Negro spiritual as his thematic material, particularly if he gives his attention more to the folk idioms and patterns than to the entire melody, I predict that a new era will unfold. Last year I heard just such a work by the eminent composer, Gail Kubik. A most effective piece of music.

Most of this paper has been devoted to the musical aspect of the spiritual, in which the thesis has been advanced that the words of the spirituals are subordinate to the music. There is no intention here to minimize the great beauty and tremendous religious appeal of the verse of the spiritual.

In the intensive search today for new music to enrich the church service, new hymns and hymn sources are being studied and evaluated. It is gratifying to persons from Fisk, where such a thing is traditional, to observe the growing use of spirituals in church activities throughout America. Today, though the worship service has not found a place for the spiritual, spirituals are now sung generally at vespers and other special services.

In the past there have been three deterrents to the use of spirituals in the church worship service. The first of these has been the failure of some serious worshipers to differentiate between the spiritual of worship and consecration and the highly rhythmical spiritual.

As a matter of fact, this recreational type of spiritual was rarely used in the worship service of the folk church, where reverence and dignity were demanded. The folk church created songs unsurpassed in these qualities. Some of these songs are appropriate for the most reverent worship service and could contribute to the highest kind of religious experience. Examples of such songs are "The Religion That My Lord Gave Me Shines Like a Morning Star," "I Know the Lord Has Laid His Hands on Me," "All I Want Is a Little More Faith in Jesus," "Were You There When They Crucified My Lord?" and "Lord, Make Me More Holy."

The second deterrent to the use of the spirituals in worship has been their unfortunate association with the banalities of the entertainment stage, where they are performed and sometimes featured. Too often in the entertainment area the religious significance of the spirituals is distorted and abused.

Another deterrent to the use of the spiritual in our present-day church service is the problem of performance. To sing spirituals effectively in the traditional, unaccompanied style demands either experience in the tradition or some training in this performance. To surmount the difficulties of performance in the church service a subdued and carefully selected organ accompaniment is recommended, and at the present time the use of the sustained long-phrase melody is urged.

Congregational singing of the spiritual is not practicable at present even though informal group singing at vespers and similar meetings is becoming a popular activity. Composers have not given their attention to the preparation of these songs for congregational use. In planning for hymnals for the future, some editorial board may commission a sensitive writer to make appropriate settings of spirituals for congregational use in the worship service. If this is properly done a new inspirational resource will have been added to church worship—and the third translation of the spiritual will have been effected.[10]

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[10] In this paper I have given credit to the scholars who have written treatises on the spirituals and to the composers who have translated them for our use. No paper would be complete which did not give high credit to the folk song collectors without whose work all I have been talking about would be impossible—men like George L. White, John and Alan Lomax, Emmet Kennedy, George Ballanta-Taylor. And I hope you will not regard me as immodest in adding the names of my father and uncle, John W. and Frederick J. Work, to this list.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY HYMNODY IN THE UNITED STATES

JAMES RAWLINGS SYDNOR

This paper deals with certain aspects of the hymnody of Protestant denominations in this country during the present century. First, I would like to trace four of the influences which have shaped the hymnody which now exists in Protestant Christianity in the United States. Next, I will attempt some analysis of contemporary hymnody as found in six outstanding hymnals of this country. Finally, there will be a brief survey of some of the agencies which are at work building up a creditable congregational song among our people.

I. Influences Shaping Hymnody in the United States

1. *The work of outstanding hymnologists: British and American*

Although we shall be concerned mainly with scholarly currents on this side of the Atlantic, we should first pay tribute to the large assistance given us by European scholars. Great Britain has exerted probably the strongest influence of any European country. We may date the beginning of serious modern systematic study of English hymnody at 1892 when Dr. John Julian and a considerable company of investigators published in England the monumental (1768 pages) *Dictionary of Hymnology*. Of course there had been much scholarly endeavor by earlier men like John Mason Neale, the learned translator of ancient hymnic treasures, and Sir Henry Williams Baker, whose committee published *Hymns Ancient and Modern* which in subsequent editions has sold approximately 150,000,000 copies. But Canon Julian's *magnum opus* gave to the world a vast overview of the church's song.

Seven years later, Robert Bridges, subsequently to become poet laureate of England, published a unique contribution to modern hymnody in his *Yattendon Hymnal*. In addition to original hymns and many fine translations, this volume contains a number of Genevan psalter tunes in original rhythms. His essays on hymnody, especially on the kinship between text and tune, served to stimulate the thinking of hymn lovers.

In 1906 one of the most important hymnals of this century was issued under the general editorship of Canon Percy Dearmer with Dr. Ralph Vaughan Williams as music editor. This book, *The English Hymnal*, charted a course followed by later hymnals in its extensive use of plainsong melodies, folk music, and psalter tunes in original rhythms. Dr. Vaughan Williams wrote an important preface on the music of the hymnal.

Three years later in 1909, the Proprietors of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* published the *Historical Edition* under the editorship of

Bishop W. H. Frere. The Introduction of this volume remains what is probably the most scholarly brief historical survey of Christian hymnody. We are pleased to know that a revision of this important work is being issued under the title *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern.* The editor, Dr. Maurice Frost of Oxford, has been ably assisted by such scholars as Dr. Ruth Messenger, Professor Egon Wellesz, and the Rev. C. H. Pocknee.

We now move up to 1927 for the next strong influence on our hymnody. In this year the Presbyterian Churches of the British Commonwealth of Nations produced the *Church Hymnary Revised.* It has had world-wide use among Presbyterians since it was authorized by the Churches of Scotland and the Presbyterian Churches of Ireland, England, Wales, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. This same year the notable *Handbook* to this *Hymnary* was published under the joint editorship of Dr. James Moffatt and Dr. Millar Patrick of Scotland. In 1935 it was issued with a Supplement. This resource book has been a mine of accurate information to subsequent scholars. For example, Canon Percy Dearmer and Archibald Jacob, when publishing their manual *Songs of Praise Discussed,* acknowledged their indebtedness to the *Handbook to the Church Hymnary,* as did also the Rev. K. L. Parry when he and Dr. Erik Routley prepared the more recent *Companion to Congregational Praise.* Dr. Millar Patrick in 1927 performed an important scholastic service when he published *The Story of the Church's Song.* In this little volume of twenty-four brief chapters he recounts in summary fashion "the story of the long development of Christian Hymnody, so far as it is illustrated by the contents of the revised *Church Hymnary.*" An American edition of this history has been published by John Knox Press. This trilogy of the *Church Hymnary,* its *Handbook,* and Patrick's historical sketch constitutes a most significant body of twentieth-century hymnic material.

Four years later, *Songs of Praise Enlarged Edition* with its strong emphasis on hymns of social service set a high mark under the editorship of Percy Dearmer, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Martin Shaw.

Within the past dozen years a strong and stimulating voice has emerged in Britain which is being increasingly heeded by American church musicians. In 1950 Dr. Erik Routley, formerly at Mansfield College, Oxford, now a minister in Edinburgh, published an enquiry into the history, the nature, and the scope of Christian judgment on music entitled *The Church and Music.* Then in rapid succession appeared his studies in hymnody: in 1951 his *I'll Praise My Maker,* which is a study of eleven hymn authors representing English Calvinism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; in 1952 *Hymns and Human Life*—a historical commentary on hymns, hymn writers, and hymn singing; in 1953 the excellent music notes in the *Companion to Congregational Praise;* and in 1955 *Hymns and the Faith,* being theological essays on forty-nine familiar hymns. Dr. Routley's *The Music of Christian Hymnody,* issued in 1957, was a long overdue treatment in detail of the musical aspects of congregational song; heretofore the texts of hymns have received a disproportionate amount of attention by hymnologists. In *The English Carol* of 1958 he prepared a virtual handbook to *The Oxford Book of Carols.* Lately Dr. Routley, who is a Congregationalist clergyman, has brought his theological insights to bear on the deeper problems of music and Christian faith in his *Church Music and Theology* (1959) and his collected essays and occasional papers *Music, Sacred and Profane* (1960).

So much for a cursory but very grateful acknowledgment of our indebtedness to British hymnology.

In the United States the greatest hymnologist was the Rev. Louis FitzGerald Benson. Of this scholar, Dr. Henry Wilder Foote wrote, "No other American author of the twentieth century has made any contribution to our knowledge of hymnody comparable to Dr. Benson's . . ."[1] and Dr. Henry van Dyke called him "the foremost hymnologist that America has produced."[2] After legal and theological training and a brief practice and ministry in each profession, Dr. Benson retired in 1894 to devote his subsequent life of almost forty years to hymnological pursuits. Through the years he acquired an immense library of hymnic materials. This private collection of 9,000 volumes has been deposited in the Speer Library of Princeton Theological Seminary.

In 1895 the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America issued *The Hymnal,* edited by Dr. Benson. This was the beginning of a new era in Presbyterian hymnals. In 1907 Dr. Benson delivered the Stone Lectures at Princeton Theological Seminary on "The Psalmody of the Reformed Churches." In 1910 he again delivered a series of lectures for the Stone Foundation on the subject of the English Hymn. In revised and enlarged form they were published in 1915 as the definitive history *The English Hymn.* This has remained the standard work on this subject and is cited as a principal authority by scholars here and abroad. A reprint of this important work by John Knox Press is appearing in the fall of 1962. In addition to several *Studies of Familiar Hymns,* Dr. Benson's other important book is his *The Hymnody of the Christian Church,* the Stone Lectures of

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[1] *Three Centuries of American Hymnody,* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940, p. 327.

[2] Address at Memorial Service on Nov. 2, 1930. Published in *Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.,* Philadelphia, Vol. XIV, Dec. 1930, p. 151.

1926. Members of The Hymn Society will recall that in 1955 the Rev. Morgan P. Noyes prepared a Paper on the life and work of Dr. Benson.

Another towering figure in American hymnody during the first half of this century was Canon Charles Winfred Douglas of the Protestant Episcopal Church. As the musical editor of *The New Hymnal* which appeared in 1919 and of *The Hymnal 1940* of the Episcopal Church, Canon Douglas gave leadership in the formation of several hymnals which are held in highest esteem by American churchmen. In 1935 at Seabury-Western Seminary Dr. Douglas delivered the Hale Lectures on "The Praise of God." Two years later they were published as *Church Music in History and Practice.* This significant work is being reissued in a revision made by Dr. Leonard Ellinwood. Canon Douglas' large library of hymnic materials is now located at the Cathedral in Washington, D. C. The Catalog of this collection, along with an account of Dr. Douglas' life and work, was published by The Hymn Society as Paper XXIII.

In 1940, on the tercentenary of the publication of the first book in the United States, the *Bay Psalm Book,* Dr. Henry Wilder Foote issued the best history of hymnody in the United States, entitled *Three Centuries of American Hymnody.*

I wish there were time to trace in some detail the important scholarly endeavors of many other individuals in this field. We must at least mention with appreciation such individuals as Dr. Luther Reed and Dr. Walter Buszin of the Lutheran Church; Drs. Clarence and Helen Dickinson and Dr. Calvin Laufer of the Presbyterian Church; Mr. Carl Price, Dean Robert Guy McCutchan, and Dr. E. E. Harper of the Methodist Church; Dr. Armin Haeussler of the Evangelical and Reformed Church; and Dean Peter Lutkin and Dr. Leonard Ellinwood of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

It is due to the devoted scholarship of such persons, and many who must remain unnamed, that we today enjoy a rich store of lyric expressions of Christianity. Through their hymnals, their hymns, their melodies, and their historical commentaries, these hymnologists have enabled millions of fellow Christians to enjoy deeper faith and to lead fuller lives.

We turn now to the second influence which shaped contemporary hymnody.

2. *The influence of the Liturgical Movement on hymnody*

One has only to read the study document *Trends in Worship,* circulated recently among the members of the Commission on Music of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America, to see that strong currents of critical interest in the subject of worship are sweeping through the leadership and laity of many of the constituent churches of the National Council. This concern not only for the meaning of worship but for the modes of devotion invariably includes a fresh scrutiny of the quality of musical and textual expression in hymns. Without a doubt the present elevation of hymnody in many denominations has been produced by the swelling of this undercurrent of basic concern for man's encounter with Almighty God. The fact that this present conference is jointly sponsored by the Commission on Worship and The Hymn Society is evidence of this mutual relationship.

3. *The influence of related educational agencies*

The influence on hymnody of concerned organizations, associations, and institutions has been of incalculable benefit.

The American Guild of Organists was born just before the turn of this century. Although its aims have included the whole field of church music—instrumental and vocal—it has lent a steady influence in the improvement of hymns and hymn singing. For years its official journal, *The Diapason,* supplied some columns to The Hymn Society for the publication of its news to members. The Guild is of course non-denominational. A promising phenomenon of the past decade or so, however, has been the emergence of associations of church musicians along denominational lines. A strong leader has been the National Fellowship of Methodist Musicians. One has only to scan the documents published by the Methodist group to see what a large part hymnody plays in their programs.

Another valuable agency in favor of hymnody has been the many schools of church music and the departments of church music attached to colleges and universities. These institutions have furnished large numbers of graduates whose training included in most cases a solid grounding in the history and materials of hymnody plus much instruction in techniques allied to congregational music. The School of Sacred Music of Union Theological Seminary in New York is an outstanding example of this nurturing atmosphere. Union Theological Seminary houses the main portion of the library of The Hymn Society of America.

During the entire existence of the Department of Worship and the Arts of the National Council of Churches of Christ, its executive secretaries and members have maintained a primary interest in the musical expression of worship by Christians. The commissioning of major works based on hymns and the publication of a high quality paperback hymnal are but two examples of the specific interest of this Department in hymnody.

Certainly the most important national agency in the field of hymnody is The Hymn Society of America. Founded in 1922, this association of hymn enthusiasts has been the means for a dialogue of continuing benefit. Hymnal editors, hymn text and tune writers, ministers, musicians, and ordinary laymen have been exposed to the wholesome exchange of new ideas in the periodicals, the occasional papers, the public meetings, the festivals, and the other activities of the Society.

4. *The influence of gospel songs on twentieth century hymnody*

The gospel song movement received its principal impetus through the Moody-Sankey revivals of the last three decades of the nineteenth century. However, their permeation of the hymnody of many denominations of this country occurred during the first three decades of the present century. There have been prophets like Dr. Millar Patrick who in 1927 wrote: "There are evidences that the day of the 'Gospel Song' of the Sankey type is passing. The advance in education and musical culture should soon render it obsolete."[3] But it is still with us, and through such world-wide enterprises as those of Billy Graham and George Beverly Shea, gospel songs are in wide currency. The fact that they nearly usurped the church school hymnody of certain denominations means that a double standard of congregational music arose—a "hearty" gospel song music for the Sunday school and a kind of standard hymnody for the formal worship. This has been poor educational procedure and has produced painful tensions for hymnal editorial committees and for all farsighted churchmen who try to raise the quality of hymn singing at the local level.

This is too complex a problem to receive full treatment within the broad subject of this paper. It continues to receive comment by writers.[4] Some of the most astute have come from Britain, where Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey launched their campaigns in 1872. Charles Cleall in his stimulating book *The Selection and Training of Mixed Choirs in Churches* (London: Independent Press, 1960) inserts a chapter entitled "An Interlude on Evangelism and Music" which he introduces with this pointed statement and question: "Evangelism is the bitterest enemy of musical integrity. Need it be?" (p. 57.) He then proceeds to discuss this relationship from both the theological and musical standpoints.

Another tangible evidence of Cleall's concern in this matter is his recent set of reharmonizations of fifty-nine of Ira D. Sankey's melodies.[5] Not only are these tunes handled with real craftsmanship, but especially significant to this topic is his preface, which Erik Routley calls "a minor classic on Conversion."[6] Obviously Charles Cleall thinks there is a place for so-called gospel songs. He has newly presented sixty of them in this volume. But he issues a warning to hedge and define their proper use. After discussing their use for those individuals who are, as he says, on "the brink of conversion," he then proceeds to comment on their continued use by committed Christians. He writes: "To *seek* milk, when we ought to be digesting stronger meat, is the mark of carnality; of self-gratification; of a determination, like that of Peter Pan, not to grow up."

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[3] *The Story of the Church's Song,* p. 173. Revised for American use by James Rawlings Sydnor. Richmond, John Knox Press, 1962.

[4] A discussion of this problem may be found in J. R. Sydnor, *The Hymn and Congregational Singing,* Richmond, John Knox Press, 1960, Chapter 6, "Gospel Songs: Their Influence on American Hymn Singing."

[5] *Sixty Songs from Sankey.* London, Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1960.

Thus far we have considered something of the influence of four factors on our present-day hymnody: the work of many hymnologists, the effects of the Liturgical Movement, the enterprises of related organizations and schools, and the continuing impact of the gospel song movement.

We turn now to an analysis of the characteristics of contemporary hymnody in the United States.

II. Five Characteristics of Contemporary American Hymnody

The complexity of the problem of discovering these characteristics and of making any generalizations is due to the constantly expanding and shifting hymnody of our country. If Canon Julian was correct in his estimate in 1892 that there were 400,000 Christian hymns extant, and if we may surmise that perhaps 100,000 additional hymns have been written throughout Christendom during the intervening years, then contemporary hymnal editors have approximately a half million hymns from which to choose. And it is with the recent hymnals we must begin if we wish to know about our hymnody. We all realize that no single congregation sings all the hymns in any one hymnal. Each congregation develops its own anthology of a hundred or so hymns, taken from the larger collection of approximately 500 to 700 hymns. Depending on the background of a particular congregation and the degree of hymnic enlightenment of its prior and present leadership, each local congregation will employ the better or worse sections of the book. Few hymnbooks are created in a vacuum or an ivory tower. All denominational hymnals are created by committees of clergymen and musicians who presumably not only know what their people ought to have but also seek to discover what the people want, what they know and love. Since this is true, we can use hymnals as a fair index of the content of congregational singing across our country.

1. *The eclecticism of hymnal editors*

Contemporary hymnbook editors reach out and select the best hymn texts and tunes from all possible sources. This philosophy is expressed in the Preface to the recent Lutheran *Service Book and Hymnal* 1958 in these words: "In worship, as in doctrine, the Lutheran Church is part of the 'one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church.' It claims as its rightful inheritance all that is truly ecumenical in the Church of every age and every land."[7] Because of this search for the finest hymnic materials among the various hymnal editors, there is an increasing core of hymns which appears in a number of major hymnals.

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[6] *British Weekly,* May 11, 1961, p. 8.

To get a recent picture of this ecumenical nucleus, I recently examined six outstanding hymnals issued since 1943. In selecting these particular books for study, I was aware that I had left out other important hymnals which had appeared during this period of time. Four denominational hymnbooks were included:

The Hymnal 1940, actually issued in 1943 by the Protestant Episcopal Church;

The Hymnbook, published in 1955 by five branches of the Reformed and Presbyterian Church;

Service Book and Hymnal, issued in March 1958 by eight branches of the Lutheran Church; and the

Pilgrim Hymnal, printed first in December 1958 by the Congregational Church.

Two other hymnals were also included, one non-denominational, the other interdenominational:

Hymnal for Colleges and Schools, published by Yale University Press in 1956; and the new paperback hymnal, *Christian Hymns,* to be published under the auspices of the Commission on Music of the National Council of Churches.

In evaluating the statistics presently to be given, note first the total number of hymns found in each of these six books.

Service Book and Hymnal	602 hymns
The Hymnal 1940	600 hymns
The Hymnbook	527 hymns
Pilgrim Hymnal	496 hymns
Hymnal for Colleges and Schools	352 hymns
Christian Hymns	118 hymns

Here are some of the facts I discovered about these hymnals. A total of 1,322 separate hymns were needed to form these six books. The following table shows the number of hymns which appear in each particular hymnal and in none of the other five.

Service Book and Hymnal	185 hymns
The Hymnal 1940	176 hymns
The Hymnbook	170 hymns
Hymnal for Colleges and Schools	98 hymns
Pilgrim Hymnal	90 hymns
National Council Hymnal	4 hymns

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[7] P. vi.

The total of this table is 723 hymns appearing in only one book. This means that the remainder, 599 hymns, are found in two or more of the six hymnals.

But of special significance to our point under discussion—namely, the eclecticism and cross-fertilization of hymnody—is the list of hymns common to all six of these books. Seventy-two hymns are in all six hymnals. Then I went a step further to see what additional hymns are in at least five of the six hymnbooks, this being done especially because the forthcoming National Council hymnal will have only 118 hymns. An additional fifty-nine hymns were found. Then finally I checked to see what further hymns are in at least four of these books. There were 103 hymns in this category. These three tabulations yielded an index of 234 hymns appearing in at least four of these major hymnals.[8]

2. *The search by each denomination for its unique heritage in hymnody*

A second characteristic is the search for the unique hymnic heritage of each denomination. Let me cite some examples. The editors of the Lutheran *Service Book and Hymnal* made considerable search into the large treasury of hymns written by Scandinavian Lutherans. This resulted in the publication within the *Service Book and Hymnal* of a large number of excellent texts and melodies from the Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Finnish Lutheran Churches. Another genuine service of this book is the inclusion of a number of well-known chorale melodies in the original rhythmic structures in addition to the more familiar metrical versions.

The vast musical treasures of the Moravian Church are being recovered and published through the efforts of the Moravian Music Foundation under the capable directorship of Dr. Donald McCorkle. This is one of the most exciting aspects of musical endeavor in this country and century. Hymnology has already benefited by this enterprise. For instance, the Foreign Consultant for the Moravian Foundation, Miss Frances Blandford of Bristol, England, recently discovered in London two books of manuscript music by John Antes, the eminent Moravian composer. These books contain a total of eighty-nine chorale tunes, seventy-seven of which are hitherto unknown compositions. One of these eighty-nine tunes is a melody which is included anonymously in outstanding hymnals across the world. It can now be published that John Antes wrote the tune *Monkland*.

The editorial committee of *The Hymnbook* (Presbyterian) sought to restore a unique and immensely valuable heritage in the metrical psalmody. Eighty psalms in verse were included. Nevertheless, it was a matter of severe regret to some of us that we made such little use of the authentic Genevan melodies in their original rhythms. The completed Reformed Psalter of 1562 contained 125 tunes in 110 meters. This recent Presbyterian *Hymnbook* adopted seven! It is fervently hoped that subsequent Presbyterian committees will fare better in their efforts and will heed Canon Winfred Douglas' admonition with regard to these melodies by Louis Bourgeois. He wrote: "A musical duty to the Christian world is to adopt for future use the finer examples of the unaltered melodies."[9] We are in debt to the *Hymnal for Colleges and Schools* for the presentation of more than two dozen of these authentic Genevan melodies in their noble original shape.

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[8] A mimeographed list of these hymns is available through the office of The Hymn Society, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City 27. Cost, 50 cents including postage.

A member of the editorial committee of the projected Methodist hymnal has stated that plans for that book call quite naturally for a generous selection of hymns by Charles Wesley.

The historical prefaces to the handbooks of many hymnals proudly trace the unique contributions made by each church.

3. *The search for fresh expressions of contemporary Christian faith*

A third characteristic of recent hymnody is the search for fresh expressions of the Christian gospel. Through the good offices of The Hymn Society, twenty-six different hymns have been written and published, including such vital texts as Dr. Georgia Harkness' "Hope of the world, Thou Christ of great compassion" and Dr. Henry Hallam Tweedy's "Eternal God, whose power upholds both flower and flaming star." Editors have scanned the hymnic horizon to discern and secure appropriate hymns. They have quickly found and widely used such hymn texts as Canon Dearmer's imaginative mission hymn "Remember all the people," Henry Scott Holland's only hymn, entitled "Judge eternal, throned in splendor," and Edward Grubb's beautiful text:

> Our God, to whom we turn When weary with illusion,
> Whose stars serenely burn Above this earth's confusion,
> Thine is the mighty plan, The steadfast order sure,
> In which the world began, Endures, and shall endure.

Not only have new texts been sought but stirring new music has been composed. The *Pilgrim Hymnal* has three musical items by Vincent Persichetti. Dr. Austin Lovelace was commissioned by the Presbyterian *Hymnbook* committee to write a new melody for Clement of Alexandria's ancient text "Shepherd of eager youth," a tune singled out for commendation by Dr. Routley when he reviewed this hymnbook. An example of the assiduity of hymnal editors in this matter is the work of the committee on *The Hymnal 1940*. They examined nearly 5,000 new tunes to determine exactly the correct melodies for their new texts.

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[9] *Church Music in History and Practice,* p. 217. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. Revision with additional material by Leonard Ellinwood, 1962.

4. *The utilization of hymnic expressions from the younger churches of the world*

A fourth trend has been the growing utilization of hymns from the newer Christian churches. When the Rev. W. R. Stevenson in 1892 published his essay on Hymns in Foreign Missions in *Julian's Dictionary* (pp. 738-759), the main burden seemed to be the superimposition of Western hymnody, mainly British, on these newer mission fiields. Now we are finding and utilizing the original lyric expressions of the faith of these world churches. The Rev. Frank W. Price, while under house arrest by Communists in China, translated some of the remarkable hymns of the Chinese Christian, Dr. T. C. Chao. Some of these were included in the Presbyterian *Hymnbook* of 1955. Likewise the *Pilgrim Hymnal* included two translations of Dr. Chao's hymns. I was glad to note that in the latter book the Chinese melodies were presented unharmonized so that their unique flavor could have full expression. The *Pilgrim Hymnal*, the *Service Book and Hymnal*, and the *Hymnal for Colleges and Schools* selected from India hymns by the outstanding Christian poet Narayan Vaman Tilak.

5. *The increasing use of traditional melodies for hymn tunes*

The final characteristic of present-day hymnody which we have time to mention is the extensive use of traditional melodies. The search for authentic appropriate folk music for congregational use was given a strong boost by the work of Ralph Vaughan Williams and his musical advisers in editing *The English Hymnal* in 1906. In this country we have not only followed the lead of this and other British hymnals and used their findings, but there has been also a systematic search for American folk music.

Dr. John W. Work of Fisk University has taken a lead in presenting authentic Negro spirituals to the world. Among his publications I would single out his volume *American Negro Songs*, published twenty-two years ago (New York: Bonanza Books, 1940). Here he not only presents a large number of spirituals but his introductory five chapters give an authoritative survey of the origins and use of Negro music. The increasing use of Negro spirituals in American Protestantism is indicated by the following table showing the occurrence of Negro spirituals in recent hymnals:

The Hymnal 1940	2
The Hymnbook	4
Service Book and Hymnal	1
Pilgrim Hymnal	7

Dr. George Pullen Jackson did valuable research into the folk music of the Southern highlands, and melodies of this type are finding their way into our newer hymnals.

III. A SURVEY OF AGENCIES WHICH ARE STIMULATING CONGREGATIONAL SONG

I would like now to indicate some of the more prominent means which are being employed to teach our hymnody to the clergy and laity—in other words, how the resources of our hymnals are being built into the character of Christians. As Dr. Routley wrote, "A hymn, then, is not really a good hymn until it has been well written, well chosen, and well sung."[10]

1. *There is a renewed effort to use the educational processes of the church school to inculcate a rich hymnody.* It is well known that John Calvin instructed his musician Louis Bourgeois to teach the new metrical psalms to the children of Geneva so that they in turn might instruct the adult worshipers. Dr. Vaughan Williams expressed an important idea when he wrote in his preface to *The English Hymnal:* "Children at all events have no old association with any particular tune, and incalculable good or harm may be done by the music which they sing in their most impressionable years." (p. x.)

A glance at a number of recent children's hymnals shows a marked trend toward the employment of the enduring hymns of the church down into the youngest departments of the church school. Some denominations indeed do not presuppose a system of graded hymnals for the church school but use the standard hymnal throughout the church school, indicating in a special index those hymns more suited to the mind and heart of the child. The *International Journal of Religious Education* will devote an entire issue in the fall of 1962 to the musical resources available to Christian education. The *Music Ministry* periodical of the Methodist Church devotes columns regularly to leaders of Kindergarten, Primary, Junior, and Youth Departments. Hymns as tools of Christian education are mentioned frequently in these columns.

2. *A second agency being extensively developed to assist in communicating hymns is the composition and utilization of organ preludes and anthems based on hymns.* While there is nothing new in this custom, there seems to be an increasing interest in such compositions on the part of contemporary composers of church music. *The Hymnal 1940 Companion* has a 71-page index of organ works based on tunes in the *Hymnal 1940.* These organ preludes and hymn anthems are useful instruments for acquainting congregations with less familiar hymns.

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[10] *Hymns and Human Life,* London, J. Murray, 1952, p. 299.

3. *An increasing number of theological seminaries are offering musical training.* Recently a committee headed by Dr. H. Richard Niebuhr made a study of theological seminaries. Their conclusions were published in 1957 under the title *The Advancement of Theological Education.* The following is an excerpt explaining two facts about the general situation with reference to music instruction in our seminaries: "The first is that far too few ministers have an adequate introduction to the meaning of music in the Church, its tradition of hymnology, its ways of 'singing unto the Lord.' Granted there is a continual tension between popular taste in hymns and a cultivated standard of genuine religious music, the real task of the Church is to raise the standards and to achieve a stronger and less sentimental Christian worship . . . Ministers need to be helped to develop a theory of church music and appreciation of musical standards." Dr. Niebuhr then speaks of this second related matter. "The second fact is that much responsibility falls upon or is left to organists and choir directors, and that too few ministers or churches have any idea of what kind of training should be insisted upon for these offices . . . Bad theology in hymns reinforced by trivial music can undo much honest preaching and teaching."[11]

It is heartening to read this evidence of concern on the part of theological educators. Furthermore, it is good to know that progress is being made in the number of seminaries which require that each student take a music course. In a study of trends in twenty-five "typical" seminaries, it was found that twice as many schools required a music course in 1954-55 as did in the school year of 1934-35, although the number of seminaries offering any music is still far too low.

4. *The rapid growth of conferences and workshops across the country affords an excellent opportunity to elevate hymnody at the grass roots level.* Thousands of musicians, clergymen, and interested laymen are exposed to the influences of hymn festivals and classes in hymnology and related fields during these conferences.

5. *There is clearer awareness of the important effect of interior church architecture upon congregational singing.* The public pronouncements of denominational and interdenominational bureaus of architecture demonstrate that these leaders know that the acoustic aura surrounding a congregation can stimulate or stifle hymn singing. They are becoming aware of the psychological fact described by Sir James Jeans when he discusses the attitudes of players in two types of concert rooms, one acoustically alive with ample reverberation period, the second one acoustically dead. He writes, ". . . a long period [of

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[11] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Advancement of Theological Education,* New York, Harper & Brothers, pp. 107-108.

reverberation] naturally induces an exhilarating feeling of effortless power, not to mention a welcome slurring over of roughness and inequalities of force and tempo, while a short period produces the despair of ineffectual struggle . . ."[12]

6. *The revival of authentic pipe organ design and placement is permitting more vital accompaniment of congregational singing.* Since the principal instrument for supporting hymn singing in this country is the pipe organ, it is of crucial importance to hymnody to have the most authentic version and placement of the "King of Instruments." Specifically I mean that a group of worshipers can offer praise to Almighty God with great spontaneity when they can hear the accompaniment played on a pipe organ located in the same room with them, the sound coming to them in direct line of sight with the composite tone developed in traditional choruses of principal tone. Conversely, this congregation is made insecure and consequently timid when the organ tone is muddy because it emerges overblown from remote chambers through grilles and tapestries. I cannot attempt here to define the characteristics of authentic organ craftsmanship. This was sketched in the study document entitled *The Church Organ* issued some time ago by the Commission on Music of the National Council. But I must underline again the statement that the move toward better pipe organ design and placement is bound to have a very positive effect on congregational singing.[13]

This word in conclusion. The Church of Jesus Christ is the crucial institution in the world today. Concerning the tension which exists, the Rev. A. C. Craig, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, recently spoke these words: ". . . the ultimate reality is not the realism of power-politics, nor the realism of nationalistic self-interest, but discernment of, and obedience to, the Will of God revealed in the Event of Jesus Christ—His life and teaching, His dying and rising from the dead, His reigning in heaven and his presence on earth by His Holy Spirit."[14]

The hymnody of the twentieth century in the United States and throughout the world must manifest this ultimate reality, thus calling mankind to this faith and affording a vital means for its expression.

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[12] *Science and Music,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1947, p. 212.

[13] A discussion of acoustics and of organ design, procurement, and placement will be found in chapter III of Sydnor, *Planning for Church Music,* Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1961.

[14] *British Weekly,* June 1, 1961, p. 1.

ASPECTS OF AMERICAN CATHOLIC HYMNODY

J. VINCENT HIGGINSON

It is possible that some people largely unacquainted with the progress of research in American hymnody may belittle the work already accomplished. We are a fairly young nation, but we are well advanced in a period of research in hope of tracing origins lost in the process of development. In the smaller and older European countries it may be somewhat easier to study the hymnody of past ages and to distinguish and evaluate trends. The vast territory of the United States and its youth are factors which in themselves present fundamental problems, yet with time these difficulties are being gradually overcome.

American hymnody can point to such surveys as that of Henry Wilder Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody,* 1940, and the somewhat broader study of Dr. Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of Church Music in America,* 1953. Graduate theses, handbooks for various Protestant denominational hymnals, the Papers of the Hymn Society along with its periodical, *The Hymn,* now in its twelfth year, as well as a number of other long-established periodicals, have given attention to the field of hymnody. With such a background it certainly was not presumptuous for The Hymn Society a few years ago to launch such a comprehensive project as an American Dictionary of Hymnology.

There is, however, an area of American hymnody that must be more fully explored to round out the picture. This is the subject of hymnody in the Roman Catholic Church in America. In a sense, research in Catholic hymnody in America came of age in 1956, when the Eastman School of Music, of the University of Rochester, New York, accepted for a doctoral thesis, "The Hymnody of the Roman Catholic Church," subtitled "Historical Survey with an Analysis of Musical Styles," by Sr. Mary Teresine Hoban, O.S.F. This study of 473 typed pages treats of Catholic hymnody in various European countries and includes a chapter of 100 pages on the vernacular hymnody of England and the United States. This monumental task was surely marked with the courage of youth.

Although broad and informative, this American section could be further expanded by a more comprehensive study of the sources of both texts and tunes included in numerous American Catholic hymnals. No such study is at present available, but the need may soon be supplied by the *Handbook of American Catholic Hymnals* now in an advanced stage of preparation. This survey takes as a basis about twenty-five hymnals in present use and gives information concerning over a thousand melodies and a similar number of texts, in addition to facts about their composers and authors. Foreign hymnals and a large number of earlier American hymnals are cited in tracing the origin and history of the hymns discussed.

During the age of discovery and exploration hymnody was a factor in Christianizing the savages. Along with the hardships of primitive life the missionaries faced a more serious obstacle, a language barrier and the need of coining new words in a religious area unknown to the Indians. In the Spanish missions where the Indians lived within the compound, hymns were a feature of their daily life and were sung congregationally during the church services. In the eastern mission, congregational singing was principally limited to church services.

Anyone looking for something unique in American hymnody would find several unusual features in the hymnody of the American Indians. Although discussed at length in Paper XVIII of The Hymn Society, even in this brief summary these aspects should not go unmentioned. Possibly the most unusual feature was the privilege of using the Indian languages in the liturgical services. This applied specifically to a section in eastern Canada, but extant examples show a region of wider range. High Mass is still sung in Iroquois at the Caughnawaga Mission near Montreal, Canada, and in Mohawk at the shrine in Auresville, New York, not far distant from Albany.

The most widely used scheme was the syllabary, signs for the various sounds of the language, invented in 1840 by a Methodist minister, James Evans. The scheme was adapted by Catholic missionaries and used for tribes in northwestern United States and Canada. Another was based on a trade language, Chinook jargon, peculiar to a number of tribes along the Pacific coast. It consisted of about 500 words, a conglomerate of Indian, French, and English used in the prosperous fur trade and subsequently for hymnody. Still another group in this far western region used shorthand, and these characters were placed under the music notes. In the vicinity of Maine and the eastern section of Canada, hymns were written in what might be described as hieroglyphics, signs standing for the words. Still another system was devised, not by the educated white man but by a Cherokee Indian, Sequoyah (1770-1842), in which the letters of the alphabet and other signs represented some eighty sounds of their language. This scheme, although not used in Catholic books, was adopted for a Baptist hymnal in the southeastern United States.

It is obvious that our hymnody in the nineteenth century bears a definite relation to the European countries from which the immigrants came. The dominant influences on American Catholic hymnody are German, French, and English. Others such as Slovak and Polish were confined each to its own group, and their melodies are not found in the mainstream of American hymnody until the early twentieth century.

The best of these traditions came from the German-American centers. German hymnals continued to use the German language, and only toward the late nineteenth century were English translations commonly found with these German melodies. French hymnody was represented by a lighter idiom, the cantiques, particularly those traditional to St. Sulpice and by Louis Lambillotte, S.J. A number of these cantiques with English text are prominent in the two most popular hymnals of the late nineteenth century.

The English influence cannot be so succinctly evaluated. England's penal laws hampered the development of a body of Catholic hymnody. There was one ray of light, the Embassy chapels in London. It was fortunate that Samuel Webbe and Vincent Novello were organists there. Of the two, Webbe was the better source, and a few of his hymn melodies appeared in the early American hymnals. Later when the Oxford Movement aroused an interest in the old hymnody, this interest was felt in America. Most hymnals had no definite plan of organization, but John Mason Neale's *Hymnal Noted,* 1852 gave the impetus for an arrangement according to the Ecclesiastical Year. German hymnals published in America used a similar plan, and many American hymnals gradually followed the arrangement. Today most hymnals feature the Ecclesiastical Year as a basic plan. We sometimes overlook another trend of this mid-nineteenth-century period felt in both England and France and in time in American hymnody as well. This was a growing Gregorian revival which renewed the modal spirit once so common to hymn melodies.

In the 1850's devotional evening services were held in the Birmingham and London Oratories. To provide hymns for congregational singing both Newman and Faber sponsored hymnbooks. America was influenced by these hymnals, particularly the one published by the London Oratory, 1854. Unfortunately the weak melodies they contained became part of a poor tradition found in American Catholic hymnals. On the other hand some of Webbe's melodies were thus brought into American use. One cannot excuse these weaknesses, but English Catholics had yet fully to recover a tradition broken by the Reformation.

Still another influence originated not far from London, in Clapham, where the Redemptorists opened a house in 1849. They introduced, in connection with their houses in Belgium, a religious sodality known as the Confraternity of the Holy Family. Hymns found in the manual for this sodality have since become standard in American hymnals. At that time two newly ordained Redemptorists, Clarence Walworth and Isaac Hacker, came to Clapham after completing their studies in Belgium. Shortly after they returned to America, they published a mission manual containing the now famed "Holy God, we praise Thy name" by Clarence Walworth.

Among the books of the second half of the nineteenth century that influenced American hymnody are:

Easy Hymns and Songs, 1851, a compilation that has given us the tune *Stella.*

Hymns and Sacred Songs, 1853, a compilation by Rev. Henry Formby, which contains the first appearance in any American hymnal of some of John Richardson's tunes.

The Oratorian Hymnal, 1854, London, already mentioned, which popularized the hymns of Faber, Caswall, and others.

The Crown of Jesus Hymnal, 1862 texts, 1864 music, edited by Henry F. Hemy. Many melodies from this hymnal appeared in American Catholic hymnals, but future years found most of them unacceptable. ST. CATHERINE and BEULAH are exceptions.

St. Patrick's Hymnal, 1862, a minor influence.

Hymns for the Year, 1867, an important collection of texts in common use at this period.

Popular Hymn and Tune Book, 1868, edited by Frederick Westlake, which provided melodies for the texts found in *Hymns for the Year.* Many of these were of better quality and found a place in the American *Roman Hymnal,* 1884.

Parochial Hymn Book, 1880 texts, 1883 music, edited by Rev. Anatole Police. This was commonly known in a revised American edition of 1897. Fortunately for historical purposes a copy of the 1883 English hymnal was found a short time ago. Many of the melodies are rather weak.

In the post-Revolutionary period there was little hope for a strong parish spirit, as there was a great shortage of priests. In fact, in all of New England, Bishop Cheverus of Boston was for some time assisted by only one priest. Bishop Cheverus deserves special notice because of the hymnal he published (texts only) for congregational singing. The book was reprinted several times and became the basis of an augmented edition printed in Baltimore, 1807. Besides the translated Vesper hymns there was a fair number of vernacular texts, a few being still in use. Five American libraries are known to list this little hymnal prepared by Bishop Cheverus, but a copy has only recently been located after a search of several years. It is now in the Georgetown University Library, which has a notable collection of Catholic Americana. Publication centers at this period were in Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New York, Cincinnati, and in Kentucky on a smaller scale.

The melodies, as usual, were a problem. The collections of Benjamin Carr were in vogue for a time and were copied in part by later collections. Their titles were *Masses, Vespers, Hymns, Psalms, Anthems and Motetts,* 1805, and *Collection of Sacred Music, Chants, Anthems, Hymns,* 1816. In Boston, Bishop Fenwick, a successor of Bishop Cheverus, sponsored a new collection. Unfortunately it was destroyed by fire, but by 1840 a new set of plates had been made and this, the largest American collection so far noted, was published in New York as *The Morning and Evening Services of the Catholic Church,* Richard Garbett, compiler.

In 1851 an American edition of Caswall's translations, his *Lyra Catholica,* was published in New York, with a supplement containing hymns by Faber, Matthew Bridges, and others from a Dublin hymnal, the *Catholic Choralist,* 1842, by William Young. A second publication, a collection of hymns by Rev. Jeremiah Cummings, then the first pastor of the later famed St. Stephen's Church, Manhattan, deserves notice. In response to the wishes of several pastors, he published a collection of his hymns, *Songs for Catholic Schools,* in 1860, with a second edition in 1862. Settings for those of better quality appear in *Cantica Sacra,* 1865, and in a second edition, 1885, edited by H. B. Cornell. Cornell was the composer of a number of these melodies if we are to believe a pencilled note in a copy found in the Newberry Library of Chicago.

The growth of vernacular devotional hymnody was furthered by the sodalities established in various parishes. A Marian sodality founded in Philadelphia around 1850 by the Rev. F. X. Barbelin, S.J., gradually developed a collection of hymns, *The Sacred Wreath.* Evidently begun as a small private collection, it was published in the early 1850's and was followed by a second edition in 1863 and a third in 1881. The third edition contains over 300 pages of hymns. Sodality hymnals of varying quality contain melodies for these texts. They began with *Sacred Melodies,* 1850, edited by Henry McGrath and include *Favorite Catholic Melodies,* 1851, second edition 1854, edited by Philip Rohr; *Complete Sodalists Manual and Hymnal,* 1863, edited by Alfred Young, C.S.P.; *Peter's Sodality Hymn Book,* 1872. A small number of these melodies have survived, but most are on the wane.

The two hymnals that gained the greatest popularity during this period were the *Catholic Youth's Hymn Book,* best known through the revised and enlarged edition of 1871 although it was published in 1851, and the *St. Basil's Hymnal,* 1889, revised in 1916 and in 1937, the latter much for the better. Although many of the melodies were culled from other books, the *Catholic Youth's Hymn Book* had a fair number of original melodies. The *St. Basil's Hymnal,* on the other hand, was a shrewd conglomerate of melodies which for the most part had caught on. Since these two books are more commonly known, and the opportunity for a broader view is not readily available, they are often considered by some as the picture of nineteenth-century Catholic hymnody.

We cannot overlook the better phase of this period found in German-American circles. F. X. Hellenbusch published his *Katholisches Gebet-und Gesangbuch* (Cincinnati, 1858) containing 199 hymns with their melodies. This fine collection was enlarged in 1878 and was followed by Aloys Wuerth, *Katholisches Gesangbuch* (Detroit, 1859), enlarged in 1867. A number of these hymns with English texts appeared in the *Manual of Select Catholic Hymns and Devotions* (1885) by P. M. Colonel, C.Ss.R., and in *Laudate Pueri* (Cincinnati, 1886) by the Sisters of Notre Dame. For some reason this excellent hymnal *(Laudate Pueri)* has received but little notice.

It is quite likely that these later German hymnals were the outcome of the growing influence of the American Caecilian Society. The Caecilian Society was founded in Germany by Rev. Franz Witt in 1870. Witt was asked to send two promising students to aid in bettering conditions in America. One of these, John Singenberger, taught at the St. Francis Seminary in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where he established a music school and founded the Caecilian Society in 1874. His fifty years of dedicated service helped to establish a fine tradition and improve the quality of church music in America. The society was active until 1903 and published a periodical, the *Caecilia,* which is still current. The early issues were in German, then in English and German, and finally in English. Its pages yield many historical sidelights on American Catholic hymnody.

During these decades a strong new influence appeared in German hymnody. This was the renowned Joseph Mohr, S.J. (d. 1924), who compiled several hymnals and wrote a number of hymn tunes of lasting value. One can profitably search through the pages of his *Jubilate,* 1877, and his *Kantate,* 1883, to locate the source of numerous melodies appearing in our present-day hymnals. Singenberger edited an accompaniment for Mohr's *Kantate* and published his own *Cantate,* 1912, with English texts. It is not surprising that the work of this humble man was acknowledged by a papal decoration.

These observations give a vista of the pre-twentieth-century period. The early years of the new century brought the anxiously awaited pronouncement of the newly elected Pope Pius X, his frequently quoted *Motu Proprio* of 1903 on church music. Over the next fifty-five years others followed, but those dating from the *Mediator Dei,* November 20, 1947, are of special interest to current trends and practices of hymnody.

The so-called *Motu Proprio* of 1903 will forever be regarded as a turning point. It was a clarion call for the revival of the more historically correct ancient Gregorian Chant melodies and the polyphony of the sixteenth century. Also it spoke out strongly and in detail against the current abuses, and set norms for music worthy of the temple. One special feature was its forceful plea for a revival of congregational singing.

As an example of hymnody in this first decade of the new century we can point to *The Catholic Church Hymnal* (New York, 1905) of A. Edmonds Tozer. This was an enlarged edition of his 1898 hymnal, published in England and regarded by John Julian as "one of the best all-around recent Catholic hymnals."

To aid in implementing these reforms the Society of St. Gregory was founded in 1914 and received papal approval. The Society encouraged the practice of congregational singing and the use of better church music, later emphasized by the publication of its *White List*, 1928, since enlarged. The Society also issued a periodical, *The Catholic Choirmaster*, now in its 47th year. Its issues contain a number of articles and studies bearing on hymnology, and its supplements have included many new hymns and melodies of a high standard.

The Catholic Choirmaster was the successor of a fine earlier publication, *Church Music*, one too early for its time. It was planned during the Solesmes Summer School held at Appleducrome, Isle of Wight, around 1906, one attended by such well-known leaders as Msgr. H. T. Henry, its editor and America's foremost Catholic hymnologist, Nicola A. Montani, Dr. H. Becket Gibbs, and Canon Winfred Douglas. Both Dr. Gibbs and Canon Douglas lectured at this school.

Issues of *The Catholic Choirmaster* around 1916 were especially concerned with hymnody and gave space to an evaluation of current hymnals. A critical article on hymn texts by John G. Hacker, S.J., had fruit in his *Catholic Hymnal*, 1920, with its numerous revisions and new hymns by P. J. Cormican, S.J. This was a prelude to a scathing article in 1919 written under the name of M. Colas in criticism of the revised *St. Basil's Hymnal*.

M. Colas was none other than Nicola A. Montani, an outstanding figure in American Catholic Church music. He was the founder of the Society of St. Gregory, the editor of *The Catholic Choirmaster* for over twenty-five years, and a devoted hymnologist. His efforts for reform in hymnody were climaxed by the publication of his *St. Gregory Hymnal and Choir Book* in Philadelphia in 1920. It contained 150 vernacular hymns, many new melodies and texts, and some fine older texts neglected in previous hymnals. The hymnal introduced a large number of Slovak melodies as well as a few from Polish and Italian sources. It met with immediate approval somewhat similar to that accorded to *Hymns Ancient and Modern* when it appeared in 1861. It has had many reprints and was revised and enlarged in 1940.

Many of its melodies have since become traditional for certain texts. The hymnal was also honored by being chosen as the representative Catholic hymnal to be set in Braille notation.

Mr. Montani, like John Singenberger, received papal recognition for his sacrificing effort and was justly honored with the first Liturgical Award of the Society of St. Gregory shortly before his death in 1948. Of the more popular items in the hymnal one might single out his arrangement of the "Fairest Lord Jesus" tune for Alphonsus Ligouri's "O God of loveliness" and the arrangement of the Lorenzo Dobici melody for Caswall's translation "Soul of my Saviour."

Several have criticized the hymnal because a number of the melodies were by its author, but time will prove their worth. This parallels the case of Sir Richard Terry, who as editor of the *Westminster Hymnal* of 1912 wrote about seventy melodies for that book. Of these about four appear in the *Westminster Hymnal* of 1940, but others are found elsewhere. Incidentally, both these Westminster hymnals have had a strong influence on American hymnals, especially that of 1940. Its high standard stimulated and offered new directions to later American editors. Other Catholic hymnals of good quality published in the period 1920-1950 include *St. Mary's Hymnal,* 1924; Alfred Schehl's *St. Caecilia Hymnal,* 1929, revised 1935; and Rev. Carlo Rossini's *Parochial Hymnal,* 1936. These show a strong German influence, but the Rossini *Parochial Hymnal* has gone further afield and broadened the source of its melodies. Many of these are newly arranged and cast in a fine but popular idiom attractive for congregational singing. Basic hymns in all these hymnals still include many translations of Office hymns. These Office hymns are translations from various Breviaries and largely from the more important parts of Matins, Lauds, and Vespers.

There is much ground to cover in an estimate of hymnals of the past few decades, which with minor exceptions are of a high standard. The period is best approached by noting trends and the sources that motivated them. This is necessary if one is to trace the present attitude of the Catholic Church toward congregational hymnody, a phase of current interest to hymnologists. It was the papal documents issued by Pope Pius XII since 1947 that have shaped conditions today. His *Mediator Dei* decree of November 1947, a long document concerning the nature and functions of the liturgy, set the wheels in motion. Through an informed sense of the meaning of the liturgy it sought to encourage intelligent congregational participation. The decree speaks of both internal and external participation. In referring to the praiseworthy practice of external participation it says: "This can be done in several ways; when the people according to the norms of the holy rubrics answer the words of the priest in the prescribed manner and sing songs which are fitting to the various parts of the Sacrifice, or do both these things."

The growing practice of the so-called Dialogue Mass, in which the people participate and answer the words of the priest, was only one step away from adding hymns as a method of congregational participation. Another impetus was the revised Easter Vigil permitted on a trial basis as early as 1951. When the Easter Vigil was finally authorized in 1955 it was included in a restored version of the entire Holy Week service. Here provisions are made for congregational participation and singing in the Procession of Palm Sunday and other days of Holy Week, including an extensive part in the Easter Vigil service.

In the same period several other privileges were granted which at least indirectly aided the movement. These included the changes in the requirements of the Eucharistic fast and the privilege of Evening Mass. Things moved quickly and the encyclical of December 23, 1955, *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina* of Pope Pius XII, enlarged on the subject of church music and the practice of hymn singing. This document went into considerable detail concerning the practice of hymnody. It reiterated the spiritual values of hymn singing, stated the principles of popular religious song as being simple but dignified melodies, with texts that are not pompous, verbose, or meaningless. However, in relation to the Mass it added the provision that the text or "expression" of the hymn be suited to the action of the Mass. This succinct statement appears as a point of departure for recently published books.

Hymns at Low Mass have been a common practice, especially in children's Masses, but usually no special thought was given to hymns appropriate to the "action at the altar" although some of the hymns were of Eucharistic content. Vernacular hymns of proper quality were likewise sanctioned for devotional services. Here, however, there was a slight drawback. The press announcement of the encyclical singled out the term "popular" hymnody. In spite of the strictures on text and tune, some interpreted "popular" as an approval of earlier poor material, and a sporadic revival was observed. *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina* was followed, September 3, 1958, by an *Instruction on Sacred Music* giving detailed procedures on the use of hymnody based on the principles and provisions of the earlier documents. Here the place for hymns in Low Mass is given as at the Offertory and Communion with an additional Processional and Recessional hymn to be included if desired.

A typical program from a recording illustrates such hymns, as found in *Our Parish Prays and Sings:*

Entrance Hymns: "Praise the Lord of Heaven"—C. Winkworth's translation of J. Neander's *Lobe den Herrn* to the Stralsund

1665 tune; "At the Lamb's high feast we sing"—Robert Campbell's translation of *Ad regias Agni dapes* to the melody of Jacob Hintze (Salzburg).

Offertory Hymns: "Wondrous gift"—a translation of E. Caswall set to a Breman 1680 tune (COBLENZ); "Lord, accept the gifts"—an original text set to the tune ST. THOMAS.

Communion Hymns: "O Sacrament most holy"—set to a Fulda tune; "At that first Eucharist"—a revision of W. Turton's hymn set to the tune for the 124th Psalm of the Genevan Psalter.

Recessional Hymns: "Praise the Lord of Heaven"—Thomas B. Browne, altered and set to a French Noel; "Now thank we all our God"—M. Rinkart's hymn in the C. Winkworth translation set to Cruger's tune, NUN DANKET.

Several questions may well be asked concerning hymn singing at the present time. First of all, what has been done to implement the wishes of the church? Summer schools, workshops, and special meetings for the choirmasters in various dioceses of the country have multiplied. Outstanding among these is the Pontifical School of Music in Rome, attended by a number of American church musicians, and the Pius X School of Liturgical Music, now in Purchase, New York. The Pius X School has sped the gospel of high standards for over forty years and in 1953 published the *Pius X Hymnal.*

Progress is also due to the National Liturgical Weeks. They were begun in 1940 and have grown in importance and influence. As for attendance, the meeting at Notre Dame University in 1959 attracted over 2,000 members of the clergy and laity. The meeting of the Liturgical Week held in mid-August, 1961, had as its theme, "Bible, Life, and Worship." A new feature was the solemn Bible devotion held on one of the evenings, a devotion encouraged by Pope John XXIII for the diocese of Rome. This service is based on the Scriptures, with a series of three brief readings from the Bible, each followed by a short discourse and the singing of psalms by the congregation. On two days Low Masses were celebrated, with congregational participation including the singing of psalms and hymns in English. The bi-yearly sessions of the National Catholic Music Educators Association have likewise given attention to congregational singing and hymnody in their conferences. This organization has published a hymnal, *Our Parish Prays and Sings,* 1959. This hymnal fulfills the latest norms and is an especially fine example of present standards.

An obvious question is the effect these regulations have had on recently published hymnals and will have on forthcoming ones. As already noted, the paragraph specifying that hymns at Low Mass must have a bearing on the Mass itself, has brought about a new departure.

The Cummings collection of 1860 had hymns referring to the Mass and one of these is still in use, but the majority of Mass hymns appeared in the German-American hymnals which stemmed from the tradition of the Singmesse. Some of these Singmesse hymns were translated in the *Catholic Youth's Hymn Book,* 1871, and a wider selection is found in the *Manual of Select Catholic Hymns and Devotions,* 1885. In many cases they appeared with their original melodies. Seemingly they were not widely used in non-German parishes and were omitted from later hymnals. They are now returning, some with new and revised texts. These are included in such hymnals as:

Schehl's *St. Caecilia Hymnal,* 1929 (rev. 1935)
The Alverno Hymnal, Part iii, 1953
The People's Hymnal, 1955 and enlarged 1961
The New St. Basil's Hymnal, 1958
Our Parish Prays and Sings, 1959

Numerous other examples could be given.

The People's Hymnal contains about one hundred hymns and is possibly one of the most popular hymnals at the present time. It was initiated by a group of seminarians at the Theological College, Washington, D. C. Many old serviceable hymns were revised and a large number of new ones added. Two names are prominent: Melvin Farrell, who contributed sixteen hymns, and Michael Gannon, with eighteen. A large number of the melodies are fine old French Psalter tunes and French diocesan hymn tunes, and many others are from both Catholic and non-Catholic hymnals. The same might be said of *Our Parish Prays and Sings,* but the melodies are largely from Catholic sources.

Those accustomed to using a Protestant denominational hymnal often wonder why there is not a national Catholic hymnal. What are the possibilities of such a project? It may be a surprise to some that Julian in referring to the *Roman Hymnal,* 1884, mentioned that a national hymnal "is now in progress." The project, if ever undertaken, died, but it was revived in 1948. The early decisions of the committee chosen to prepare the hymnal recognized the impossibility of a national aspect, since it was unlikely that one book would be adopted by every diocese. The idea for so broad a basis was not abandoned but was approached from another angle. The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, which published the revised edition of the New Testament, agreed to sponsor the project. Although there have been some delays, the latest report shows an advanced stage. In the interim period the Buffalo diocese published a diocesan hymnal, *Cantate Omnes,* 1952 with an appendix of Mass hymns, 1958 and another, *Laudate,* 1952 was published for the diocese of Leavenworth.

What about hymns and their melodies? In general, subjective hymns form a minor part, especially in recent Catholic hymnals. They appeared more frequently in nineteenth-century devotional hymnody. Office hymns and Mass hymns and others of a Eucharistic quality are for the most part objective. The *Pius X Hymnal* has arranged many of the German melodies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries besides adding a number of new melodies by well-known American composers. There is also a welcome freshness in its texts, for old as well as less usual sources have supplemented the new texts written for the hymnal. One sees the leaven of chant in many of the new melodies both here and in other hymnals such as the *New St. Basil's Hymnal,* where in a large number free rhythm and a semi-modal style predominate. One of these hymns, "Mary the Dawn," in the *Pius X Hymnal* has set a trend. This antiphonial litany-type hymn is set to a chant-like melody. Naturally it has had many imitators, but none so far has reached the popularity of the original.

In recent years there has been a timely interest in the Ecumenical Movement. Although it has received little notice, hymnody pointedly illustrates this ecumenical spirit. Similar hymn texts are found in Catholic and Protestant denominational hymnals. There is a wider interchange of melodies, for these know not the bounds of theological differences. Catholics are attuned to the worth of these good melodies. Catholic hymnals of the nineteenth century included a small number of tunes from Protestant hymnals, but the number in recent years has decidedly increased.

What can be predicted for American Catholic hymnody in the near feature? As already indicated, new hymnals are likely to include more Eucharistic hymns and those appropriate to the Mass. This trend has already reduced the number of devotional hymns such as Marian hymns and hymns honoring the saints. There are signs of greater interest in research, and probably the day is not far distant when a course in hymnology, including vernacular hymnology, will be given in some university. A few years ago one was given at a Notre Dame University Summer School, but it has not been repeated. Although there may be some handicaps in the field of research since older American hymnals are hard to locate, one university has expressed its willingness to house a microfilm library of rare hymnbooks should one be assembled.

All these factors are of interest to the hymnologist, but the hymn itself is the important matter. Knowing the why, the when, and other pertinent facts found through research yields only the dry bones. The true value of a hymn is realized in song, particularly in congregational singing. Here the limitations of the words break their bonds in the voice of melody, which knows nothing of the confines of a welling sound. If it did, we would again revert to the wordless melismas of the Alleluias to praise the Lord with heart and voice.

THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

I. **The Hymns of John Bunyan**
Louis F. Benson, D.D.

II. **The Religious Value of Hymns**
William Pierson Merrill, D.D.

III. **The Praise of the Virgin in Early Latin Hymns**
Ruth Ellis Messenger, Ph.D.

IV. **The Significance of the Old French Psalter**
Waldo Selden Pratt, L.H.D., Mus.D.

V. **Hymn Festival Programs**

VI. **What Is a Hymn?**
Carl Fowler Price, M.A.

VII. **An Account of the Bay Psalm Book**
Henry Wilder Foote, D.D.

VIII. **Lowell Mason: An Appreciation of His Life and Work**
Henry Lowell Mason

IX. **Christian Hymns of the First Three Centuries**
Ruth Ellis Messenger, Ph.D.

X. **Addresses at the Twentieth Anniversary of the Hymn Society of America**

XI. **Hymns of Christian Patriotism**

XII. **Luther and Congregational Song**
Luther D. Reed, D.D., A.E.D.

XIII. **Isaac Watts and His Contributions to English Hymnody**
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XIX. **Louis F. Benson, Hymnologist**
Morgan P. Noyes, D.D.

XX. **The Olney Hymns**
John Henry Johansen, S.T.M.

XXI. **The Philosophy of the Hymn**
Nancy White Thomas

XXII. **Charles Wesley**
Alfred Burton Haas, M.A.

XXIII. **To Praise God: The Life and Work of Charles Winfred Douglas**
Leonard Ellinwood and Anne Woodward Douglas

XXIV. **Addresses at the International Hymnological Conference, 1961**

Copies may be obtained from The Hymn Society of America,
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y. Papers I-XV, 25¢ each.
Papers XVI-XXII, 35 cents, XXIII and XXIV, $1.00.

THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY

JAMES RAWLINGS SYDNOR, *Editor*

XXV

A Short Bibliography for the Study of Hymns

THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA
NEW YORK CITY
1964

FOREWORD

The Hymn Society has had numerous requests for a list of books pertaining to study in the field of hymnody. To meet this need Paper XXV has been prepared by two members of the Papers Committee, Dr. Ruth Messenger and Miss Helen Pfatteicher.

This subcommittee attempted to keep this bibliography within modest limits, no attempt at all-inclusiveness having been made. The volumes cited are mainly in English. When needed, brief annotations have been added.

It was thought desirable to designate by asterisk a few entries which might form the nucleus of a hymnological library.

The several hundred titles have been grouped in categories for convenience of reference. It should be noted that an individual book title appears only once in this bibliography. Certain volumes obviously could have been located in two or more categories. If at first search you do not find a particular work, you may locate it in another area.

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At the conclusion of the bibliography, the Papers Committee has added the names and locations of the principal hymnological collections available to the public in the United States. A brief description of the hymnic material in each library is included.

The Committee on the Papers of The Hymn Society of America

Ruth Ellis Messenger
Helen E. Pfatteicher
Nancy White Thomas
James Rawlings Sydnor, *Chairman*

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American Guild of Organists Quarterly. Published by the American Guild of Organists. Leon Carson, Editor, 630 Fifth Ave., New York 20.

Bulletin of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Erik R. Routley, Editor, 29 Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh 9, Scotland.

The Catholic Choirmaster. Official Bulletin of the Society of St. Gregory of America, Harristown Road, Glen Rock, N. J.

Choristers Guild Letters. Published monthly. Federal Lee Whittlesey, Editor, 440 Northlake Center, Dallas, Texas, 75238. A mimeographed news letter for directors of children's choirs, containing articles, reviews, and hymn studies.

The Church Musician. Published monthly. William J. Reynolds, Editor, 127 Ninth Ave. North, Nashville 3, Tenn. "The magazine for every member of the music ministry." Published by the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

The Hymn. Published quarterly by The Hymn Society of America, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie. Edited by Konrad Ameln, Christhard Mahrenholz, Karl Ferdinand Müller. Kassel: Johanness Stauda Verlag, 1955. The only hymnological publication of its kind. International and scholarly.

The Journal of Church Music. Helen E. Pfatteicher, Editor, 2900 Queen Lane, Philadelphia 29, Pa.

Music Ministry. V. Earle Copes, Editor, 201 8th Ave., South, Nashville, Tenn.

Musik und Kirche. Edited by Walter Blankenburg. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag. A bi-monthly magazine.

Response—in Worship—Music—the Arts. Published by the Lutheran Society of Worship, Music and the Arts. Walter E. Buszin, Editor, 801 DeMun Ave., St. Louis 5, Mo.

HYMNOLOGICAL LIBRARIES

The Baker Collection: Duke University, Durham, N. C.

The Baker Collection of Hymnology at Duke University numbers about one thousand items. Chief among these are the works of the Wesleys, comprising over 300 editions (mainly 18th century) of all their sixty-six hymn-publications listed in Richard Green's *Wesley Bibliography* and some ephemera not listed therein. Of the classic collection of *Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists* there are some fifty British editions, including all but one of those published during Wesley's lifetime. Wesley's musical publications are especially rare, but all are included in the Baker Collection—the "Foundery Tune Book" of 1742; *Hymns on the Great Festivals* (1746); *Sacred Melody* of 1761 (with two later editions, and incorporating both "The Gamut, or Scale of Music," and "The Grounds of Vocal Music"); and *Sacred Harmony* of 1780 (with two later editions).

The other hymnbooks are mainly of British authors and compilers and denominations, especially Methodist-oriented denominations, including a complete range of the Anglican *Hymns Ancient and Modern.* Along with the hymnbooks are books about hymns and their authors. In this huge field six hundred items is as a drop in a bucket, so that there are many large gaps; nevertheless, many rarities are present, including a few not described by Julian. There are about one hundred manuscripts of hymnological interest, including some original compositions in the hand of Charles Wesley's son Samuel and nine volumes (mainly in shorthand) of Isaac Watts's amanuensis Joseph Parker, including two copy books of letters, 1740-51, and three volumes of his diary for 1749, 1750, and 1752-53.

The Duke University Libraries contain an additional six hundred items which fall under the general heading of hymnology, mainly American and British.

The Benson Collection: Princeton Seminary, Princeton, N. J.

The Benson Collection of Hymnology was received by the Princeton Theological Seminary Library in 1931 from the estate of the Reverend Louis Fitzgerald Benson, D.D., with an endowment of $10,000 to provide for the enlargement and care of the collection. Now numbering over 9300 volumes (of which 1256 are in such related subjects as biography, church history, and doctrine), the collection is made readily available for use by a separate dictionary card catalogue. While use of the volumes is restricted to the library building, photocopy and microfilm service is available.

While this collection reflects Dr. Benson's interest in the Presbyterian and Reformed tradition, virtually every aspect of hymnology, apart from music scores and anthems, finds good representation. There are many editions of the metrical psalms, hymnbooks of all the major Protestant denominations and sects, hymnbooks edited without official ecclesiastical sanction, Sunday school hymnals, gospel and children's hymnbooks, religious poetry, and books about hymns and hymnwriters. Many rare editions, particularly of English, Scottish, and early American books, make the collection extremely valuable for hymnological research.

The Douglas Collection: Washington Cathedral, Washington, D. C.

Washington Cathedral's Library was notably enriched in 1945 by the acquisition of the major portion of Canon Charles Winfred Douglas' private library. This Collection now contains not only the material in hymnology and music collected over a lifetime by Canon Douglas, but also nearly an equal amount of books and music acquired by gift and purchase before and after the basic Douglas gift. A check-list of the entire Douglas Collection was published by The Hymn Society of America in Paper XXIII.

Prior to the Douglas gift, Washington Cathedral Library had already acquired a sizable number of hymnals from three other sources. Included are hymnals from the library of the Reverend John Sebastian Bach Hodges (1830-1915), founder of the choir school and rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, composer of many hymn tunes, and active in the revisions of the Episcopal *Hymnal* in1874 and 1892. Other hymnals and chant books are from the collection of the Cathedral's first organist-choirmaster, Edgar Priest (1878-1935).

The George C. Stebbins Memorial Collection of gospel-song material consists of over 1200 hymnals and tunebooks largely of American imprint, dating from the mid-eighteenth century, especially centered around the Moody and Sankey movement. It contains a complete file of the compositions of P. P. Bliss (1838-1876) and of George C. Stebbins (1846-1945). Included also are over a hundred notebooks in which Stebbins had pasted, in alphabetical order, separate copies of individual gospel songs culled from songbooks published during his long lifetime. The George C. Stebbins Memorial Collection was compiled by the Reverend J. B. Clayton, D.D., and presented by him to the Cathedral Library in 1930, with additions made from time to time until 1949.

The Hartford Warrington Collection: Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Conn.

The Case Memorial Library contains about 8,000 volumes in its collection of hymnology. The main strength of the collection lies in the areas of English and American hymnody, but there are a number of significant continental chorale books and metrical psalters.

This fine collection was made possible through the efforts of Waldo Selden Pratt, a faculty member at the Hartford Seminary Foundation from 1882 until his retirement in 1925, and the generosity of Thomas Duncan, a member of the Board of Trustees, and other donors. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, two very extensive private collections of hymnology, those of Silas H. Paine and James Warrington, were purchased and added to the existing collection. The Warrington Collection particularly is worthy of comment. James Warrington was a Philadelphia accountant whose scholarly avocation took him into the field of American metrical psalmody, where he became perhaps the pioneer in the rediscovery of its true worth. His researches led him to amass a distinguished collection of materials, among them a number of very rare items, including secular song books and some fine Dutch psalters, as well as a wealth of American tune books and psalters, many of them in excellent condition. (Readers interested in the Warrington Collection are referred to a most interesting article. "The Warrington Collection: A Research Adventure at Case Memorial Library" by Irving Lowens, published in *The Hartford Seminary Foundation Bulletin*, Number 12, of January, 1952.)

Although the hymnological collection is now housed in a separate room in the library, a vast amount of work remains to be done in cataloguing it before it will be of maximum value to scholars. This work is now being undertaken, and it is hoped that the Case Memorial Library will become a useful center for research in American hymnology.

The Hymn Society of America Collection: Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.

Many branches of hymnological studies are represented in this Library, including both the literary and musical aspects, as well as hundreds of hymnbooks and hymnals. The original collection was enriched by the Day Collection of hymnology, liturgics, and ecclesiastical law, founded in 1888 and later augmented. In 1925, the Newman Collection of some 1700 items, the property of The Hymn Society of America, was catalogued and housed in the Seminary Library. Today the Library offers approximately 10,000 titles in hymnology and closely related subjects. The School of Sacred Music has at its disposal large collections covering the history of sacred music, including hymn tunes. A notable feature is a wide selection of the major hymnals and handbooks used in the United States and Great Britain. Hymnals in foreign languages from the mission field are available in the Library of Missionary Research, located in the Seminary.

The Library of Congress Collection: Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

The Music Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C. contains approximately 3,600 hymnals and tunebooks, with an additional 14,800 children's and gospel songbooks. Perhaps one third of these are duplicates and another third are later editions or reprints of earlier items. Thus the basic core of the collection consists of about 6,200 different hymnals and gospel songbooks.

The significance of this collection lies in the fact that these are mostly works deposited for copyright, which come automatically to the Library of Congress. Thus the collection contains many ephemeral items which few private collectors would acquire. Since they do not circulate and have not been used for a considerable time before acquisition, they remain in as good physical condition as the quality of their paper permits. There are relatively few foreign imprints in this collection.

Elsewhere in the Library of Congress there is a somewhat smaller number of hymnals with words only. Among these, the percentage of foreign imprints is much higher.

The Library of Congress also has approximately 550 works relating to hymnology. For the most part, these are German, English, and American imprints, but a few in other European languages are included.

The Peter Memorial Library: Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, N. C.

The Moravian Music Foundation announces the establishment of The Peter Memorial Library to be housed in the Foundation's headquarters in Winston-Salem, in honor of the Moravian composers, John Frederick Peter and Simon Peter, and other members of the Peter family. It will serve as a general and advanced reference library of books, music, and recordings to complement the great treasure of Moravian music manuscripts and the recently acquired Irving Lowens Musical Americana Collection. The Moravian and Lowens Collections together represent the two most significant streams of early American music and place the Foundation's resources among the nation's outstanding for Americana research. The Peter Memorial Library has been started with the acquisition of the third known copy of the 1544 *Hymnal* of the Bohemian-Moravian Brethren and 500 other books.

The Peter Memorial Library and Irving Lowens Musical Americana Collection are available for research in The Foundation offices at 501 S. Main Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Library permits are available to qualified persons on written application to the Director of The Foundation.

Because of limited space and staff, the Library is open only by appointment.

The Pittsburgh Warrington Collection: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Penn.

In January, 1960, the Western Theological Seminary and the Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary merged to form the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary; the Warrington Collection has been left in its former location at Western until new library facilities are available. The Collection was acquired from the widow of James Warrington in 1917 through the offices of David R. Breed, Professor of Homiletics, and Charles N. Boyd, Professor of Church Music. The Collection was valued at $50,000 upon the death of James Warrington. At the time of the receipt of the Collection it contained approximately 9,000 printed books and manuscripts, with 300,000 index slips, with extracts from diaries, histories, and travel. There were also 3,000 dummy folders for hymnbooks not in the Collection.

According to recent count there are 3,050 hymn and psalm books arranged chronologically and indexed alphabetically by title; the books range from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, with the majority belonging to the nineteenth. Aside from the hymnbooks there are 1,200 works on subjects related to music, literature, and so forth. Mr. Warrington developed extensive files of indexes—composer, meter, tunes, and so forth—for location of information in the Collection.

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XXVI

Henry Wilder Foote, Hymnologist

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HENRY WILDER FOOTE—HYMNOLOGIST

(Born, Boston, Massachusetts, February 2, 1875)
(Died, Bar Harbor, Maine, August 27, 1964)

> The work of the minister has many aspects. He is a preacher and teacher, a pastor and parish administrator, a counselor and a beneficent influence in the secular affairs of his community. But all these activities are subordinate to his function as the leader of the worship of a congregation. In fulfilling this function he is primarily, if often unconsciously, an artist. . . . Public worship is, or should be, primarily concerned with the presentation of religion in forms of beauty with an emotional appeal, instead of as a series of intellectual propositions formulated in doctrine, or even as a set of principles for guidance in the conduct of life.[1]

So wrote my father, Henry Wilder Foote, in "The Minister as Artist" in the *Crozer Quarterly.* In these words he voiced a conviction held from childhood. As a small boy, in the high-sided family pew in King's Chapel in Boston, he had heard week by week that congregation's adaptation of the *Book of Common Prayer.* The man whose name he bore was minister of King's Chapel from his graduation from Harvard Divinity School in 1861 until his death in 1889. Father described the first Henry Wilder Foote as "a painstaking scholar, gentle, warmhearted and wise."[2] And he was a man who cherished the great treasury of Christian devotional literature, as did his wife, Frances, the daughter of Samuel Atkins Eliot, congressman and one-time mayor of Boston, founder of that city's Academy of Music, where Beethoven's symphonies were given their first performance in this country, and for twenty years director of King's Chapel choir. Before graduating from the Divinity School, the elder Henry Wilder Foote had written a hymn characterized by a deeply devotional spirit and a number of memorable lines:

O Thou with whom in sweet content
  The soul that loves thee shall abide,
Grant that thy spirit may be sent,
  That by its influence purified

And touched and blessed, we may be free,
Father and Friend, to dwell with thee.

* * * * * *

Crown us with love, and so with peace,
  Transfigure duty to delight;
Our lips inspire, our faith increase,
  Brighten with hope our darkest night.
Bring us from earthly bondage free,
To find our heaven in serving thee.

I find no record of any other hymns written by my grandfather, which seems a pity, judging by this early effort. Not many hymns have as fine a phrase as "transfigure duty to delight." But towards the end of his life, cut short in his fifty-first year, he began compiling a hymnbook for King's Chapel to replace the *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* which his predecessor, F. W. P. Greenwood, had published in 1830. The book, *Hymns of the Church Universal,* 1890, was completed after his death by his widow, assisted by his brother and sister—Arthur Foote, the noted musician,[3] and Mary Wilder Tileston, author of the widely loved anthology, *Daily Strength for Daily Needs.*

With such familial influence, it is not strange that the younger Henry Wilder Foote came to value the Christian church's heritage of psalmody and hymnody. His interest in the arts, inculcated in childhood, grew steadily throughout the decades of his professional career as a Unitarian minister. While fully sharing that communion's strong emphasis upon the rational and ethical in religion, his appreciation of the arts—of poetry, painting, and music—led him to his thinking of the minister first of all as an artist, as one who

> is called upon to create, Sunday by Sunday, a form of beauty which, though it be composed of the simplest elements, shall give expression to the mood of worship in which the congregation gathers, but which is inarticulate and inchoate until his skill shall evoke and clothe it in living speech.[4]

So feeling, it is natural that he should have turned, early in his career, to a study of what he deemed

> the most distinctive feature of Christian worship, . . . its provision from its earliest days, of psalms, canticles, or hymns set to music and sung either by choirs or by congregations.[5]

Such study was greatly stimulated by his being named secretary of a committee appointed by the American Unitarian Association to prepare a revision of the denomination's *Hymn and Tune Book* of 1877.[6] This appointment came shortly before his move in 1911 from Ann Arbor, Michigan, where he was serving the Unitarian Church, to Boston to become the Secretary of Education for the American Unitarian Association. His tenure of this new position proved brief, for in 1914 he was named to the Faculty of the Harvard Divinity School. But this interim was long enough to allow completion of the hymnbook editing assignment. As secretary, a large share of the work fell upon his willing shoulders. The *New Hymn and Tune Book* of 1914, though nominally a revision, actually proved to be more than this. Referring to it, many years later, my father wrote:

> The change of religious thought in the intervening thirty-seven years is indicated by the retention of only 242 of the 885 hymns which the earlier book had included. In reality the new book was based much more upon the later Unitarian collections of the eighteen-nineties. . . . The Unitarian hymn writers were, naturally, fully represented so far as their work still had living value, and the book was rich in hymns of public service and social righteousness. Musically it was less progressive, presenting the top musical level of about 1900, but paying inadequate attention to the new tunes which were coming into use in England, though they had not yet reached this country.[7]

This judgment represents a later awareness of the wide gamut of excellent hymn tunes that a more careful search would have made available. The Committee was unaware, for example, of the *English Hymnal* of 1906, of which Ralph Vaughan Williams was the distinguished musical editor. At that time the English hymn tunes of the "cathedral school" by Barnby, Dykes, Stainer, and Sullivan were at the height of their popularity in this country.

With the publication of the *New Hymn and Tune Book,* and the start of a new chapter of his career as Secretary of the Faculty at the Harvard Divinity School, it might have been expected that my father's interest in hymnology would need to be put aside, at least temporarily. The denomination was now equipped with a brand new hymnbook, which quickly proved itself widely acceptable. And his own time and attention must have been concentrated on preparing his courses in homiletics and parish administration. The major landmark of his decade at the Divinity School was his first book: *The Minister and His Parish,* a superior handbook of church administration.[8]

Nevertheless, almost at once the historian in his nature asserted itself in the form of a paper, "The Harvard School of Hymnody," prepared for Visitation Day at the Harvard Divinity School in 1914, later revised and given in various places, and finally published in 1924 in the British *Unitarian Historical Society Transactions.* In this we have his earliest statement of a special interest in the contribution to Christian worship made by nineteenth century Unitarians, especially those associated with the Harvard Divinity School, whose hymns constitute the bulk of American Unitarian hymnody.

> It may seem at first sight a surprising thing, he wrote, that such a hymnody should arise at Harvard. The Divinity School has always been small in numbers; its dominant tone has been deemed that of a cold intellectualism; it has often been assumed that the application of reason to religion was necessarily destructive of spirituality; the nineteenth century is called an age of materialism. Yet Harvard has sent forth this abundant stream of noble verse—pure, lofty, intimate, devotional; a genuine and worthy expression of the religious life.[9]

The members of this "school" were such men as Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell, Samuel Longfellow and Samuel Johnson (whose first jointly edited hymnbook Theodore Parker dubbed the "Book of Sams"), William Channing Gannett and Frederick Lucian Hosmer. A principal reason for this outpouring of religious verse, my father thought, lay in the fact that these men were participants in New England's literary "renaissance." Further, they found at Harvard's Divinity School

> an institution singularly free from traditionalism and formalism. The very fact that their education was undogmatic, that they were under no bonds to keep within the limits of an established creed or ritual meant the liberation of their hearts and minds to find outlet in untrodden paths. So they sang in no conventional piety, in no stilted phraseology, songs

> which were not echoes from ages of a greater faith, but which were fresh and pure expressions of their own deep experience.[9]

Another paper was the result of a lucky find. Browsing one day in 1917 in the library of Union Theological Seminary's fine collection of hymnbooks, he picked up the *Unitarian Hymn and Tune Book* (1877), and "a letter fell from the volume." It proved to be written by Samuel Longfellow, apparently to Rev. F. M. Bird of Lehigh University, a noted hymnologist. In it, Longfellow admitted that several of the hymns in *Hymns of the Spirit* (1864), which he had edited with Samuel Johnson, and which had been listed as anonymous, were actually his; he had listed them as anonymous because he had borrowed a line or two elsewhere. So my father wrote a brief tract, "The Anonymous Hymns of Samuel Longfellow," identifying the five hymns in *Hymns of the Spirit* which, in addition to the twenty-two Longfellow claimed as his, may properly be assigned to him. Most notable of these is the one beginning

God of the earth, the sky, the sea,
  Maker of all above, below,
Creation lives and moves in thee;
  Thy present life through all doth flow.

This Father described as "that well-nigh perfect one." And it was with evident satisfaction that he concluded his paper:

> With the identification of these hymns contributed anonymously by Mr. Longfellow to *Hymns of the Spirit* we probably have a complete list of everything in the way of hymns which he wrote. It is a satisfaction to the student of hymnody to be able thus to trace more conclusively the songs of the writer who has made what is probably a more precious contribution in song to the religious life of America than any other nineteenth century writer.[10]

During these years on the Faculty at Harvard a closely related interest developed—outcome of his warm friendship with Professor Archibald Davison, beloved and talented director of the University's Glee Club. Shortly after his return to the parish ministry in 1925, he and Davison teamed up as editors of *The Concord Anthem Book,* a collection of forty anthems of first-rate musical and literary quality—not a pot-boiler in the lot.[11] This volume proved highly successful and remains to this writing a best-seller in its field. For it my father produced eight translations or paraphrases from Latin and other foreign texts, to fit the cosmopolitan selection of fine choral music gathered and arranged by Dr. Davison. The two men decided not to take any royalties from the book for themselves, and set up instead a "Concord Anthem Book Fund," whose purpose was to assist in improving music in liberal churches. The Fund has proved useful in various ways; beyond providing hundreds of copies of the book itself to small, less affluent parishes, it has granted scholarships to men doing graduate study in this area, subsidized the (Unitarian) Religious Arts Guild and the work of the recent Unitarian Universalist Hymnbook Commission. Father never regretted the decision to set aside the royalties, but in later years he did sometimes chuckle over the fact that he had thus signed away his profits on the most lucrative of his literary efforts. The two men collaborated again a few years later on *The Second Concord Anthem Book,* another estimable collection, though its sales never equalled those of the first.[12]

In 1927, the Directors of the American Unitarian Association appointed a Commission on Hymns and Services, charging it with preparing a revised edition of the *New Hymn and Tune Book* of 1914, and a fresh set of service materials. My father, the only carry-over from the earlier Committee, was named chairman. Asked to serve with him were Dr. Curtis W. Reese, a leading representative of the humanist wing of the movement; Dr. Von Ogden Vogt, author of *Art and Religion,* 1921, and *Modern Worship,* 1927; and Rev. Edward P. Daniels, an accomplished musician. After the work was well under way, the Universalist General Convention also appointed a hymnbook commission. In 1931 it was decided "that the two Commissions should cooperate in editing jointly a book to be recommended to the two groups of Churches."[13] *Hymns of the Spirit,* the result of their labors, thus became an important early milestone on the long road to merger of these two denominations in 1961.

Once again, appointment to such a Commission gave strong impetus to Father's study of Christian hymnody, and the field thereafter remained one of the two main areas of his scholarly interest. That the new hymnbook was almost ten years in the making, from the date of the Unitarian Commission's appointment until the publication of the book in 1937, was due in part to the decision to make it a joint undertaking. The volume could no longer be merely a thorough revision of the *New Hymn and Tune Book,* for it was also to serve as a successor to the Universalists' *Hymns of the Church*[14] and the even earlier *Church Harmonies New and Old.*[15] The Universalists' tradition in hymn singing was far removed from the Unitarian; their hymnbooks were more nearly related to those of such Protestant denominations as the Methodist and Baptist. Hence it became a difficult task to create a volume that could satisfy both groups of churches, and my father, becoming in effect the chairman of joint Commission, proved himself a man of patience and diplomatic skill, gifted in reconciling differences in taste and experience that ran deep. To these qualities he added his own devotion to literary excellence and painstaking scholarship. He was unwilling to let growing impatience in the two Communions for their new hymnbook hasten its production at the cost of mature judgment and thorough attention to such details as indexing.

For Father, editing *Hymns of the Spirit* became much more than an avocation; it grew into what might be called "a second career" that added heavily to his duties as a parish minister at the First Church, Belmont, Massachusetts. Night after night, the light burned late in his third floor study; and the mornings of his summer vacations invariably found him working in his small study on the shore at Southwest Harbor, Maine. He was a scholar by nature, willing to work long hours and to take infinite pains to get things right.

During the first years of work on the hymnbook, before the Universalists came into the picture, he was able to pursue his second main area of scholarly interest—that of Colonial and early American history. In 1930 he published his *Robert Feke, Colonial Portrait Painter,* the story of "the best colonial portrait painter in America before Copley," and a man almost totally ignored by art historians up to that date. In the preface, he observed that

> no attempt has hitherto been made to set forth a detailed study of his career or to catalogue his paintings.

And characteristic of his scholarship, he noted:

> I myself have seen every one of the extant pictures attributed to Feke in the following pages. Perhaps I may make the whimsical claim of being the only person, except the painter himself, who has ever seen them all.[16]

If my father's interest in hymnology and the art of worship grew naturally from his childhood exposure in the family pew and in the parsonage of King's Chapel, so also came his life-long interest in Colonial and early American history. His forebears on both sides traced their ancestry back to the first days of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Father's Father was a competent historian, having completed his two-volume *Annals of King's Chapel* not long before his death. A large percentage of my father's writings were historical in character. As soon as he returned to Massachusetts to live, he became actively involved in the Massachusetts Historical Society and in Salem's Essex Institute, and when asked in the mid-1930's to become executive secretary of the latter institution he found the offer most tempting and difficult to refuse.

But to return to the work of the Hymnbook Commission, it should be noted that Father, though a good deal of an antiquary, was fully aware that a hymnbook is not—or, at least, should not be—

> merely an anthology of the great hymns of the ages, for a large proportion of even the great hymns written by generations that are gone express other ideas and ideals than those of today. They have their secure place in the literature of Christian devotion as the classic utterances of the soul's aspiration and conviction, but they often speak a language which we cannot make our own.[17]

In his role as Chairman of the Unitarian Commission, he sought to make *Hymns of the Spirit* a broad and inclusive volume, happily free of that

> sectarian dogmatism which harps upon only a few of the many strings which give utterance to the religious life. . . .
>
> The editors, therefore, have borne in mind the saying that "in the hymn book is the true key to the doctrine of the communion of saints; for here the saintly ones of all ages meet in their saintliest mood," and have sought to make

> as catholic a selection as is compatible with the interpretation of religion held by the free churches for the use of which the book is intended. So far as the great hymns of the church can still be used as a genuine utterance of a living faith, they have been retained. So far as modern hymns express the thought of our day in a reasonably acceptable lyrical form, they have been eagerly accepted.[18]

Recalling his criticism of the *New Hymn and Tune Book,* quoted earlier, we are not surprised to find that the editors of *Hymns of the Spirit* laid great emphasis on musical excellence for their book. Few such collections even today can claim a more catholic range of music. Its tunes were drawn from the Jewish ritual, the mediaeval church, the psalmody of the Genevan reform, and the great German chorales. Included were French church melodies, and tunes from Iceland, Finland, Denmark, Hungary, Italy, and the Netherlands; also a wide variety of English and French carols and folk tunes, as well as tunes of the more familiar British and American composers from the time of Oliver Holden through the third decade of the twentieth century.

Upon publication, *Hymns of the Spirit* generally found an eager reception in Unitarian churches, and a more cautious one among the Universalist; the latter had a much more difficult adjustment to make, since the book represented a radical departure from the hymnbooks they had been using. Among the critics the reaction was favorable, even enthusiastic. Dean Willard L. Sperry of the Harvard Divinity School, a Congregationalist, wrote in his review for the School's *Bulletin:*

> We had advance confidence in the result since we knew that Dr. Henry Wilder Foote was Chairman of the former (that is Unitarian) of these Commissions. And now the expected book is in our hands. It more than fulfills the hopes we had for it. . . . This material, much richer and more varied than that which it supersedes in the prior book (the *New Hymn and Tune Book*), is interesting and promising as a venture in true catholicity. It is at once more bold and more traditional.[19]

Carl F. Price, reviewing *Hymns of the Spirit* for the magazine *Christendom,* called it "well edited" and "a delight to those who appreciate scholarly editing."

> The editors have achieved . . . a distinct advance over what has gone before—a more worshipful body of hymns of better literary value and lyrical worth and a congeries of tunes which well represent what Dean Robert G. McCutchan has recently styled "the new order in church music." . . .
>
> Inhibitions as to modernity have not embarrassed the editors of *Hymns of the Spirit,* . . . although there are places where they must have scurried across pretty thin ice to include some hymns traditionally well loved. Sometimes their safety has been secured by the altering of a line or two, here and there, and by the deleting of objectionable stanzas. The literary quality of their hymns is far above that of the average American hymnal, and the ethical note is strong. The section on social service and brotherhood is thrilling!
>
> Musically, this collection presents a feast of high-standard tunes, unequalled by other American hymnals. It makes no concessions to radio plebiscites, nor to our popular taste for jingles or for the wooden American tunes of a century ago. Here, instead, is worship-song to stir the pulses of true musicians and to fertilize American hymnbooks of the future.[20]

Another complimentary review was that of Dean Philemon F. Sturges of St. Paul's Cathedral, Boston, and a member of the Joint Commission on the Revision of the Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Dean Sturges called it "a really great contribution to the present movement among all English speaking churches towards reality and beauty in the hymns we use in public worship," and concluded his review:

> The minister who believes in the function of worship greatly, the organist and the lover of hymns should certainly avail himself of the treasures which this book holds.[21]

Naturally, my father derived considerable satisfaction that *Hymns of the Spirit* was so well received, both within and without the denominations for which it was prepared. But he also treasured one bitterly critical review in a Unitarian church bulletin, in which the minister called it "an atrocious collection, set to miserable, unsingable music," and ended with a plea to his congregation to "throw it out and secure a really good hymnal, like the Methodists' " (quoted from memory). He knew, I'm sure, that if the book was really as excellent as he thought it, it couldn't hope to meet universal acclaim.[22]

As *Hymns of the Spirit* was nearing readiness for the printers, my father was invited to give a series of lectures on American hymnody at the Harvard Summer School of Theology, held in July, 1936, in connection with the Tercentenary of Harvard University. Without this stimulus, he noted in the Preface to *Three Centuries of American Hymnody,* his "cumulative study of some years" might not have found its way into book form. But with five lectures to serve as a foundation, he went ahead to complete a comprehensive survey of this subject. The finished book commemorated the three hundredth anniversary of the publication of *The Bay Psalm Book* in 1640, "the first book printed in English-speaking North America."

The five lectures became ten chapters. The first five deal with the colonial period, through "the gradual transition from psalmody to hymnody during the last half of the 18th century." The second half of the book gives a broad picture of the great hymnic outpouring of the 19th century, with a concluding chapter on the hymns of the twentieth, and one entitled "Retrospect and Prospect." The only other book on American hymnody in any way comparable to *Three Centuries* is Louis F. Benson's magnum opus, *The English Hymn,* published in 1915, which my father described as

> a great book . . . which has no rival as a mine of accurate information about the development and use of English and American hymns and hymnbooks.[23]

He regarded Dr. Benson as "the preeminent hymnologist of his day," and was ever-ready to acknowledge his great indebtedness to this older scholar who had uncovered a "rich vein of information . . . hardly touched upon by earlier writers on hymnology.[24] It was during the writing of *Three Centuries* that Father undertook to form a Boston Chapter of the Hymn Society. An attempt had been made by others in 1934; his invitation to those eligible to membership in the Boston area in 1937 met with better success. A number of encouraging meetings were held, and the Chapter sponsored a series of Hymn Festivals in various urban and suburban churches. My father served as chairman of the Boston Chapter until his election to the presidency of the Hymn Society in 1941.

The year 1940, which saw the publication of *Three Centuries* *of American Hymnody,* also marked his formal retirement from the parish ministry, after sixteen years in the Belmont pulpit. He had reached the age of sixty-five, a most fitting age, he thought, for men to step aside to make way for their successors. Vigorous in body and at the height of his intellectual powers, he had no real intention of retiring in the usual sense. He was a man of many intellectual interests, and he had in mind a number of books he now hoped to find time to write. America's entrance into the war, however, postponed his plans for leisurely research and writing. With younger men going off as chaplains into the armed services, many churches were calling for ministerial assistance. So for the next five years, my father continued in the parish ministry after all, serving as interim minister in Vancouver, British Columbia, Syracuse, New York, and Lynchburg, Virginia —the last of these in conjunction with helping to establish a new Unitarian society in Charlottesville, Virginia, the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Church.

Despite this unexpected change in the direction of his life, the war years, nonetheless, allowed him to continue his interest in hymnology. He wrote several articles in 1940 on *The Bay Psalm Book,* one for the *Christian Century,* another for the *Christian Register,* and a third for the *Harvard Theological Review.*[25] He also prepared "An Account of the Bay Psalm Book" for the Hymn Society of America that same year; and as well "A Tribute to Frederick Lucian Hosmer on the 100th Anniversary of His Birth."[26] The next year saw an article, "Lowell Mason's Contribution to American Music,"[27] called forth by the approach of the 150th anniversary of the birth of this noted American musical educator, composer and arranger of a large number of hymn tunes.

Representing more extended research was his article in *Religion in Life,"* entitled "The Ethics of Hymn Tinkering." In this he grappled with one of the thorniest problems confronting every hymnbook editor, the question of how far he may legitimately go in altering the texts of hymns, in order to eliminate obsolete phraseology or to render them theologically acceptable to the constituency for whom he is preparing his book.

> A hymnbook, my father wrote, is a part of Christian liturgy, and a liturgy is subject to the law of growth and change if

> it is to continue to express the changing beliefs and aspirations of successive generations. In any liturgy the literary claims of the individual author are submerged by the necessity of remolding the materials of worship from time to time so that they may continue to be sincere and natural expressions of a living faith.[28]

Every hymnbook has of necessity contained alterations, rearrangements, and amendment in the texts used. *The Book of Psalms,* he observed, was perhaps the most thoroughly tinkered hymnbook in all history. Both John Wesley and James Montgomery objected strenuously when others tinkered with their hymns, but when these authors themselves turned editor, they "used a very free hand in altering, rearranging and amending the verses of other writers."

Obvious limits must of course be observed, he argued—limits set by good taste and respect for the authors' rights. But these are really very broad, particularly after the authors are dead and their work is out of copyright and into the public domain. Thus, using good judgment, an editor may shorten a hymn by dropping one or more stanzas, without any change in the author's words. Such tinkering is usually well justified, for many hymns have been quarried from longer poems, while the originals of other hymns have run to ten or twelve stanzas. Sometimes an alteration in the text itself is required to avoid misunderstanding the author's meaning. Father cited the amusing case of the Scotch Presbyterians who desired to include Montgomery's hymn containing the lines,

> The mountain dew shall nourish
> A seed in weakness sown.

Since "mountain dew" in Scotland is a colloquial term for illicit Scotch whiskey, that phrase simply had to be changed.

More debatable are the alterations that seek to improve the literary quality of the text, or to modify its theological message. John Wesley, in his preface to *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists,* complained of those who tried to improve his verses:

> I desire they would not attempt to mend them
> for they really are not able.

And, inevitably, this is often the case; but not always, by any means. For many examples can be cited of alterations, even in the great hymns of the masters of this art, where few would question that an improvement either in sense or verse has been achieved.

A striking example involving the ethics of hymn tinkering is found in the wide Protestant use of Faber's

Faith of our fathers, living still
In spite of dungeon, fire and sword.

Faber, my father observed, wrote that after his conversion to Roman Catholicism; his faith was in that church, and the "dungeon, fire and sword" referred to the suffering of Catholics at the time of the Reformation. The third stanza, beginning

Faith of our fathers, Mary's prayers
Shall yet bring England back to Thee.

referred, of course, to that country's return to "the true faith." So for Protestants to use the hymn, changing the third stanza to

Faith of our fathers, faith and prayer
Have kept our country brave and free,

means that they are singing it with a very different meaning from what the author intended.

A summary of my father's conclusions on the ethics of hymn tinkering is incorporated into his later paper, "The Task of the Hymn Book Editor." Here he wrote:

> In every case the ultimate question is that of the good taste and judgment of the editor. A good many editors have debased the coinage by unnecessary and trivial alterations, . . . but their errors have seldom been perpetuated. And their offences are much more than balanced by the cases where hymns have been greatly improved and sometimes saved for service by being altered. In this, as in all other respects, the editor must stand before the judgment seat of those best qualified to estimate his worth.[29]

It was during the two years, 1943-45, that my father served as the first minister of the newly formed Jefferson Unitarian Church in Charlottesville, Virginia, almost in sight of Monticello, that his interest in the life, and particularly in the religious views, of the third President was stimulated to the point of involving him in scholarly research about him. He noted in his reading of biographies of Jefferson how scanty and inadequate were their treatments of his religious philosophy. My father knew that Jefferson in his correspondence had more than once declared himself a Unitarian; but this whole aspect of the Virginian statesman's life seemed to him to have been passed over much too lightly. So, using the opportunity of being in Jefferson's home territory, he began the study that led to the only thorough survey of Jefferson's religion. This was published shortly after the end of World War II, after his return to his Cambridge home, under the title *Thomas Jefferson: Champion of Religious Freedom; Advocate of Christian Morals.*[30] An accompanying work, *Thomas Jefferson, Social Reformer,* was also published the same year, and several years later he edited *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth, extracted from The Gospels by Thomas Jefferson.*[31] This remarkable pioneering venture in New Testament criticism had long been unavailable. These three publications of my father's represent a significant contribution to America's understanding of one of its most brilliant founding Fathers.

Just twenty years elapsed between the publication in 1930 of *Robert Feke: Colonial Portrait Painter,* and Father's second large work in this field, his biography of *John Smibert, Painter.*[32] Interest in the Scottish-born Smibert, who came to America in 1729 and set up his studio in Boston the following year, was first stirred during his exhaustive research into the life and art of the almost completely forgotten Feke. Feke was twenty-five when the forty-year-old Smibert arrived in Boston, and for the next twenty years their paths must have crossed from time to time. It may be presumed that this native-born and self-taught aspiring portrait painter sought out the distinguished older artist just come from London, and perhaps learned much from him, for Feke's later portraits according to my father's judgment, "rivaled in skill and charm the best of Smibert's work."

The eighth decade of my father's life, with parish duties behind him, was filled with further inquiries into the areas that had most interested him. First came the Jefferson studies, just alluded to. He was seventy-five when *John Smibert, Painter* was published. At seventy-seven he wrote a paper for the Hymn Society, "Recent American Hymnody" (1952), chiefly surveying the hymns and hymnbooks that had appeared since publication of his *Three Centuries of American Hymnody.* That same year saw publication of still another work in the field of Colonial portrait painters, with his "Charles Bridges: Sergeant-Painter to Virginia.[33] Bridges, the earliest English professional artist to come to Virginia, and an enigmatic figure about whom little is known, had become a subject of research during my father's two years in Charlottesville, nearly a decade earlier. One of my brothers recently commented:

> I have always felt that the portrait painters were Dad's "detective stories" mainly—his fun and games as an antiquarian.

About this time Father was goaded by his children into writing an essay for them, giving his mature religious views, a final statement of his faith. The work was begun, as so many of his scholarly labors had been, in his summer study, overlooking Norwood's Cove at Southwest Harbor. In the evenings he often brought a new chapter to read to the family aloud before the fire. It was soon apparent that the emerging book should find a wider audience. The result was *The Religion of an Inquiring Mind,* published in his eightieth year, a book described on its fly-leaf as

> not addressed to professional theologians or philosophers, but to that steadily enlarging group of educated people who are aware of the widening gulf between the conception of the universe held by science, and the traditional forms of religious belief and dogma set forth by most churches. . . . The author is a keen inquirer who has just turned eighty and has never stopped asking questions. . . . In this book he recounts the story of his own spiritual pilgrimage. . . . It is written out of a mellow maturity; and it reflects a mind that would be free: a youthful and vigorous mind.[34]

My father entered his ninth decade still full of intellectual vigor, with many projects he still hoped to finish. At the request of the Directors of the American Unitarian Association, then getting ready to appoint a new hymnbook commission, he rewrote an earlier manuscript, "The Task of the Hymn Book Editor," which appeared in successive issues of *The Hymn* in 1957,[35] quoted earlier in this Paper. As a hymnbook editor myself, I can testify to the immense usefulness of this detailed description of the task. I know of no other such account. It is to be hoped that through the Hymn Society of America it will continue to come to the attention of those called upon to edit collections of religious song for their respective denominations.

A larger, more important unfinished project still engaged him: the compilations for the Hymn Society of American Unitarian and Universalist Hymn Writers and Hymns. In 1953 he had been appointed Chairman of the American Committee on the Revision of the Julian *Dictionary of Hymnology.* The project called for the eventual publication of a *Dictionary of American Hymnology* incorporating, and correcting, all biographical notices of American hymn writers in the present edition of Julian, and adding all other known hymn writers and hymns omitted in the great British *Dictionary.* My father took upon himself the large task of assembling the information regarding American Unitarian Hymnody for the Hymn Society; and the much smaller one as well on the Universalists. The former of these may well prove his greatest contribution to hymnology. If and when the proposed *Dictionary of American Hymnology* is published, this exhaustive compilation will provide the editors with abundant material on the Unitarian contribution to the hymnody of this land. Of this work Rev. Vincent B. Silliman, Unitarian hymnologist, has written in response to my request for his evaluation of it:

> This priceless compendium includes 270 mimeographed pages. There will never again be anything like it, for it covers the extraordinary range of American Unitarian hymnody for around 170 years. Here is the whole story to the year 1959 briefly summarized and evaluated, along with a record of all the books. Here are scholarly sketches of all the hymn-writers, brightened with many a well-turned phrase. Included are both the host of American Unitarian hymn writers whose hymns are now being sung within and beyond the Unitarian Universalist fellowship of churches, and those many other Unitarian hymn-writers, of sensitive religious perception and literary discernment, whose songs, after serving well past generations, have inevitably fallen out of use. Here so far as is humanly possible is an account of every published American hymn of Unitarian origin and what became of it, including examples of these hymns in the usage of several denominations in this country and Great Britain, particularly. Only a reading of the entire volume can give an adequate impression

> of the research that went into it. This book was the constant resource of those who prepared text notes for the Unitarian Universalist *Hymns for the Celebration of Life*, 1964. Only such use, allowing inevitably for a correction or two, could prove its comprehensiveness and reliability. How great a gift this is to the hymnic love of the English-speaking world!
>
> Of the companion account of Universalist hymnody, one notes that though the Universalists compiled many hymnbooks, their hymns have not often stood the test of time.

A son lacks the objectivity needed to appraise his own father's career, even the son who has elected to follow the same calling, and who has more than a casual interest in the field of hymnology. It is perhaps appropriate to voice, as a Unitarian minister, my gratitude that this small denomination, having produced so many fine hymn writers, also produced a man sufficiently interested in this extraordinary phenomenon to devote much time and patient effort to tell the story of it, with conscientious thoroughness. From the time of my father's early paper on "The Harvard School of Hymnody," his imagination played upon the fact that a small religious movement, commonly considered highbrow, should have created such a succession of beautiful religious lyrics, ranging from statements of a warm personal faith and gratitude to stirring calls to social justice and the service of mankind, over a period of approximately one hundred and fifty years.

> When the first edition of the *Pilgrim Hymnal* was published in 1910, he noted, it listed both the nationality and the church membership of the authors included, which led to the disclosure that nearly half of the American authors were Unitarians who had contributed considerably more than half the hymns of American authorship. In answer to critics Dr. Washington Gladden replied that this was due to the simple fact that the Unitarians had written a larger number of the best hymns than had the American writers in other denominations.[36]

This "unique phenomenon in the history of hymnody" has had, in my father, a patient and accurate chronicler. Without him, this important facet in the history of Unitarianism might never have been adequately told.

If, in closing, I may be forgiven a more personal word: the truly remarkable thing about this man, to his son at least, is how significant a scholarly contribution an active parish minister can make, provided he be a man of wholehearted scholarly commitment. Father's mind was not marked by great originality. His mental habits were deliberate. He was not particularly facile in extemporaneous speech. But he compensated for these limitations by unfailing self-discipline and hard work. Not a musician himself, such were his musical sensibilities that fine musicians were glad to work with him. He was not a poet, a friend comments, nor did he ever think of himself as one, yet he loved felicity in writing and himself wrote interestingly and well. In a day when serious scholarship is not often found in men engaged in the parish ministry, his life is a testimony to how much such a man can accomplish. His devotion to his chosen profession was full and unwavering. He was widely loved and respected by his parishioners, and by his colleagues. Over the years he worked steadily for many such denominational causes as adequate pensions for retired ministers, and care of their widows. Another long time concern was Negro education, and for more than half a century he served on the Board of Trustees of both Hampton Institute, and Penn School of Frogmore, South Carolina. Yet he managed to achieve as an historian and a hymnologist the high level of competence I have sought to recount in this paper.

Shortly after the publication of *Hymns of the Spirit,* the First Church in Belmont elected to honor its minister for successful completion of this editing assignment. For the occasion one member of the Hymnbook Commission, Edward P. Daniels, wrote this tribute:

> All praise to Harry Foote! Unyielding taskmaster who kept us at work:—skillful diplomat, ever resourceful in a pinch:—avid for more indices which he painstakingly compiled:—wise mediator between the extremists:—inexhaustible source of historical fact:—never afraid of changing the line of approach and of the additional labor involved:—real leader of a splendid venture in cooperation. We of the Commission know.

So apt are these phrases that they stir one's memory of the man as he was at the height of his powers, before a series of minor strokes destroyed the keenness of his intellect. Indeed, as I write these words two years after his death, he seems more alive and present than during those last five painful years of decline. Such men as he do maintain the fabric of the world, and in the handiwork of their craft is their prayer.

FOOTNOTES

1. Foote, Henry Wilder, "The Minister as Artist," *Crozer Quarterly,* Vol. XXV, No. 1, January, 1948.
2. Foote, H. W. *The Religion of an Inquiring Mind,* The Beacon Press, Boston, 1955, p. 4.
3. For many years a teacher at the New England Conservatory of Music, Arthur Foote was for over forty years organist at the First Church, Boston. One of the founders of the American Guild of Organists, he is remembered chiefly for his many secular songs, his orchestral suites and chamber music. He also composed many anthems, a Suite for Organ, and a musical setting for the Synagogue.
4. Foote, H. W. "The Minister as Artist" (note 1).
5. Foote, H. W. "The Task of the Hymn Book Editor," a paper originally prepared for an interdenominational gathering of ministers in 1933 under the title "Problems of a Hymn Book Editor"; revised for the American Unitarian Association in 1956, and published in *The Hymn,* Vol. 8, nos. 3 and 4, July and October, 1957. P. 73.
6. The other members of the Commission were Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, Chairman; Rev. Rush R. Shippen; and Rev. Lewis G. Wilson.
7. Foote, H. W. *Three Centuries of American Hymnody,* Harvard University Press, 1940; reissued in 1961, Shoestring Press, Hampden, Conn., p. 338.
8. Foote, H. W. *The Minister and His Parish,* The Macmillan Company, 1923.
9. Foote, H. W. "The Harvard School of Hymnody," The British *Unitarian Historical Society Transactions,* Vol. III, No. 2 1924.
10. Foote, H. W. "The Anonymous Hymns of Samuel Longfellow," *The Harvard Theological Review,* Vol. X, October, 1917.
11. Davison, A. T. and Foote, H. W., editors, *The Concord Anthem Book,* E. C. Schirmer Music Company, 1925.
12. Davison and Foote, editors, *The Second Concord Anthem Book,* E. C. Schirmer Music Company, 1936.
13. *Hymns of the Spirit,* The Beacon Press, 1937. From the Preface. The members of the Universalist Commission were Rev. L. Griswold

Williams, Chairman; Dr. Alfred S. Cole; Dr. Edson R. Miles, and Dr. Tracy M. Pullman. Robert L. Sanders, then organist at the First Unitarian Church, Chicago, Dr. Vogt's parish, also served unofficially as a musical editor of the Joint Commission.

14. *Hymns of the Church, with Services and Chants,* Universalist Publishing House, Boston, 1907.
15. *Church Harmonies New and Old,* Universalist Publishing House, 1895.
16. Foote, H. W., *Robert Feke: Colonial Portrait Painter,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1930. Preface viii.
17. *Hymns of the Spirit* (note 13). Preface vi. Signed by the two Commissions, but prepared by H. W. F. It should be noted, to avoid confusion, that the name of this hymnbook was taken from the 1864 *Hymns of the Spirit,* edited by Samuel Longfellow and Samuel Johnson.
18. Ibid. Preface vi.
19. Sperry, W. L., the *Harvard Divinity School Bulletin,* April 1, 1938.
20. Price, C. F., *Christendom,* Vol. III, No. 1, Winter, 1938.
21. Sturges, P. F., *The Boston Evening Transcript,* December 31, 1937.
22. Upon reading the manuscript of this monograph, Dr. Vincent B. Silliman wrote me, suggesting inclusion of the following footnote:

    "An item in Dr. Foote's career as hymnologist that should not be unnoted is one which only the undersigned is likely to report. It is Dr. Foote's vital part in the production of *The Beacon Song and Service Book,* 1935. This is a collection of hymns and service materials intended primarily for children and young people—a project which took several years of concentrated effort during the years in which *Hymns of the Spirit* was in preparation, and which involved religious, musical, and literary standards comparable with those of the other book. The editorial committee consisted of Ruth E. Bailey, music editor, Gertrude H. Taft, Katherine I. Yerrinton, and the undersigned. Dr. Foote attended countless meetings of this committee, made available to us the evolving manuscript of *Hymns of the Spirit,* encouraged wholeheartedly our somewhat timid desire to include whatever we could lay our hands on that would give devotional expression to the humanist phase of the Unitarian movement, and carried back to *Hymns of the Spirit* a number of our findings, choices of tune and texts set to tunes, including two of the hymns most cherished today in Unitarian Universalist churches.
23. Foote, H. W., *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (note 7), p. 325.
24. Ibid. Preface vii.

25. The articles were (1) "The Tercentenary of the Bay Psalm Book," *The Christian Century,* April 24, 1940; (2) "The Music and Poetry of the Bay Psalm Book," *The Christian Register,* September 15, 1940; and (3) "The Bay Psalm Book and Harvard Hymnody," *Harvard Theological Review,* October, 1940.

26. Foote, H. W., "A Tribute to Frederick Lucian Hosmer on the 100th Anniversary of His Birth," *The Christian Register,* October 15 and November 1, 1940.

27. Foote, H. W., "Lowell Mason's Contribution to American Music," *The Christian Register,* December, 1941.

28. Foote, H. W., "The Ethics of Hymn Tinkering," *Religion in Life,* Winter Issue, 1942.

29. Foote, H. W., "The Task of the Hymn Book Editor" (note 5).

30. Foote, H. W., *Thomas Jefferson: Champion of Religious Freedom; Advocate of Christian Morals,* Beacon Press, 1947; reprinted in paperback under title *The Religion of Thomas Jefferson,* Beacon Press, 1960.

31. Foote, H. W., *Thomas Jefferson: Social Reformer,* The Beacon Reference Series, Beacon Press, 1947; and *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth, extracted from the Gospels by Thomas Jefferson,* edited, with an Introduction, by H. W. F., Beacon Press, 1951.

32. Foote, H. W., *John Smibert, Painter,* Harvard University Press, 1950.

33. Foote, H. W., "Charles Bridges: Sergeant-Painter of Virginia," 1735-1740. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. 60, No. 1, January, 1952.

34. Foote, H. W., *The Religion of an Inquiring Mind* (note 2).

35. Foote, H. W., "The Task of the Hymn Book Editor" (note 5).

36. Foote, H. W., *American Unitarian Hymn Writers and Hymns,* compiled for the Hymn Society of America, January, 1959. Mimeographed, p. 9. (Also, *American Universalist Hymn Writers and Hymns,* same date, mimeographed, p. 35.)

THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA

XXVII

Contemporary Hymn Tunes

DR. DAVID HUGH JONES
Chairman, Tunes Committee

THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA
NEW YORK CITY
1970

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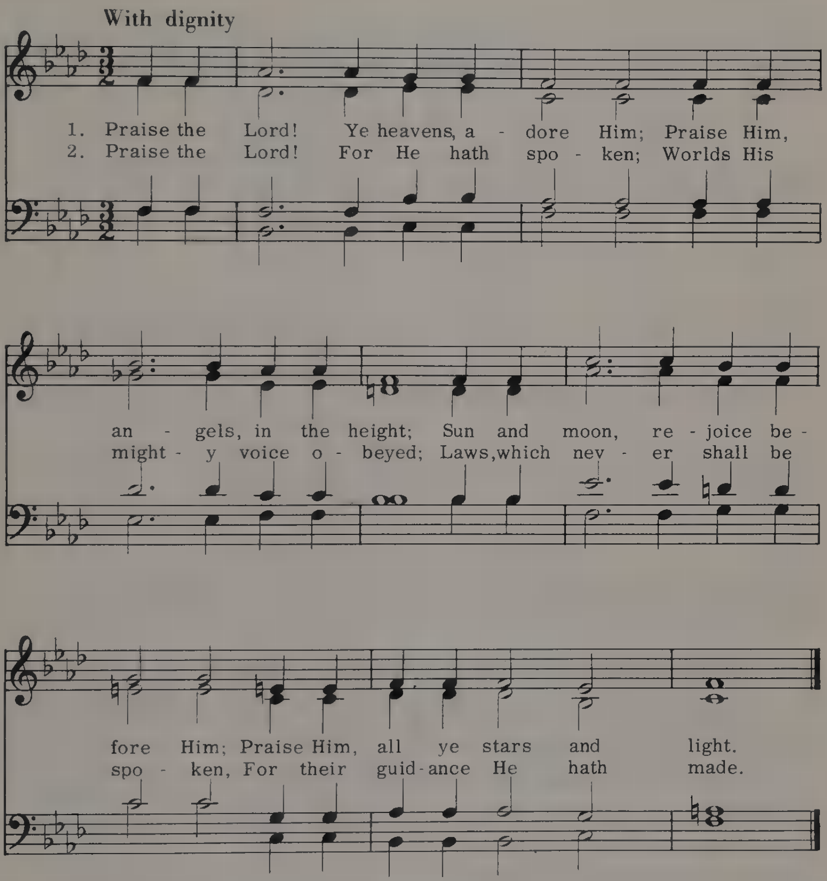
Praise The Lord!

Psalm 148
London Foundling Hospital Collection, 1796

Garry A. Cornell, 1966


With dignity
1. Praise the Lord! Ye heavens, a - dore Him; Praise Him,
2. Praise the Lord! For He hath spo - ken; Worlds His
an - gels, in the height; Sun and moon, re - joice be -
might - y voice o - beyed; Laws, which nev - er shall be
fore Him; Praise Him, all ye stars and light.
spo - ken, For their guid - ance He hath made.

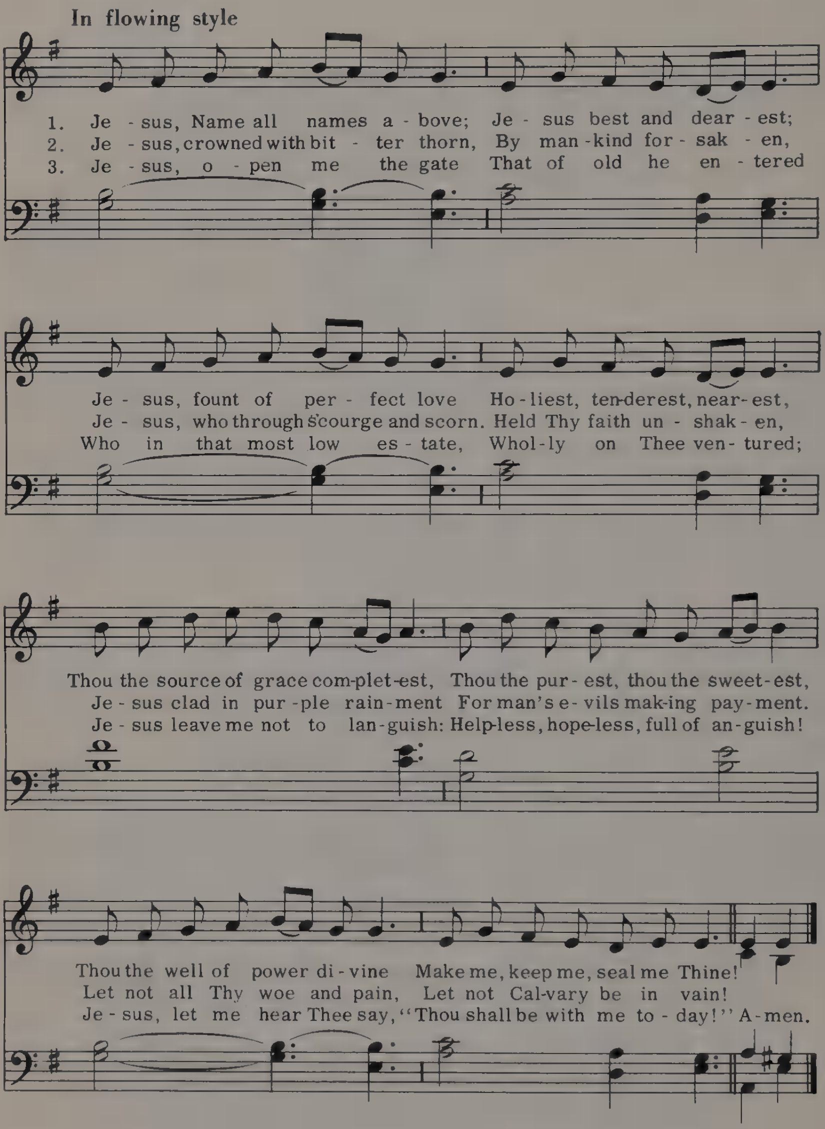
3. Praise the Lord! For He is gracious;
Never shall His promise fail;
God hath made His saints victorious,
Sin and death shall not prevail.

4. Praise the God of our salvation;
Hosts on high, His power proclaim;
Heaven and earth, and all creation,
Laud and magnify His name!

Jesus, Name All Names Above

Theoctistus of the Stadium, cir. 890
Tr. John Mason Neale, 1818 - 66 a.

STEPHEN SHARP

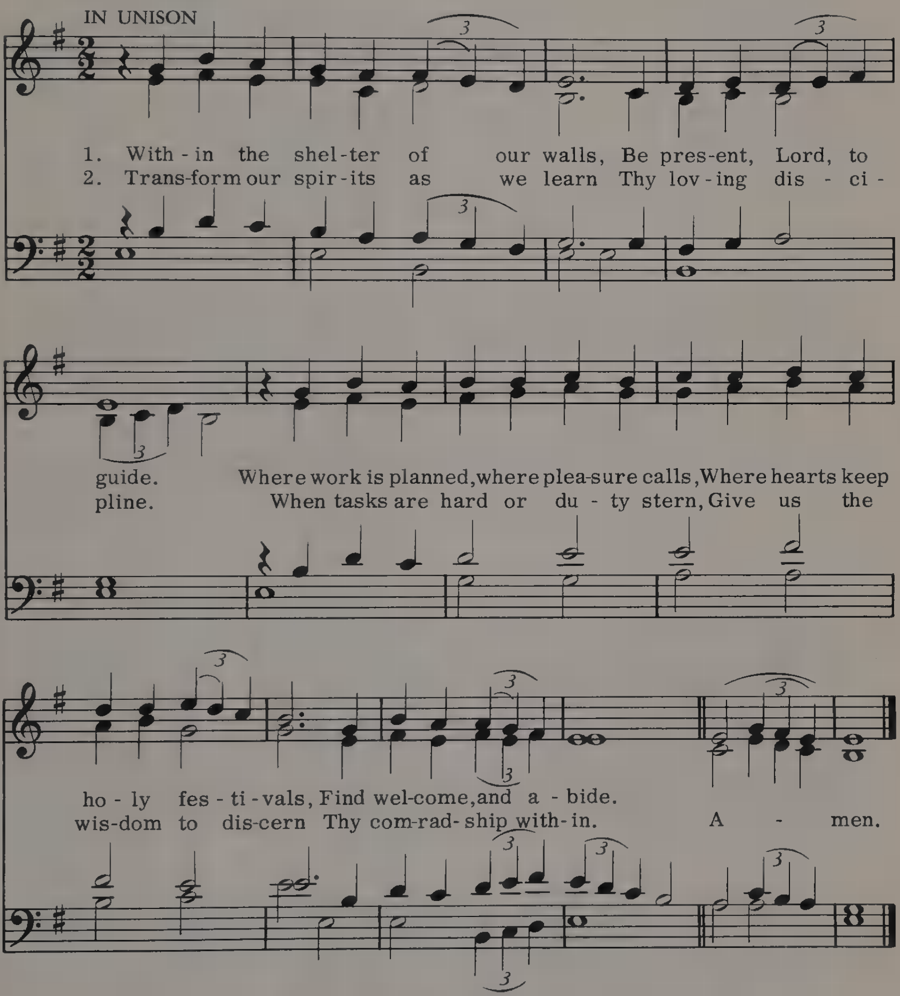

In flowing style
1. Je - sus, Name all names a - bove; Je - sus best and dear - est;
2. Je - sus, crowned with bit - ter thorn, By man - kind for - sak - en,
3. Je - sus, o - pen me the gate That of old he en - tered
Je - sus, fount of per - fect love Ho - liest, ten-derest, near - est,
Je - sus, who through scourge and scorn. Held Thy faith un - shak - en,
Who in that most low es - tate, Whol - ly on Thee ven - tured;
Thou the source of grace com-plet-est, Thou the pur - est, thou the sweet-est,
Je - sus clad in pur - ple rain - ment For man's e - vils mak-ing pay - ment.
Je - sus leave me not to lan - guish: Help-less, hope-less, full of an - guish!
Thou the well of power di - vine Make me, keep me, seal me Thine!
Let not all Thy woe and pain, Let not Cal-vary be in vain!
Je - sus, let me hear Thee say, "Thou shall be with me to - day!" A - men.

Within The Shelter Of Our Walls

8.6.8.8.6

Elinor Lennen

Shirley L. Brown


IN UNISON
1. With-in the shel-ter of our walls, Be pres-ent, Lord, to guide. Where work is planned, where plea-sure calls, Where hearts keep ho-ly fes-ti-vals, Find wel-come, and a-bide.
2. Trans-form our spir-its as we learn Thy lov-ing dis-ci-pline. When tasks are hard or du-ty stern, Give us the wis-dom to dis-cern Thy com-rad-ship with-in.
A-men.

3. Make daily bread a sacrament
Which Thou, O Lord, might share.
Give conversation high intent;
Our daily strength for thee be spent
With thought and loving care.

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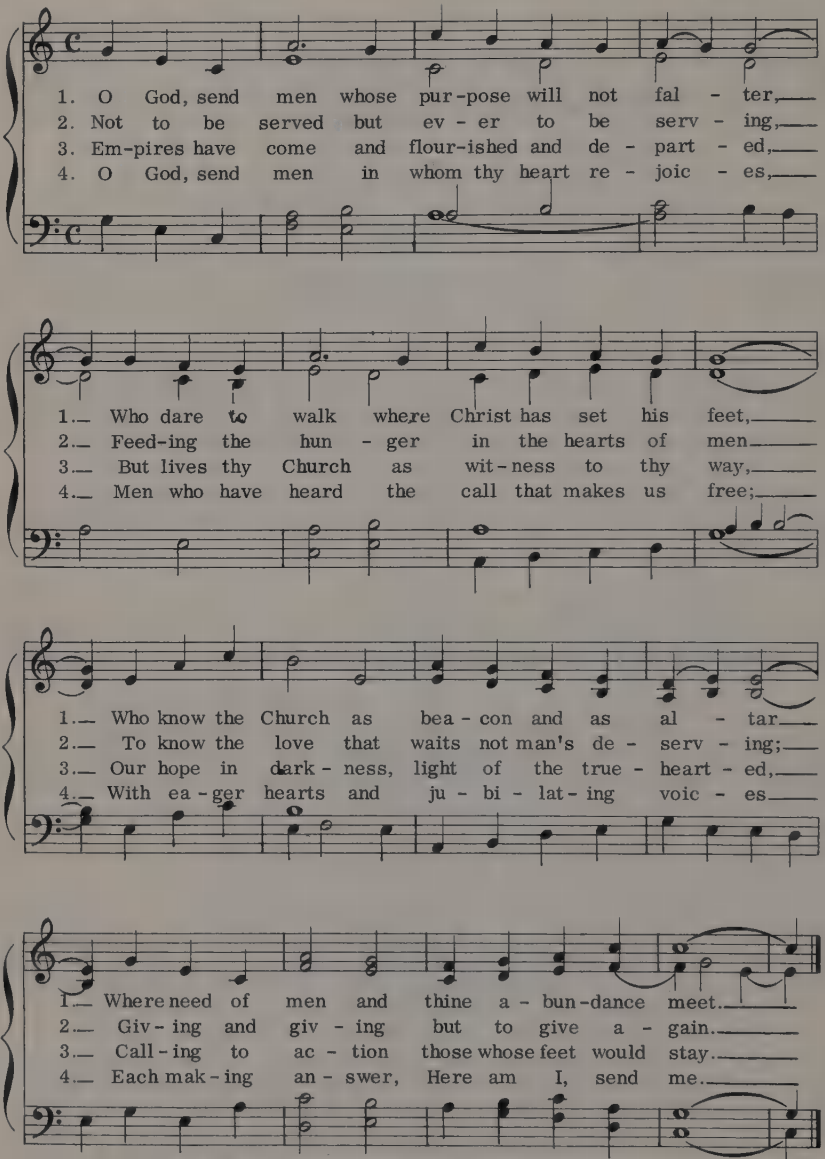
O God, Send Men

HUGHES HALL
(11. 10. 11. 10.)

Elizabeth Burrowes*

Wilbur Held

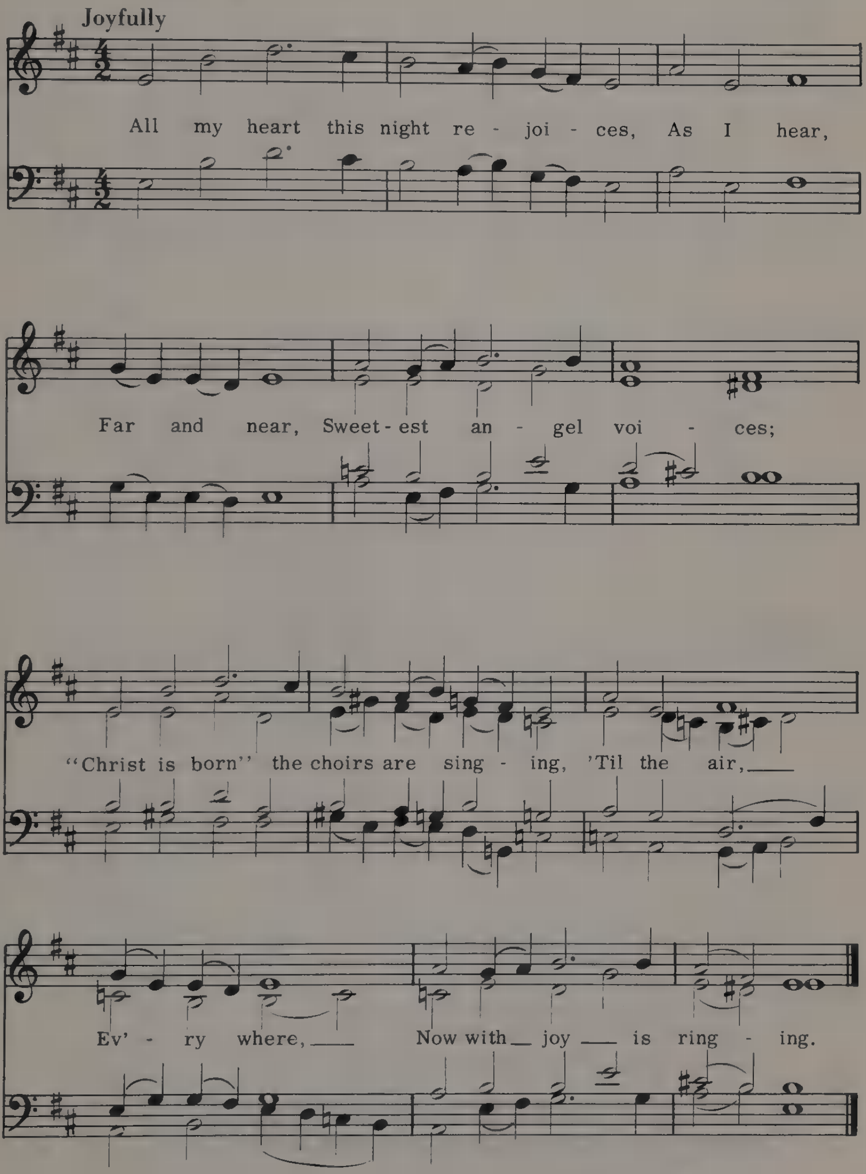

1. O God, send men whose pur-pose will not fal - ter,
2. Not to be served but ev - er to be serv - ing,
3. Em-pires have come and flour-ished and de - part - ed,
4. O God, send men in whom thy heart re - joic - es,
1.— Who dare to walk where Christ has set his feet,
2.— Feed-ing the hun - ger in the hearts of men
3.— But lives thy Church as wit-ness to thy way,
4.— Men who have heard the call that makes us free;
1.— Who know the Church as bea - con and as al - tar
2.— To know the love that waits not man's de - serv - ing;
3.— Our hope in dark - ness, light of the true - heart - ed,
4.— With ea - ger hearts and ju - bi - lat - ing voic - es
1.— Where need of men and thine a - bun-dance meet.
2.— Giv - ing and giv - ing but to give a - gain.
3.— Call - ing to ac - tion those whose feet would stay.
4.— Each mak - ing an - swer, Here am I, send me.

*From *Ten New Hymns on The Ministry*

All My Heart This Night Rejoices

Paul Gerhardt

Jack C. Goode
1953

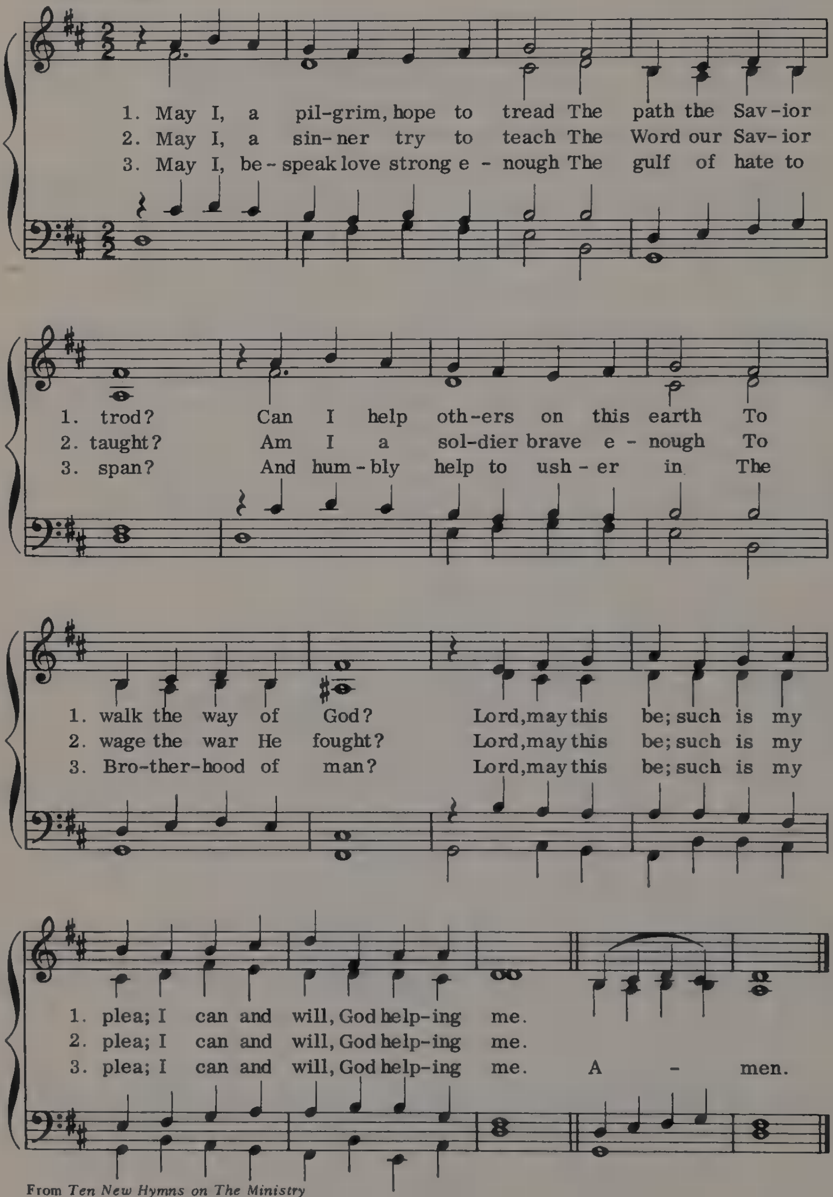

Joyfully
All my heart this night re - joi - ces, As I hear,
Far and near, Sweet - est an - gel voi - ces;
"Christ is born" the choirs are sing - ing, 'Til the air, ___
Ev' - ry where, ___ Now with ___ joy ___ is ring - ing.

May I, a Pilgrim, Hope to Tread

PILGRIM
(9.5.9.5.8.8.)

Herbert Grieb

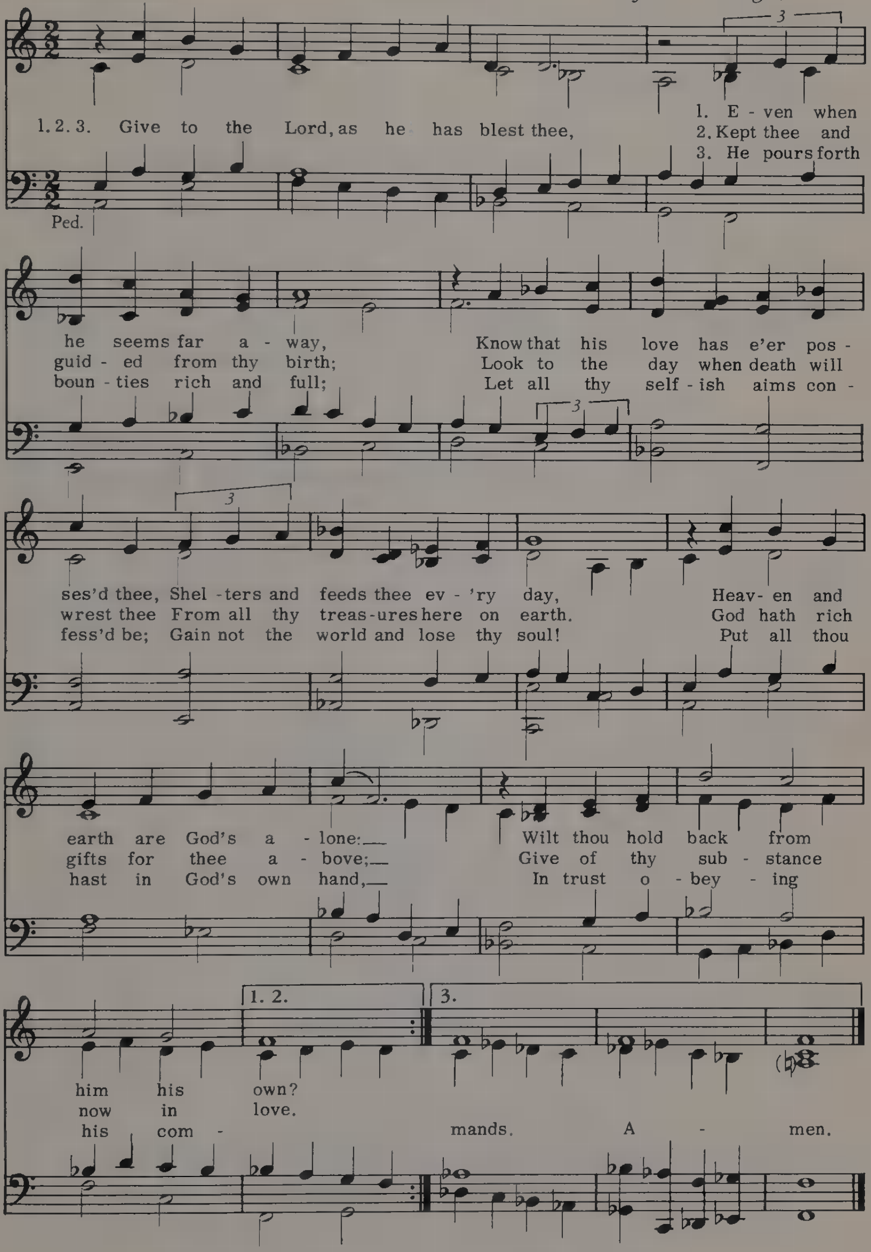
Shirley L. Brown


1. May I, a pil-grim, hope to tread The path the Sav-ior trod? Can I help oth-ers on this earth To walk the way of God? Lord, may this be; such is my plea; I can and will, God help-ing me.
2. May I, a sin-ner try to teach The Word our Sav-ior taught? Am I a sol-dier brave e-nough To wage the war He fought? Lord, may this be; such is my plea; I can and will, God help-ing me.
3. May I, be-speak love strong e-nough The gulf of hate to span? And hum-bly help to ush-er in The Bro-ther-hood of man? Lord, may this be; such is my plea; I can and will, God help-ing me. A-men.

From *Ten New Hymns on The Ministry*

Give to the Lord, as He has Blest Thee

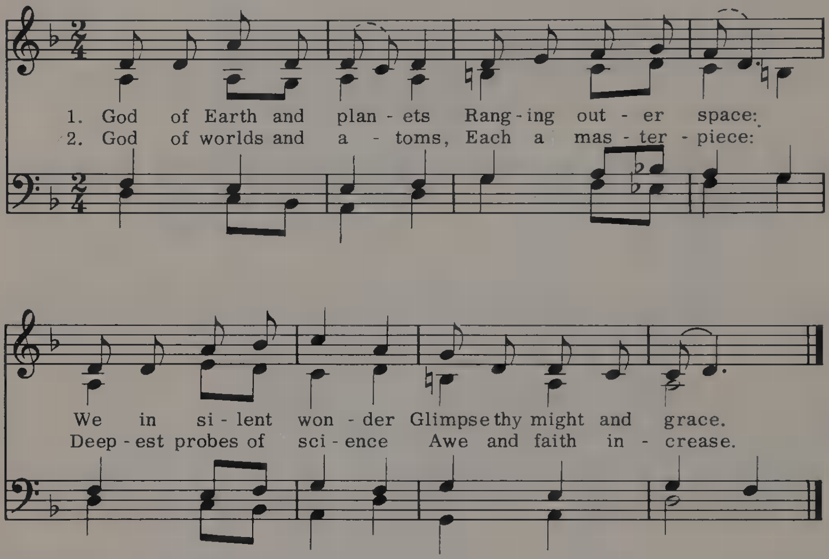
James Boeringer GORE 9.8.9.8.8.8. James Boeringer, 1966


3
1. 2. 3. Give to the Lord, as he has blest thee,
1. E - ven when
2. Kept thee and
3. He pours forth
Ped.
he seems far a - way,
guid - ed from thy birth;
boun - ties rich and full;
Know that his love has e'er pos -
Look to the day when death will
Let all thy self - ish aims con -
3
3
ses'd thee, Shel - ters and feeds thee ev - 'ry day,
wrest thee From all thy treas - ures here on earth.
fess'd be; Gain not the world and lose thy soul!
Heav - en and
God hath rich
Put all thou
earth are God's a - lone:
gifts for thee a - bove;
hast in God's own hand,
Wilt thou hold back from
Give of thy sub - stance
In trust o - bey - ing
1. 2.
3.
him his own?
now in love.
his com - mands. A - men.

God of Earth and Planets

6.5.6.5.

William Watkins Reid | Shirley L. Brown


1. God of Earth and plan - ets Rang - ing out - er space:
2. God of worlds and a - toms, Each a mas - ter - piece:
We in si - lent won - der Glimpse thy might and grace.
Deep - est probes of sci - ence Awe and faith in - crease.

3. God of flow(e)r and ocean -
   Fragrance, beauty, power:
Of thy love and bounty
   Share we every hour.

4. God of home and family,
   God our parents know:
In thy love and knowledge
   We would live and grow.

5. God who sent us Jesus -
   Master, Friend, and Guide:
We would call thee "Father,"
   In thy care abide.

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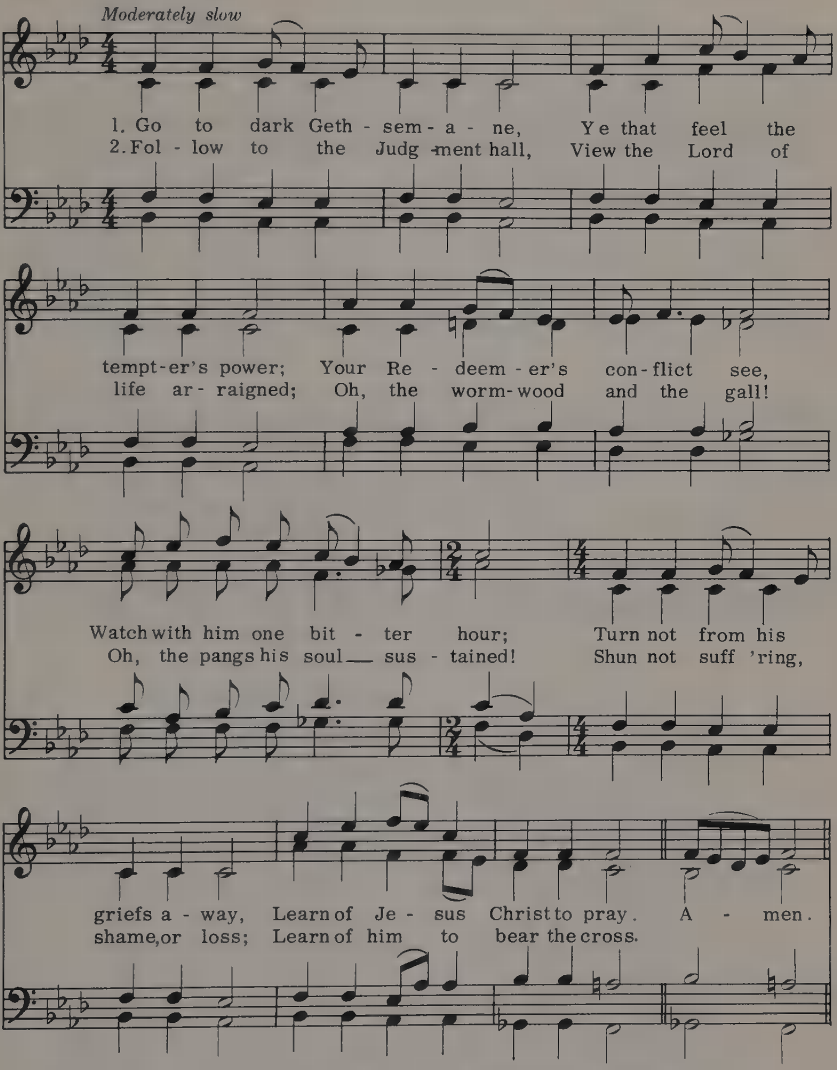
Go to Dark Gethsemane

JAMES MONTGOMERY
STEPHEN SHARP


Moderately slow
1. Go to dark Geth - sem - a - ne, Ye that feel the
2. Fol - low to the Judg - ment hall, View the Lord of
tempt-er's power; Your Re - deem - er's con - flict see,
life ar - raigned; Oh, the worm-wood and the gall!
Watch with him one bit - ter hour; Turn not from his
Oh, the pangs his soul — sus - tained! Shun not suff 'ring,
griefs a - way, Learn of Je - sus Christ to pray. A - men.
shame, or loss; Learn of him to bear the cross.

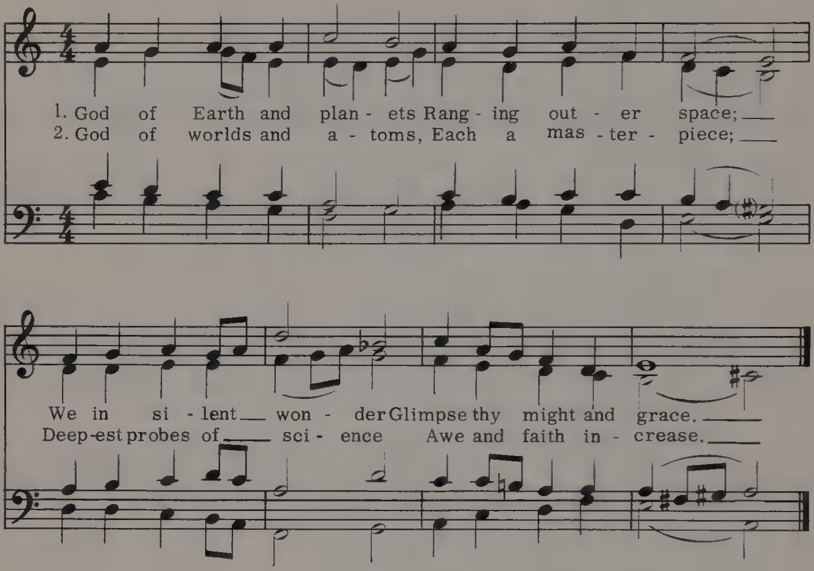
3. Calvary's mournful mountain climb;
There adoring at his feet,
Mark that miracle of time,
God's own Sacrifice complete;
It is finished, 'hear him cry;
Learn of Jesus Christ to die.

4. Early hasten to the tomb,
where they laid his breathless day;
All is solitute and gloom;
who hath taken him away?
Christ is risen! -He meets our eyes;
Savior, teach us so to rise.

God of Earth and Planets

6. 6. 6. 5.
Whitehills

Wm. W. Reid
Cyr de Brant


1. God of Earth and plan - ets Rang - ing out - er space; We in si - lent won - der Glimpse thy might and grace.
2. God of worlds and a - toms, Each a mas - ter - piece; Deep-est probes of sci - ence Awe and faith in - crease.

3. God of flow'r and ocean-
Fragrance beauty, power
Of Thy love and bounty
Share we every hour.

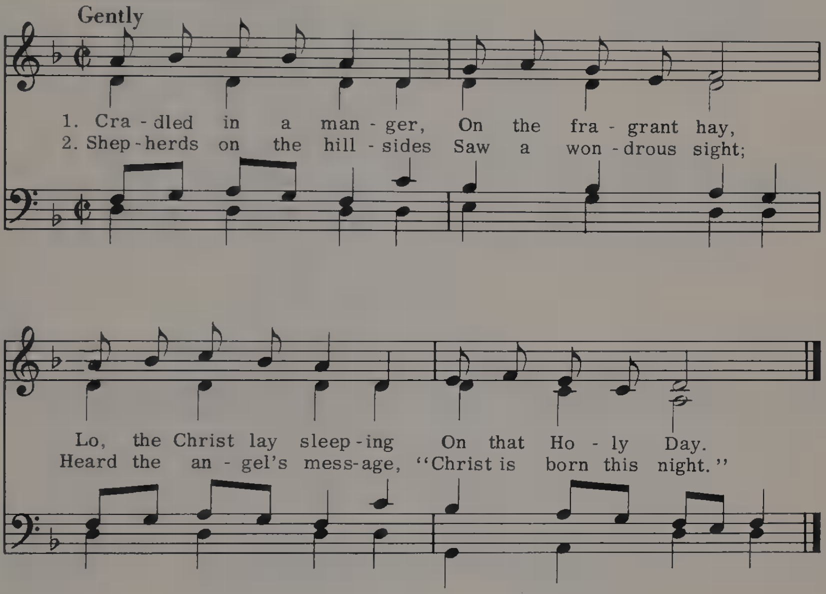
4. God of home and family,
God our parents know;
In Thy love and knowledge
We would live and grow.

5. God who sent us Jesus-
Master, Friend and Guide;
We would call Thee Father,
In Thy care abide.

Cradled in a Manger

6.5.6.5.

Frances Martha Hubbert — Shirley L. Brown


Gently
1. Cra - dled in a man - ger, On the fra - grant hay,
2. Shep - herds on the hill - sides Saw a won - drous sight;
Lo, the Christ lay sleep - ing On that Ho - ly Day.
Heard the an - gel's mess - age, "Christ is born this night."

3. Hastened they their footsteps,
Found him in a stall,
Worshipped there adoring
Christ, the Lord of all.

4. Wise men travelled to him,
Guided by a star,
Over plain and desert
From a country, far;

5. Offered gifts and worship,
Lowly kneeling there,
To the little Christ Child,
Son of God most fair.

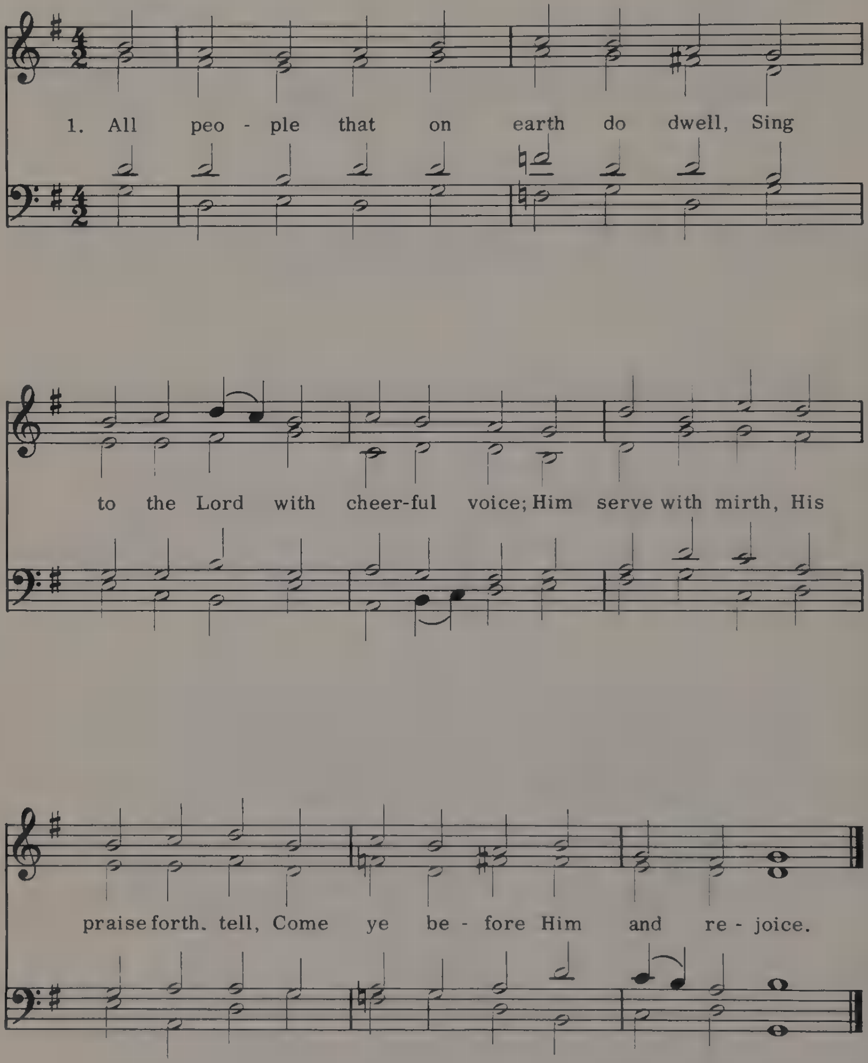
6. Come, we too, this Christmas,
By his great love led;
Lay our love and worship
At his manger bed.

Words from *Hymns For Children*, copyrighted, 1965, by the Hymn Society of America

All People That on Earth Do Dwell

Psalm 100
Rev. William Kethe, 1561

Charlotte Hays
March, 1966

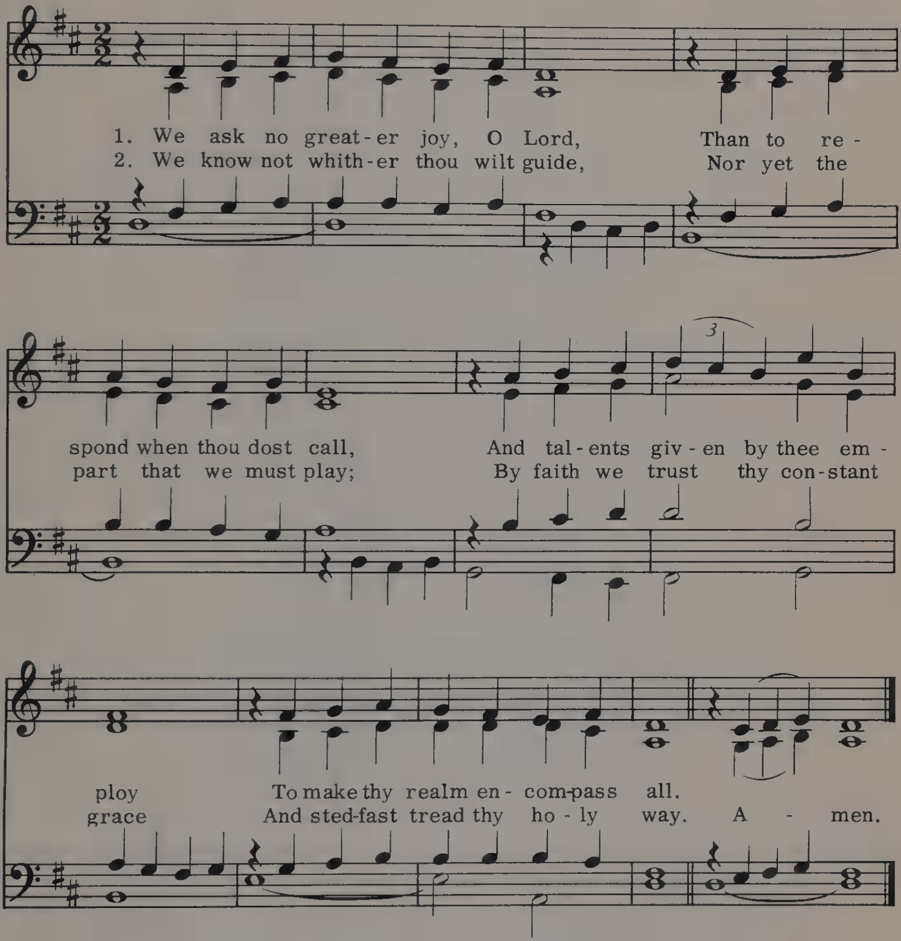

1. All peo - ple that on earth do dwell, Sing
to the Lord with cheer-ful voice; Him serve with mirth, His
praise forth. tell, Come ye be - fore Him and re - joice.

We Ask No Greater Joy, O Lord

(L.M.)

BARBARA J. OWEN

SHIRLEY L. BROWN


1. We ask no great-er joy, O Lord, Than to re-spond when thou dost call, And tal-ents giv-en by thee em-ploy To make thy realm en-com-pass all.
2. We know not whith-er thou wilt guide, Nor yet the part that we must play; By faith we trust thy con-stant grace And sted-fast tread thy ho-ly way. A-men.
3

3. Then let us with good courage toil,
Though others' gifts our own exceed;
When earnestly we work for thee,
We pray, O Father, bless the deed.

4. Give strength, O Lord, to heart and hand;
Bold faith and courage grant, we pray;
Incline our minds to seek thy will,
Our hearts to love thee and obey.

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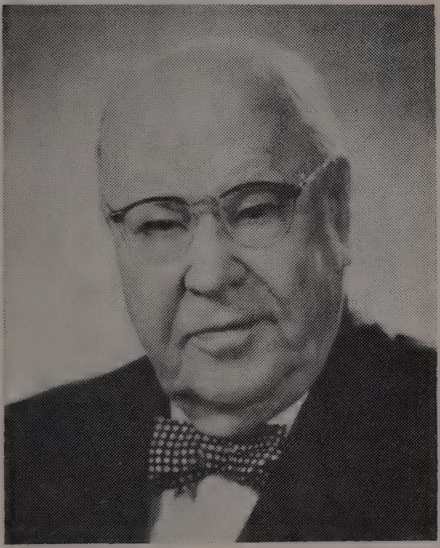
THE PAPERS OF THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA

XXVIII

BORN TO MUSIC



Robert Guy McCutchan

By

HELEN COWLES McCUTCHAN

THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA
475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027

THE PAPERS OF THE
HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA

XXVIII

Born To Music

The Ministry of Robert Guy McCutchan

By

HELEN COWLES MCCUTCHAN

THE HYMN SOCIETY OF AMERICA
475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027

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BORN TO MUSIC

Robert Guy McCutchan was born September 13, 1877, at Mt. Ayr, Iowa. He himself said, "there was scarcely a moment during the waking hours of the McCutchan family that there was not some tune being sounded about the home. It was a daily custom to sing hymns — at family worship as well as at odd moments. Always the tunes were designated by name; only the Gospel hymns, of which we sang but few, were known by titles or by their first lines. I distinctly remember — although I was not yet four years old at the time — hearing my elder brother say one morning at family worship, 'Let's sing **Avison**'. The word **Avison** intrigued my boyish fancy and when my father told me that tune we had just sung was known by the name of its composer, an interest was born which remains to this day"

Robert was drawn into the Methodist Church when, as a boy in Clarinda, Iowa, the Methodist Church had an organ, while the Presbyterian Church, to which his family belonged, had no musical instrument. So he played the organ or sang in the choir at the Methodist Church. In addition to these useful talents, he possessed the "remarkable and rarely possessed faculty of being able to whistle without using his lips, cheeks, palate or pharynx". He delighted to imitate bird calls as well as to whistle tunes, to the puzzlement and amusement of others not similarly gifted.

Robert's father, Erastus G. McCutchan, possessed a very fine baritone voice and was a musician and conductor of note during his residence in Iowa. He was one of the first supervisors of music in the State, holding this position in both Bedford and Clarinda schools.

In Greenville, Mississippi

With the outbreak of the Spanish American War, many young men of Guy's (as he was then known) acquaintance volunteered for the army. But Guy's lame leg prevented him from being accepted. Sensitive about this, he left Park College and went south to Greenville, Mississippi. Having acquired skill in type-setting and the printer's art back in Iowa, he secured a job with the newspaper, the "Greenville Democrat". Eventually this became the "Delta Democrat-Times" of the famous Hodding Carter. On a return visit to Greenville in the 1940's, Dr. and Mrs. McCutchan enjoyed the hospitality of the Carters, and their continuing friendship.

In those early years, Greenville, a small town on the great river, was in some respects a frontier village with "wild west " flavor. Mr. McCutchan relished telling of two incidents which illustrate this. The editor of his paper inadvertantly, or perhaps on purpose, printed a report of the liason between the son of a prominent family and a Negro woman, and her murder. The family thereupon threatened to shoot the editor. The office of the paper was in storefront space facing on the main street, the editor's desk being in front next to the door and window. Guy's desk was at the rear of the room. Now the position of the desks was reversed, Guy being put at the front. And what was more, the editor kept two loaded pistols on top of his desk. Guy's position in the line of fire between window and rear desk was tense to say the least. However, the editor soon decided to return to Texas.

Another bit of excitement occured while Guy was on his way to the office. One day he heard shouts and angry voices, then running feet. Looking up, he saw the school principal racing toward him and a man behind aiming a pistol. Guy jumped into a doorway. Bang ! But the running feet kept on.

But mostly his days in this southern town were enjoyed in the warm friendly atmosphere of fine families and the musical activities of the Presbyterian Church. The following newspaper item speaks for itself.

> Christmas 1898 has come and gone. In Greenville Christmas was observed with more decorum than is usual. There was not the usual boisterousness and drunkenness indulged . . .
>
> On Saturday night — Christmas Eve — Christmas trees were enjoyed at the Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist churches by the little ones and their grownup friends . . .
>
> On Sunday beautiful services were held in all the churches. The praise service in the Presbyterian church on Sunday night was the most brilliant song service perhaps ever enjoyed in a church in Greenville. The quartette by Mrs. C. O. Greenlee, Miss Susie Ireys, R. G. McCutchan and W. H. Negus — "There Were Shepherds:" the soprano solo — "Emmanuel" — by Miss Greenlee, and the duet — "Where He Leads Me," by Miss Susie Ireys and Mr. R. G. McCutchan, were as beautiful and sweet as it is possible to make them, while the chorus was simply grand.

College Education at Simpson

For his college work he attended Park College, Parkville, Mo. 1893-94, then graduated from Simpson College, Mus. Bac., 1904. While at Simpson,

> Dr. McCutchan laid the foundation not only for his musicianship but for his executive ability. He was conductor of the Simpson College glee club in 1903 and 1904, arranged the trips, managed the finances, arranged itineraries for Chautauqua work by students, and in fact to a considerable extent was business manager for Dean Barrows and Prof. Emslie, earning his way through college. His name during this time was frequently linked with that of Arthur Middleton, famous baritone (Metropolitan Opera), and L. D. Carpenter, both of whom were widely known in the Middle West . . .

The Simpson Male Quartette, made up of Dr. L. D. Carpenter, first tenor; R. G. McCutchan, second tenor; R. E. Clark, first bass; A. D. Middleton, second bass, and the Apollo Quartette whose members were Gertrude White, Kay M. Spencer, R. G. McCutchan and A. D. Middleton, concertized widely.

In solo singing, Guy used an effective technique. Looking over his audience he would pick out some individual and sing to that person. A love song would be aimed at a young woman, a sad sweet sentimental song would be addressed to a dear older woman.

> And those were the days when clowning was a distinguishing mark of students, and the pranks played by Guy McCutchan and Arthur Middleton have been handed down in tradition . . . McCutchan played the snare drum, and Middleton hammered the bass drum, and the comedy the two put over was the biggest part of the band.

Typical of the fun they made for each other and others is this: At a small town where they were to give a concert, they took their afternoon stroll down the central street. On the sidewalk in front of a store was some sale merchandise among which was an old washing machine with a hand crank. Middleton stepped up to it and turning the crank accompanied this action by humming a hurdy-gurdy air. In a flash McCutchan began to scratch himself, holding out his cap for pennies in true monkey fashion. This funny business and their great guffaws of laughter drew a crowd which thoroughly enjoyed the nonsense.

Such was his enjoyment and skill in clowning, a gift for telling funny stories, and his own contagious hearty belly-laughs as well as real showmanship, that Guy at one time seriously considered making vaudeville a career. Indeed, he was once offered a job with Flo Ziegfield as musical arranger, and was promised — for those days — fabulous rewards. These same abilities proved of great worth in all his work with people, whether directing choruses or leading great audiences in singing.

Marriage

On November 23, 1904, he married Carrie Burns Sharp. She was a wonderful help to him through thirty-seven years. In his positions as head of the music schools at Baker and DePauw universities, and also in his many involvements on commissions, committees and activities of the Methodist Church, their home was continually open to guests, it falling on Carrie to entertain a stream of guests and friends, with teas, lunches, dinners, and receptions. This she did with beautiful grace and efficiency.

She was also active in church work, a real Bible scholar, and a devotee of poetry and the arts. She was something of an artist herself, doing much exquisite china painting, lace making, and embroidery.

Having no children of their own, they adopted a son, Robert John, in February 1914. He brought life and joy, and a host of young friends to enrich their lives.

At Baker University, 1904-1910

In 1904 Mr. McCutchan accepted a position at Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas, as a teacher of voice. He then organized the Conservatory of Music of which he became the director. He was brought to the University without salary, with the understanding that his salary and that of his teachers should be paid out of the student fees. "After five years of hard work there was a faculty of six, and by 1910 his Music Department achieved the goal of awarding the degree of Bachelor of Music."

> As Director of the Conservatory, Dr. McCutchan built a chorus and choir which concertized widely in the environs of Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, and Iowa. He initiated a spring three-day music festival to which visitors came from surrounding towns. To house the crowds an enlarged gymnasium was built when the first one burned. He thereupon engaged the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra to come to Baker for the spring festival. The following year Damrosch brought part of the New York Symphony Orchestra, and to their accompaniment six Baker students sang the Sextette from Lucia, as one of the numbers. (*History of Baker University,* by Homer K. Ebright, 1951).

These ambitious undertakings so in advance of the times in this area, are a mark of the initiative and genius of Mr. McCutchan.

One of his students, Everett K. Foster, wrote in the Baker University News Bulletin, March 1968:

> It is of the remarkable series of Music Festivals which Prof. McCutchan launched, and some of the "side lights" of those programs that I reminisce.
>
> Beginning with a modest presentation of Cowan's "Rose Maiden" with students chorus and soloists, with piano accompaniment, each spring Centenary Hall re-echoed with the strains (perhaps "strains" is the proper word) of Costa's "Eli," Haydn's "Creation", Mendelsshon's "St. Paul," Handel's "Messiah," and finally the culmination, an outstanding performance of Mendelsshon's "Elijah", with the New York Symphony Orchestra and four top-notch imported soloists, in Taylor Hall, the successor to fire-destroyed Ripley Gymnasium.
>
> Each year more use was made of outstanding guest soloists, and it was inevitable that sometimes there should be disappointment with one or two of them. It so happened that the year "St. Paul" was given the tenor soloist was just such a disappointment. One of the local humorists thus characterized the performance: "The tenor sang, and the chorus followed with 'Take Him Away'. He sang again and the bass soloist sang 'O God Have Mercy'. The tenor sang a third time and the chorus stood and sang 'Stone Him to Death."
>
> It was at this performance also that at the close of the above-mentioned chorus, which ends with extreme suddenness, one of the basses in the chorus, evidently not watching Prof. McCutchan as closely as he should have been, shouted out "Stone . . ." after everyone else was silent. He surely was determined that the martyrdom of Stephen should be complete and he threw an extra rock. In after years the black looks Prof. McCutchan hurled in his direction became delighted chuckles over the incident.
>
> The following conversation took place at a rehearsal of the *Messiah*. The bass soloist was Arthur Middleton, a close friend of Prof. McCutchan.
>
> *Middleton* — "Look, Mac, you are doing this with piano accompaniment The aria 'The Trumpet Shall Sound' is no good without an orchestra, so we don't do it."

McCutchan — "Have you been paid yet?"
Middleton (humbly) — "No."
McCutchan — "Well, then we shall sing 'The Trumpet Shall Sound.' "

A truly remarkable thing occurred when "Elijah" was given. The New York Symphony was delayed in its arrival in Baldwin, and there was only time to rehearse Part I and one chorus from Part II, for the audience was gathering for the scheduled afternoon orchestra concert. So Part II was given that evening without rehearsal, and the only mistake made was when the alto soloist, who of course should have known better, began her aria "O Rest in the Lord" a measure too soon.

Mr. McCutchan enjoyed telling of the time when he was the tenor soloist at a performance of "The Creation" by Haydn. He had just sung the recitative "The Sons of God announced the fourth day, in song divine proclaiming thus his power", when there came a crash of thunder. And all during the ensuing chorus, "The Heavens are telling" a furious thunder storm raged . Could anything have been more spine-tingling !

Europe in 1910

At the end of six years, Dr. McCutchan left Baker University to study music in Germany. While in Berlin, he was honored by being asked to reorganize and take charge of the music in the American Church.

From the **Continental Times** of Berlin, Germany, November 6, 1910 comes the following: "Mr. R. G. McCutchan's Departure — Loss to Berlin-American Community — Mr. and Mrs. McCutchan, much appreciated musical members of the Berlin-American colony, left Berlin last Monday for Paris, where they will remain until December 1, leaving on that date for two or three days in Brussels, sailing from Antwerp on December 3. Mr. McCutchan, who had just been appointed Dean of the School of Music at DePauw University after filling a similar position in Baker University, had expected to spend the entire winter season in enjoyment of Berlin's musical opportunities. His presence was however required at DePauw considerably earlier than expected, and a sudden leave-taking followed.

"The Berlin-American colony is decidedly the loser by Mr. McCutchan's premature departure. Besides being one of its most genial members, Mr. McCutchan had done splendid service as choir master of the American Church, organizing a quartet whose efficiency raised the standard of the musical section of the service to a degree of excellence which probably has not been surpassed, if it has been equalled, in the annals of the church."

Dean of the School of Music, DePauw

1911 – 1937

In speaking of the work of Dean McCutchan, Dr. William W. Sweet, the historian, in a history of DePauw University for the centennial celebration in 1937, had this to say:

> With the advent of Dean McCutchan, the DePauw School of Music began to manifest signs of new life. His first task was to reorganize the curriculum, raising the requirements and placing it on a par with the Liberal Arts College.

He writes also of Dr. McCutchan broadening the course of study, increasing the number of teachers, organizing vocal quartets, the orchestra, and the famous DePauw Choir which toured the entire country. And he says:

> As a result of Dean McCutchan's management, during the years from 1911 to 1931, more than $100,000 was added to the receipts and assets of the University through the Music School.

The Worship Chapels which Dean McCutchan planned and ran from 1932 to 1937 were outstanding both as to speakers and music. The following letter to President Wildman from Carman E. Siewart, October 1936, expresses their value:

> This is the fourth year that I have attended Worship Chapels and valued their influence on my own life; but even more important and significant to me is the extraordinary way in which the students have responded to them. Living with the girls as I do, I am frequently surprised at the number who save their Worship Chapel program, quote speakers, and appreciate the music.
>
> I have often thought that had Dean McCutchan never done anything else than planning these services, his life would have been of immeasurable worth in the lives of all at DePauw, for to me the time spent at Worship Chapel is the most satisfying of all the week.

And of these chapels, Amos Thornburg said:

> At other chapel services attendance was required of freshmen. But this one, entirely religious in form and purpose, with attendance voluntary, was the most popular and well-attended assembly. The form, dignity, reverence, and cohesive movement which characterized the service was thrilling to the students and most impressive for all who had a part as participants.

And so they came! Never less than eight hundred to a thousand for a service of twenty minutes.

Widespread Service

While holding responsibilities as Dean of the School of Music, administrator, choir director, counselor, organizer, teacher in summer schools, it was amazing that he could take on still more assignments. But he was music editor of **American Junior Church and Church School Hymnal**

(1928), and **Standard Hymns and Gospel Songs** (1929). And with others authored **Better Music in Our Churches** (1925), and **Music in Worship** (1927).

Crowning these earlier works came the **Methodist Hymnal** (1935). This was to replace the **Hymnal** of 1905. The new hymnal was the official hymnal for the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Protestant Church. It marked the first time these churches had joined in such an endeavor. The work was entrusted to the Joint Commission on the Revision of the Hymnal and Psalter appointed in 1924. Representing these three churches, the membership (33) of the Joint Commission was large, and included "men eminent in letters and musicians of unquestioned ability, besides others who are able to judge the value of a hymn from the standpoint of a worshiping congregation," as wrote Fitzgerald S. Parker, of the Publishing Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

This Commission, in December 1931, appointed Dean McCutchan editor-in-chief. He had been serving on the sub-committee on tunes. Also on the editorial committee assisting Dean McCutchan were John W. Langdale, Dr. Oscar Thomas Olson, and Prof. Charles C. Washburn.

The editorial committee was faced with the problem of "interpretation of religious experiences of today in terms of present day thought. Hymnals have to be revised about once in every generation. Today we use different phraseology, have different interests and our music has to change if it is to be effective. The demand has been increasing for new hymns which would express new religious, social, and international conditions and interpret the widening experiences and tasks of the church."

These were Dr. McCutchan's words in the 1930's. And he went on to say, "In the tunes the melodic rather than the rhythmic interest has been sought, and it is hoped that in no case will words and music struggle to convey a different message." Also "in some cases the wording of a hymn was altered a bit as for instance the word 'heathen' was deleted and the line 'Strong men and maidens meek' was changed to read 'Strong men and maidens fair.' "

The new hymnal contained 54 of the 6,500 hymns of Charles Wesley, grand old man of Methodism hymnody. His hymn, "O for a thousand tongues to sing," was no longer the first hymn in the book, a place it had occupied in all editions dating from 1779 when John Wesley dedicated a "Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists." The omission of some Wesley hymns in the new hymnal caused anguish to some members of the Commission. At one of the meetings a bishop exclaimed in dramatically shaking, tearful voice, "Brethren, brethren, consider what you are doing to Charles Wesley !" To which Dean McCutchan replied, "Gentlemen, I believe we are saving his reputation."

In commenting on the work of the Commission, Fitzgerald Parker, in the **Christian Advocate** of April 1932 said:

> If it is at all in my power, I should like to reassure any fearful saints there may be, of the soundness of doctrine they may count upon in the new hymnal, and of the strictness with which music will be held to true standards of congregational worship. Personal inquiries lead me to believe that some disturbing but unfounded rumors are abroad. With ten bishops on the Commission, there is no need to fear radicalism of any kind.

Speaking of the work of Dean McCutchan, Amos Thornburg said:

> He was trusted and responsible for detail and decision far above the knowledge of most of those who have praised him. There was a time in the finishing of the work that the committee had no more time to meet, and the entire task of finishing the work was for him to achieve. This included both text and tune and other matters where decision and responsibility are usually shared. But the colossal task of finishing the task was left to him, and achieved because of his energy and faithfulness. The response of the total church in appreciation was monumental.

"As the new hymnal was projected by the Joint Commission" says Jerome Hixson, "Dean McCutchan as its editor, traveled extensively in the South, leading singing groups, lecturing on hymnology, and generally making friends not only for himself but for the Methodist Episcopal Church as it then was. People who sang and laughed with Dean McCutchan, simply could not go on fighting the Civil War. I like to think that when, in 1939, the issue of unification came to the final vote at the Uniting Conference in Kansas City, a share of the credit was due to the backlog of good work done during the years before by Dean McCutchan."

A Hymnal Manual

While working through the years in the field of hymnody, Dean McCutchan was assiduously acquiring and organizing materials about the authors and composers of hymns and tunes. This material was used in **Our Hymnody: A Manual of The Methodist Hymnal** issued in 1937 with a revised edition in 1942. William Reynolds says:

> It was the first significant hymnal handbook produced in America. Here is revealed the years of his careful research, his understanding of the broad field of hymnology, and occasional glimpses of his keen wit and humor. In many respects this was a pioneer venture and those who have since prepared hymnal handbooks have been much in his debt, — to an even greater extent than they have sometimes admitted.

R. A. Schermerhorn, in **The Christian Century,** wrote:

> Human interest stories . . . lighten the pages of the new manual by Professor McCutchan . . . But he has also given us a solid volume of scholarship, with historical notes for every author, composer and melody in the entire *Methodist Hymnal.* Frequently he inserts variant texts of tunes and poems, occasionally from original plates, making the compendium a mine of useful information heretofore unavailable except in the larger libraries . . . Also facsimile reproductions make the book of interest to the historical student . . . This volume, though it rests back

> upon sources Catholic, Protestant and secular, bears nevertheless the unmistakable earmarks of the denominational spirit.

Since his writings are under consideration, it may be well to continue, here and now, to note those also produced through the retirement years to the time of his illness. His involvement in church, and church-related activities with which they are intertwined, are treated more fully later in this biographical sketch.

Hymns in the Lives of Men (1943) had as its basis a series of lectures given at Southwestern University, Texas, at the invitation of his good friend President J. N. R. Score. In the "**Diapason,** H. D. Bruening said, "It constitutes an appealing miniature course in hymnology for all who sing hymns — at home or in the pew — and especially for clergymen, organists, choir leaders and church workers in general. This remarkable little volume is delightful to read . . ."

That question, "Why Avison?" which he had asked as a child, started a lifetime interest in the names of hymn tunes, and the accumulation of bits and pieces of information relating to it. A card file of hundreds of these names and facts in respect to them grew and grew, finally resulting in some of them being used in the book **Hymn Tune Names: Their Sources and Significance** (1958). The following is quoted from that text:

> Having spent many years in the study of all aspects of hymnology, I have found the matter of tune names to be one of its most intriguing phases. The wide variety of names given to tunes, where they came from, why they were chosen, what significance they have, has offered a challenge which has entailed wide and painstaking research. No other research projects on which I have worked have been so elusive as this. There is almost no literature on the subject. It would be an almost, if not quite, impossible task to list all the sources of information gleaned through the years from scores of hymn and tune books etc. etc. . . . The work is far from complete but it is a beginning. So I would say as did Cambden: "As for myself, I acknowledge that I cannot satisfy neither them nor myself in all particularities; and well therefore I do like him that said, *He doth not teach well which teacheth all, leaving nothing to subtill wits to sift out !*" And so like him, I do bequeath to more subtile wits the joy of sifting out puzzles raised by the work herein begun.

A series of monographs were the result of papers and addresses given at Northwestern University's church and choral music institutes, from 1934 to 1946. Here are but three of the titles: "The increasing interest in responses, versicles and chants," "The congregation's part in the office of music worship," "The making of a hymnal."

Magazine articles also, flowed from his pen for such periodicals as **Church History, Educational Music Magazine, Adult Teacher, Church School, Religion In Life, Christian Advocate.**

Dictionary and encyclopedia items were requested of him, as: "American Hymns" in the **Dictionary of American History,** also, "The Gospel Song," and "Hymnology," in the **Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge.**

In 1953 he was made a member of the American Committee on the Revision of the Julian Dictionary of Hymnology. Here are excerpts from correspondence with respect to his assignment in that forthcoming book: **Dictionary of American Hymnology.**

H. W. Foote to R. G. M. April 13, 1953.

> . . . I was requested to ask you to undertake a revision of the section on Methodist hymns and hymn-writers in Julian's article on American Hymnody, and was glad to report that you had already stated your willingness to do so. We hope you will also note entries of individual writers and their hymns which need correction or supplementing, in addition to those you have already sent me.

R. G. M. to H. W. Foote, August 3, 1953.

> My specific assignment (Methodist) is proving much more of a task than I had assumed it would be. It involves contributions from the Methodist Episcopal Church from 1784 to 1939; from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, from 1844-1939; Methodist Protestant Church from 1828 to unification in 1939; Free Methodists from organization to date; Wesleyan Methodists the same. Through much research and voluminous correspondence I have the last two finally straightened out. I was already prepared for the first three. But the Negro branches are proving a real problem. I am making some headway and shall be able to submit some things about them even though what they have done in the past is not specially significant. They are making headway however and should have recognition. At the moment the Colored Methodist Church has a recently formed committee at work on a new book.

R. G. M. to L. Ellinwood, January 11, 1956.

> I have submitted to Dr. Foote a list (dating from 1784) of those hymn writers of the following Methodist groups that I consider worthy; (1) Methodist Episcopal, (2) Methodist Episcopal South, (3) Methodist Protestant, (4) Wesleyan Methodist, (5) Free Methodist.
>
> I do not at this time have sufficient information concerning hymn writers of any Negro branches of Methodism.
>
> No significant contribution came from American Methodists until about the middle part of the 19th century. Most of the contributions of Methodist would-be hymn writers, until after 1900, were Gospel Songs.
>
> I have listed eighty some odd hymns which have been published by American Methodists, a goodly number of which have appeared in Julian. I've not taken time to estimate the number of Gospel Songs included but I do not think too many.
>
> I have sent Dr. Foote the biographies of fifty-one or fifty-two writers who should be given consideration. The best known of this list are such men as, Frank Mason North, Earl Marlatt, James L. Milligan, Harry Webb Farrington, William Stidger, Richard Watson Gilder. Of course Fanny Crosby, Charles Gabriel, are perhaps the best known of the Gospel Song writers.
>
> I mentioned earlier in this letter that the Gospel Song certainly should receive sympathetic attention. It is almost the sole musical religious expression known to too many millions of Christians to be tossed aside as a matter of no consequence. I often think with interest of Waldo Selden Pratt's comment to the effect that this proved one of the significant social phenomena in American history and that no reputable historian has given it serious, sympathetic treatment. I should very much like to see something of the kind done in the Dictionary, should it eventually come to print.

A member of the Hymn Society of America, Dean McCutchan served for a number of years as one of those judging hymns submitted for its hymn contests.

Tunes for Hymns and Responses

Some tunes for hymns and responses were written by Dean McCutchan. Seven for hymns and three responses appear in the 1935 **Hymnal.** Those written while he was a member of the Hymnal Commission were submitted under the nom-de-plume John Porter for he said, "It would simply **not do** for it to be known that the editor was their composer." These tunes were "Tiplady," "Masefield," and "All the World."

"Tiplady" was written for Charles Wesley's hymn, "Blest be the dear uniting love," at a time when the Reverend Thomas Tiplady, Superintendent of the Lambeth Mission in London, was a guest in the McCutchan home. The gentleman was in America to attend the Ecumenical Conference in 1931. He admired the tune, so it was named "Tiplady" in his honor.

"Masefield" was so named for John Masefield, since it was composed for his hymn "Sing, Men and Angels Sing." Its last stanza was one of the Dean's favorites:

After the winter snows
   A wind of healing blows
And thorns put forth a rose
   And lilies cheer us;
Life's everlasting spring
   Hath robbed death of his sting;
Henceforth a cry can bring
   Our Master near us.*

Of his tunes, "All the World" has proved most popular. It was named from the first line of George Herbert's hymn beginning, "Let all the world in every cornor sing," and might very well be called the theme of the Dean's life. The hymn and this tune are included in many hymnals and children's song books. William Reynolds wrote this about using it at the Sixth Baptist Youth World Conference in Beirut, Lebanon: "We closed our last night after seven full days of meetings. We opened every evening session at the Stadium with 3,000 to 4,000 people singing Dean's 'Let all the world in every corner sing,' and I wished for you to hear the crowd from more than fifty nations singing lustily." He and Carlton H. Young have now used the tune in anthem arrangements.

Tunes written earlier are "DePauw," "Oxnam," "Fowler," "Campmeeting." "DePauw" was written in the summer of 1928 at Lake Winona, Indiana, as a setting for Theodore Williams' hymn, "Thou rulest Lord, the

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**from the Collected Works of John Masefield. Copyright 1929 by John Masefield; Renewed 1957 by John Masefield; Used by permission of the Macmillon Company.*

lights on high," and first appeared in **The Standard Hymnal.** "Fowler" was written in response to Carl Fowler Price's request for a tune for the hymn beginning, "My God I thank thee." At the time, Mr. Price and Dr. McCutchan were collaborating on the compilation of **The Standard Hymnal.** "Mr. Price's middle name, Fowler, had been given this distinguished authority on hymns and their tunes after Bishop Charles H. Fowler. Thus the hymn tune bears the name of two churchmen at one and the same time — a great ecclesiastic and an honored layman."

The tune "Oxnam" was written for William P. Merrill's hymn beginning "Rise Up, O men of God," while Mr. McCutchan was dean of the School of Music at DePauw University where G. Bromley Oxnam was president. "The tune was given his name, feeling that President Oxnam exemplified the words of the third and fourth lines of the hymn, 'Give heart and mind and soul and strength to serve the King of King,' " said Dean McCutchan.

"Campmeeting" is a harmonization of an early American melody, and so named because the tune was popular in the old camp-meeting days. "The camp-meeting fostered and further developed the type of folk hymn which had had its beginnings earlier in New England. From the year 1800, the camp-meeting with its social significance and its emphasis on singing had a profound effect; only now are we becoming sincerely appreciative of this," he wrote. It was always his hope that someone would make a thorough and scholarly study of this.

DePauw Centennial

A fitting conclusion to Mr. McCutchan's 26 years as Dean of DePauw's School of Music, was the university's centennial celebration in June 1937. The opening event, an inspiring beginning of the three day affair, was the performance of the "Elijah" under the Dean's direction. Enlarging the University choir were many alumni of the school who had come from all parts of the country for this event and to honor their "Dean." This performance of the Elijah, in itself a triumph of artistry, was in reality a splendid tribute to the Dean himself. It was evidence of the deep hold he has upon the hearts of many hundred former pupils.

At the close of the performance (audience 3,000) Dean McCutchan expressed his deep appreciation of the meaning to him of the return of so many of his former pupils. Then, a former member of the chorus and one of the best known alumni, Frank E. Duddy, Sr., expressed the deep regard the alumni have for Dean McCutchan. As a dramatic closing touch, he remarked, "We cannot endow a chair of music for you, but we do endow a chair," and gestured toward two young men who were bringing to the stage a splendid leather-upholstered chair for the Dean's den. After the program, there were some touching scenes, evidence of this deep esteem.

In Bay View, Michigan

In a history of the famed Summer School of Music at Bay View, Michigan, Clark S. Wheeler wrote:

> Robert G. McCutchan had charge of the Music Department from 1919 to 1926. He also was Assistant Manager of the Assembly. He was the first director to carry the name 'Dean.' He put the Music Department on a high plane which has ever since been the effort of new directors to attain. He gathered around him the best talent possible, and during his regime gave Bay View the greatest musical programs since the dedication of the new auditorium. Perhaps one of the finest features was the DePauw Choir, a group of young college singers trained under Dean McCutchan and presented on numerous programs. It is to Dean McCutchan that Bay View is indebted for the present traditional Sunday Evening Vesper Concerts. It is he who first presented this type of continuous music for one hour each Sunday evening which has become such a part of the Bay View musical life . . . Famous throughout the Little Traverse Bay Region and the entire resort area of Northern Michigan, these concerts are held at eight o'clock Sunday evening in John Hall Auditorium, seating 2,200 . . . There is no admission charge, but an offering is taken at the entrances."

A Bishop's Tribute

Perhaps the life and service of the subject of this sketch is best summed up in paragraphs quoted from the late Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam's paper, "A very Personal Tribute to Dean Robert Guy McCutchan." The Dean and the Bishop had ministered together for years while the latter was president of DePauw University and then as an episcopal leader of the Methodist Church. The Bishop wrote in part:

"Robert McCutchan was a man who passionately loved human beings. It was easy for him to meet people, he was not awed by titles or wealth. He recognized worth and talent in rich and poor, cultured and uncultured alike. He knew there was more wisdom in the mind and heart of an uneducated and hard-working mother than in many a Ph.D. oral, and more understanding in a coal pit than in some faculty rooms. He seemed to know everybody, and could regale you with stories about them from childhood to the present.

"Nevertheless, he appraised them with uncanny accuracy. He penetrated sham like an X-ray, and was unafraid to speak the frank and at times critical word. He was a stern disciplinarian but it was the discipline requisite to perfection. He insisted upon his choir meeting the most rigid standards of musicianship. He knew every member of the choir as he knew the members of his own household. He showered his artistic gifts upon them, and brought all the riches of his years of study to the moment. But he demanded all they had.

"And the Dean always bubbled over with rollicking contagious humor. His conversation sparkled with it, and flashed with interesting and illuminating anecdote. He could tell humorous stories as I have never heard them told, but what was more, Dean McCutchan was a wonderful listener. Unlike many story tellers, he was intent when others were telling stories and his laughter was like song itself.

"His vital magnetic personality, his endearing human qualities, his genius for making friends, sparked and added to his success as administrator, teacher, artist, scholar and churchman. These qualities were evidenced in his success as Dean of the DePauw University School of Music from 1910-1937, and leadership in many fields — choirs, symphonies, great functions of the university and of the church.

"His monumental service to the Church and to scholarship is **The Methodist Hymnal** (1935), **Our Hymnody** (1937), and **Hymn Tune Names** (1957). He was chosen editor to the **Hymnal** by a Commission, wise enough to follow his guidance. Many of his own tunes were chosen by the Commission without knowledge of the fact that John Porter was in fact Robert McCutchan. The tune for 'Let All the World in Every Corner sing: My God and King!' carries the lift and love of this man's faith and the exhilaration of the impact of his personality. He knew the church of the world, he knew and loved the church in the small community, and to lifting its music in worship services he devoted his life and energies during twenty years following retirement."

THE RETIREMENT YEARS

1938 – 1958

Now that the Dean was retired was he really going to recline and relax in that comfortable and handsome chair which was the farewell gift of his choir members and students?

To try it, he and his wife Carrie went to Claremont, California. Here they found a group of congenial friends: President Blaisdell of the Associated Colleges of Claremont, Dr. Raymond Brooks, Dr. Albert Coe, and Everet Oliver, professor of music, a friend since their Simpson College days.

These friends persuaded the McCutchans to build themselves a home in the unique retirement community called Pilgrim Place. They soon found that members of this community, coming from all over the world, were so actively involved still, that they declared they were "not retired but retreaded". So it was with Dean McCutchan; the upholstered chair was in constant use at a desk where lectures, articles, and a great number of letters were written in response to many requests.

The Hymnal (1935) was being used in ever-greater numbers, but was as yet not well-known to many of the millions of Methodists. In

February 1938 when a "Pastor and Layman Conference" was convened in Chicago, the **Christian Century** (February 16, 1938) reported:

> Eminent speakers were scheduled and a program of such quality offered as to bring members beyond expectations. For three days more than 4,000 registered attendants coming from almost every state in the union have taxed the capacity of the "world's largest hotel", the Stevens, on Michigan Avenue. . . . Mention must be made of the carefully planned and effective worship services and particularly of the congregational singing. Dean Robert Guy McCutchan, of DePauw University, was the leader of the singing, and to hear the great crowd of several thousand men in such a hymn as "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God" was an experience to be remembered.

Bishop Oxnam was one of the featured speakers and wrote this:

> The Dean was in charge of the music, I was to deliver the address. I did not know what he was planning to do, but before I was introduced the presiding officer called upon Mr. McCutchan who rose. The Dean announced that the DePauw University Choir was present, that Van Denman Thompson was at the organ, that the audience was to stand and sing "Rise Up, O Men of God". Quietly he said "As you will note in the hymnal, I composed the tune and named it for my dear friend Bishop Oxnam." A few more generous words. He raised his arm in a compelling gesture, a beat, they sang, responding eagerly to his leadership. Such singing! The Dean said, "Turn to the hymn numbered 147." He read the verse:
>
> "Ask ye what great thing I know
> That delights and stirs me so?
> What the high reward I win?
> Whose the name I glory in?"
>
> He paused a moment, then read the answer:
>
> "Jesus Christ the crucified."
>
> It was as though he had approached the altar. He said, "You will please remain seated. The choir will sing the questions, together you will answer in song, 'Jesus Christ, the crucified.' " He continued, "Toward the close of the third verse, when I signal you to rise, we will sing together the great affirmation:
>
> 'This is that great thing I know
> That delights and stirs me so;
> Faith in Him Who died to save,
> Him who triumphed o'er the grave,
> Jesus Christ, the crucified.' "

And Amos Thornburg wrote:

> What happened at that gathering had its greatest significance for the church, because the new *Hymnal* was opened and interpreted in such a way that every delegate remembered the gathering because of the Song in the lives of people, that had been set ringing by the skillful guidance of the Editor of the Hymnal.

Ministers and laymen returning to churches, theological schools, annual conferences, church music institutes, choir schools, popular assemblies, called on the Dean to help in their leadership. The number of places to which he went is too great to list, taking him to every corner of the country — to places great and small.

This year, too, brought the 200th anniversary of John Wesley's Aldersgate experience, May 24, 1738, regarded as marking the beginning of Methodism. Again Bishop Oxnam sought the Dean's co-operation in preparing material to be used in churches in celebrating this anniversary. The result was a pamphlet by Mr. McCutchan entitled, **Aldersgate, 1738-1938; A Service in Song,** published by the Methodist Book Concern. With Bishop Oxnam as speaker and Dean as song leader, they observed the historic event in many churches of Iowa and Nebraska.

Soon after starting to serve the church in this way, the Dean's wife Carrie suffered a stroke, making it necessary that he limit his engagements to places near Claremont. He was persuaded to become a member (honorary) of the faculty of the Claremont University College Graduate School He accepted the position without salary on condition that he would admit to his courses only such graduate students as he personally approved. And he was very choosy. This left him free to arrange his own schedule, to accept requests to speak, to direct song services in churches and schools, to write, and to study.

Following Carrie's death in 1941, an active schedule of travel and speaking was resumed. But soon again another period of even more limited activity was forced on him by a coronary occlusion requiring hospitalization. This did not slow down his mind though, and during convalescence he spent much time in the library of the Graduate School. Here he had been given the use of an office workroom where were housed the most valuable items of his considerable collection of rare books.

One of the librarians, Helen Cowles, was fortunate enough to be of some help to him. And so they were married in 1944. Helen was the daughter of missionaries, born and brought up in South Africa. Dean in his characteristic jocular way announced to his friends that he was marrying a Zulu snake-charmer. She being considerably younger than he, and in excellent health, was able to accompany him and help drive the car. In all, they visited every state except Alaska and Hawaii. In 1950 the miles travelled by car and air were 39,500. These travels were to fill engagements, not for pleasure, though there was plenty of that packed in along the way.

The year 1944 saw the completion of **The Book of Worship for Church and Home.** The Dean had been a member of the editorial committee of the Commission on Worship of the Methodist Church which produced this valuable book. His previous study of psalmody, hymnody, and the devotional literature of the Christian church, in connection with his work on **The Hymnal, Our Hymnody,** and the university courses which he offered, had given him the broad comprehensive knowledge fundamental to work on such a book.

It had been his particular joy to help the rural church enlarge its acquaintance with the truly great hymns. Leading the congregation in song, he would begin with familiar old-time favorites, then gradually introduce and familiarize them with other great hymns and their place in the service. He felt deeply that a hymn must be easily singable by the man in the pew, so that he would feel it as his prayer, an expression of his aspiration and of his religion. Its words, its tunes therefore must be appealing and useable, leading to personal, individual participation in the church's worship service. And he particularly emphasized this with ministers and music directors.

An early experience, which he delighted to tell, shows one of the ways in which he did this. Visiting in a backwoods community of Arkansas, a friend took him to one of the many rousing, shouting camp-meetings. Unobtrusively the two men made themselves part of the group, joining in the singing under the direction of the hardworking, arm-swinging, shouting leader. After a number of songs had been belted out, the people were given a chance to suggest favorites to be sung. Mr. McCutchan stood and asked if they could sing "Stand Up for Jesus", and if he might lead the singing. After this, sung lustily as appropriate, he asked that they sing "Softly Now the Light of Day", and to sing it as quietly as the hushed sounds of evening. The response to his authoritative leadership, with its economy of arm-waving, was enthusiastic. He then suggested a child's hymn to be sung by the women in a sweet childlike manner. The results were delightful to everyone. Never before had they enjoyed such direction in singing to express the mood of words and music.

As William J. Reynolds wrote:

> He knew the practices and problems of the local churches and was sharply critical of those who wrote about church music from lofty ivory towers, familiar only with the services of metropolitan cathedrals and oblivious and unconcerned about the thousands of smaller churches across the nation where the multitudes worship each week . . . He loved to walk the unfamiliar paths of hymns and tunes and share their wealth with the common man in the pew. He taught the joy of hymn-singing, not in the stilted style of the classroom professor, but as one whose love for hymnic expression was a vital part of abundant Christian living.

Again Dr. Reynolds wrote:

> I shall never forget the time that one of America's great choral conductors accompanied one of Dean's hymn singing classes and learned how to play a hymn. About 1952, Dean McCutchan assisted in a state church music leadership school sponsored by Ira C. Prosser, Oklahoma Baptist State Music Secretary. Dean taught hymnology and Noble Cain conducted choral periods. The paths of these two had crossed only once before. After Noble Cain had completed his Master's degree at the University of Chicago, Dean had tried unsuccessfully to persuade him to join the music faculty at DePauw University. While each had kept up with the other's work through the years, they had had no real association since that time. Dean needed an accompanist for his hymn singing in this conference and invited Noble Cain to play the piano. When it was time to sing the first hymn, Dean signaled for the introduction, which Cain provided but much too fast and "showy" to suit Dean's taste. Instead of proceeding with the singing, Dean turned to Noble Cain and, in a manner befitting a music professor kindly chiding an overly zealous freshman pianist, he said, "Now Noble you know better than that. Let's try it once again." Noble smiled sheepishly and started over. Those hymn sessions with Dean McCutchan leading and Noble Cain at the piano were memorable.

And to Helen, Dr. Reynolds wrote:

> Here of late Dean has been spending a considerable amount of time in the wilds of Oklahoma, and I have had the opportunity to observe him closely. I don't know whether you are aware of some of these facts or not, but here for your information are some of them. Dean has been going around from town to town instilling into poor Methodists and Baptists a new and hearty enthusiasm in the long neglected music of their churches. He has aroused a tremendous concern over the hymn singing of these churches, to the extent that people are talking about it. Furthermore he has lifted the horizons of church music in the eyes of some of us poor plodding music directors and has challenged us to more effective ministry of music and has shown us ways of doing something about it. This is an unheard of thing for anybody to do, much less a man of his age and experience.

Through Texas and Oklahoma, people were warm and responsive and dear to him. Churches in small towns within easy driving distance of each other would band together to entertain him for a week or so, during which time nightly meetings for song festivals were held. The special purpose was to draw to these gatherings choir members and leaders, ministers and congregations. Pot-luck cooperative dinners and the like accompanied the gatherings, making pleasant sociability. And in between, there were valuable and heart-warming conversations among individuals, establishing those long-lasting personal friendships which it was Dean's great gift to foster and hold.

Some of the places where he enjoyed such happy times were: Oklahoma City, Norman, Lawton, Temple, Hugo, Ada, Paris, Dallas, Fort Worth, Wichita Falls, Houston, Folydada, Georgetown, San Saba, Ennis, Morse, Lockney, Petersburg, Tulia, El Paso.

It was not only in Oklahoma and Texas that he enjoyed bringing hymns into men's lives. All across this country from Texas to New England, from Washington to Florida, from Montana to Arizona to Minnesota, he met with groups, small and informal or in mass meetings. Where he enjoyed the hospitality of homes, he made himself part of the family, at home in the kitchen as well as in the parlor. In the kitchen his hostess often had to let him wash the dishes, where he insisted on "showing her how". The results were so much fun that soon the entire household was in there too. So everywhere along with his gift of music, he carried the warm gift of friendship and laughter, another sound of music in many keys.

Colleges also called on him to share his enthusiasms with students. At Northwestern University, on the invitation of Dr. Beltz, he participated in the summer Church and Choral Music Institutes; a program to " meet the needs for a more extended course in Church Music Studies . . . to prepare church musicians for a larger service in the ministry of music . . . The curriculum and staff have been chosen to give the most thorough preparation in the shortest possible time". This participation was in the years 1938-39, 41-42, 44-45. An extension of this was the National Institute of Church Music, under Dr. Beltz's management. These institutes were held in widely scattered areas, Dean having a part in many of them: Alfred, N. Y., West Palm Beach, Florida, Crete, Neb., Knoxville, Tenn., Washington, D. C., Oklahoma City, to name a few.

Other college assignments were at the University of Montana, The College of Puget Sound, Redlands University, Calif., Purdue University, Duke University, Wesleyan College, Pacific School of Religion's Earl lecturer. Summers from 1943 to 1947 found him at the Pastor's School of Southwestern University, Georgetown, Texas, enjoying his warm friendship with President Score and his family and faculty. As has been mentioned, he was a faculty member of the Claremont Colleges Gradute School during the years 1939-54.

The wonderfully warm and happy culmination of his teaching was at the Perkins School of Theology, S.M.U., Dallas. Invited there by his friend Merrimon Cuninggim whom he had known in Claremont, he was visiting professor of church music for a year and a half in 1954-1955. Here on the faculties were many friends of past years, among them President Lee, William W. Sweet, Mrs. Score, Fred Gealy and many more whom he had known during his years of activity in college and church work. Here he was again deep in the heart of Texas as they were deep in his heart.

It was while he was at Perkins that two Methodists appointed to visit and appraise Methodist theological schools throughout the U. S., made their stop there. Dr. Sweet invited them and Dean McCutchan to lunch and a conference one day. It was while they were discussing Southern California, that Dean McCutchan said "Why don't you consider Claremont as a place for the theological school ? It has a fine group of colleges with an excellent library, and is rather central to Southern California." Dr. Sweet, who had also taught in Claremont a year, fell in heartily with the suggestion. Perhaps Claremont would have been picked anyway, but at least these men did survey that community, and the results are known: the Southern California School of Theology moved from Los Angeles to Claremont.

In view of all these activities and assignments, it would hardly seem possible that there would be time or energy left for committees, area conferences, commissions, conventions and the like. But these were of primary importance in his schedule. They demanded not only his presence but imposed duties which necessitated much time and thought in their preparation. To the Uniting Conference of Methodist Churches in Kansas City he was a delegate-at-large in 1939. Also he was member of the General Conference Commission (Methodist) on Ritual and Orders of Service, the General Conference Ecumenical Commission, the Southern California-Arizona Conference Committee on Graduate School of Religion, U.S.C., The Seventh Ecumenical Methodist Conference, Springfield, Mass.

Something of what he packed into a few months is indicated in the following letter to Dr. Beltz in 1947:

> Dear Oliver:
>
> Just arrived home this morning at 4 a.m. from Southwestern Pastor's School. Leave Thursday morning early for College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, and to Livingston, Montana, for others. Will not get home until August 18. The next day (19) fly back to Texas for a Town and Country Conference at Southwestern. You can reach me c/o President's Office, College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Wash., until July; then c/o First Methodist Church, Livingston Montana, until Aug. 12. Then here in Claremont.
>
> The above to tell you not only where you can reach me but to explain why I cannot get a glossy print for you: the enclosed is the best I can do I doubt if any photograher can do any better! Sorry.
>
> Am glad to hear that plans for the October Conference are developing according to your wishes. I'm looking forward to it eagerly. You'll get the best I have. (This was the National Institute of Church Music, Washington, D.C.).
>
> You will be interested to know that I am one of the committee of several to provide nineteen worship services for the Methodist Ecumenical Conference at Springfield, Mass. While the committee has several members it has turned over to Dr. Score and myself the entire job! And I've only known of it for some two weeks! I can see where I'll miss some of the beauty spots around Puget Sound and in the Montana mountains, for Score is frank in saying that I am going to have to do most of the work. Verily, some day I'm going to retire; my retread is growing thin.

Again in planning and preparing these Worship Services for the printer, as in other such publications and his books, the Dean had had valuable experience. The years in his youth when he had worked as a typesetter and printer in Mississippi had given him practical skill of use in subsequent years. Always he made up a dummy, accurately and effectively arranging materials. Also, of course, his thorough study in the ritual. liturgy, and psalmody was evident and relied on by Bishop Oxnam whose right hand he was in planning the services and directing the music in area conferences and campaigns: Iowa and Nebraska 1938, New England and New York 1942, 1944, 1945, 1949.

Of these associations the Bishop said:

> In the Omaha, the Boston and the New York areas he conducted great Festivals of Song and I spoke on "The Faith". We journeyed from town to town together and as I drove I listened to rich and rewarding conversation. And he could tell humorous stories as I have never heard them told . . .

Relaxing between the inspirational meetings they conducted, like boys, they got fun out of inconsequential things. Roaring with laughter over its incongruity, Dean McCutchan used to tell of one such episode. After a strenuous day of meetings in the Omaha area, they had dinner in a small restaurant. The waitress, a pretty Irish girl, came to their table saying, "Evenin' gentlemen, an' what's your orders?" The Bishop replied, "Evenin' Mrs. O'Toole." Good-natured banter followed as she served them. Next morning for breakfast they went to the same place but sat at the counter. As she hurried past balancing a full tray, "Mrs. O'Toole" spied them. Sliding to a stop she said gayly, "Mornin' boys! Why didn't you come back to my table?" Mr. McCutchan looking solemn and impressive replied, "Do you realize who this gentleman is? He is the **Reverend Bishop Oxnam."** The girl looked stricken, blanched and exclaimed, "My God!" Then Mr. McCutchan added, "Bishop of the Methodist Church." "O hell!" she cried in relief as she hurried away.

The last series of meetings with the Bishop were at Montpelier, Plattsburg, Albany and New York, in 1949. The following are excerpts from letters regarding them:

> (Dean to Helen) The affair at Montpelier last night was a complete and unqualified success. The church was crowded, two good choirs, some fine singing . . . and a bang-up speech by the Bishop. . . . We are having a wonderful time. The Bishop is tired and realizes it. I've talked pretty straight to him and he insists he is beginning to have a little sense about slowing down a bit. He is such a grand fellow. He has been so thoughtful about having rooms ready for us on arrival, that I'm sure we will come through in good shape.
>
> Tonight (Oct. 21) was one of the high spots of my life. The place (Carnegie Hall) was competely filled, where only standing room is available, was full of people. The stage could accommodate only a few more than 300, so all the choir singers could not find places. And such response — simply tremendous. The choir special number, a hymn-anthem, was beautifully done — even satisfied me completely!! The organist, Tutchings, was excellent. It was a pretty good show.
>
> (Oxnam to McCutchan, Oct. 31, 1949) I shall treasure through all the years that are mine the recollections of our wonderful trip together. It seemed like old times to me. You know, of course, what your friendship has meant to me and the strange power you possess whereby I seem to do twice as good a job when you're along as I do when I'm alone. I thought you were never better than in the meetings this time. They climaxed as I hoped they would, at Carnegie Hall. That was your presence. Did you ever hear a congregation sing more magnificently? And the choir responded to your genius and did a superb job. All I am trying to say is this, thanks a thousand times. We must do this again.

In May 1955, his term as Visiting Professor, at Perkins School of Theology, Dallas, came to an end. When he said goodbye to his many choice friends there, he had no premonition that he would not see them again. Hospitalization came unexpectedly in October when he underwent emergency surgery. But gradually enough strength was regained so that by June 1956, he attended the DePauw University commencement to receive an honorary **Mus. Doc.** Two close friends of many years, William W. Sweet and Ralph Gwinn were also honored with doctorates. And his son, Bob, a DePauw alumnus, was there to guard his Dad from overdoing. Great joy came to him too at the alumni luncheon where once again he led the singing of some DePauw favorites. Afterwards, he was mobbed, hugged and kissed.

That year the manuscript of **Hymn Tune Names** was completed and sent to the publishers. The galley sheets came to him in January 1957. With all the failing strength his will could muster, and with help from

Helen, proof was read and returned to the publishers on February 11. With his characteristic humor and generosity it was dedicated: "To Helen, without whose sympathy, understanding and more or less gentle though persistent prodding, this project might not have been completed". And he enjoyed holding the printed volume in his hands.

"Why Avison?" he had asked as a child. What could have been more appropriate than that this his last publication should give some of the answers to this life-long question about the naming of tunes!

Let all the world in every corner sing:
  My God and King!
The heavens are not too high, His praise may thither fly;
The earth is not too low, His praises there may grow.
Let all the world in every corner sing:
  My God and King!

Let all the world in every corner sing:
  My God and King!
The Church with psalms must shout, no door can keep them out;
But more than all, the heart must bear the longest part.
Let all the world in every corner sing:
  My God and King!

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The Robert Guy McCutchan Library of Hymnology

The McCutchan collection of several thousand hymn books and related materials is a by-product of Dean McCutchan's lifetime interest in this field. His was not a systematic acquisition of materials through agents or salesmen, but the result of constant alert watchfulness in his travels throughout the land. Some of his trophies are unique, others are rare. He discovered them in farm barns and woodsheds, at auctions, as discards in trash boxes, in attics, in second-hand bookstores and city side streets. Many were gifts from friends whose family treasures they had been.

As individual items their worth may not be great either in cash or historically, but in a collection as related to others of a period, style or church denomination, they may supply important links in a chain.

The collection includes books of American "Singing Schools", Sunday schools, gospel songs, hymn books of the majority of American religious denominations, Methodist especially, grange and fraternal songs, Civil War songs. It contains also biographies of authors of hymn texts and composers of tunes.

It is not a collection of anthems, choir or organ music, but of music designed for congregational and group participation.

Students of secular as well as religious music and of theology ministers of church music, compilers of hymn books, searchers for quaint American songs and tunes will find in it valuable source material.

Dr. McCutchan gave his collection to Claremont College Graduate School and it is housed in the Honnold Library. Here it is available to faculty and students of the six associated colleges and to others.

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